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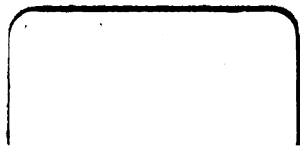
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THE

AMERICAN
JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY.

EDITED BY
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VOL. I.

BALTIMORE: THE EDITOR.
NEW YORK AND LONDON: MACMILLAN & CO.
LEIPSIK: F. A. BROCKHAUS.
1880.

УРАГАН
РОМА. БОЖАТЪ ОРА. ИИ
УТІОЗВНУ

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AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY.

VOL. I.

No. 1.

EDITORIAL NOTE.

The establishment of some such medium of intercommunication as this journal hopes to become has long been thought desirable by the foremost scholars of the country. The project was mooted several years ago at the meeting of the American Philological Association, held in Easton, and the plan has never been wholly lost sight of by its advocates. More recently, in yet other quarters, an effort has been made to set such a journal on foot, and indications of the ripening purpose have not been wanting in different sections of the Union, so that I was but giving expression to a widespread conviction when I said in my address as President of the Philological Association at its meeting in Saratoga (July, 1878): "It certainly betokens great supineness on the part of our scholars that a country which boasts a Journal of Speculative Philosophy, should not have even a solitary periodical devoted to a science which counts its professed votaries by hundreds, if not by thousands, and that our professors and teachers should be satisfied with consigning an occasional paper to the slow current of a volume of transactions, or with exposing a stray lucubration to struggle for notice amidst the miscellaneous matter of a review or the odds and ends of an educational magazine." This statement of the need was, however, in no sense an engagement to supply the demand, but when it became apparent that the same liberality which had sustained the American Journal of Mathematics and had aided the American Chemical Journal, would not be wanting to an American Journal of Philology, it seemed a duty to the cause of my department,

as well as a proper recognition of the generous spirit in which the Trustees of the Johns Hopkins University had facilitated my special work, that I should at all events make an earnest effort to carry out the project. But before making any public announcement I consulted some of the leading scholars who represent the various departments of philological study in the great sections of the country, and the answers received were so cordial, the confidence in my plans so flattering, and the pledges of coöperation so satisfactory, that in the latter part of May, 1879, I gave wide circulation to a prospectus, which brought still further assurances of support and a comparatively long list of subscribers, representing most of the institutions of note in thirty States of the Union. Thus encouraged, I made arrangements for the printing of the Journal, and though the appearance of it has been somewhat delayed by the intervention of vacation, which scattered the friends of the enterprise, and then by the opening session, with its arduous labors, which have left some of the prominent contributors little time for the preparation of the articles promised, still the Journal comes out within a reasonable time after the announcement of the project; and while it has not been possible to secure a perfect balance at first, and to some the Greek element may seem suspiciously preponderant, those who know the spirit in which this work has been undertaken will not suspect any undue bias on the part of the editor, and to all others the titles of the reports and the list of periodicals will show that there is an earnest desire to represent as fairly as may be the whole cycle of philological study. A unity of management seemed necessary, in view of the responsibility of the editor to those who made this undertaking possible, but the Journal has been so fortunate as to secure the coöperation of scholars eminent for their attainments in Comparative Grammar, in the Oriental, the Romance and the Teutonic languages, as well as the aid of specialists in Latin and Greek and the general disciplines of classical study; and it is hoped that the different departments will all find their representatives zealously active in the section of original contributions. Reviews of new books will be intrusted to specialists, so far as possible, and the name of the reviewer, except in rare cases, will be given as the guarantee of the thoroughness and honesty of the review. Notices of school books do not properly fall within the province of this journal, but as a matter of duty to teachers and to the public at large, no hesitation will be felt in giving from time to time such

frank statements as are eminently necessary in the present condition of American criticism.

With the help of the most active and enterprising scholars of America, with a large storehouse of European periodical literature for the quickening and enriching of our own work, with a generous support accorded in advance by the munificence of our new university and by the fraternal spirit of fellow-workers through the length and breadth of the land, the Journal enters upon a career that is full of hope. To be found not wholly unworthy of this trust is henceforth one of the highest aims of my professional life, and it is not unnatural that with this conviction I should again and again invoke the earnest efforts and hearty aid of all the friends of sound learning in America.

B. L. GILDERSLEEVE.

I.—ΔΙΚΑΙ ΑΠΟ ΣΥΜΒΟΛΩΝ ΑΛΗΘ ΔΙΚΑΙ ΣΥΜΒΟΛΑΙΑΙ.

The words of the Athenian orator in Thucydides, I. 77: καὶ ἱλασσοῦμενοι γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ξυμβολαίαις πρὸς τοὺς ξυμμάχους δίκαις, are a familiar puzzle, and any new attempt to discuss them is apt to excite a smile. The opinion of recent editors of Thucydides is nearly or quite unanimous in considering δίκαι ξυμβόλαιαι here the same as δίκαι ἀπὸ ξυμβόλων. The latter name, which originally meant *treaty-suits* between citizens of different states, tried in the courts of either state according to the provisions of treaties (σύμβολια), was (it is affirmed) made to include, by a remarkable "euphemism," the suits which Athens *compelled* her subject allies to bring in her own courts during the time of her maritime empire. The same view is taken by Curtius¹ and in Liddell and Scott's *Lexicon*.² A significant protest, however, was raised against this interpretation by Boeckh and Grote; but their objections have generally been answered by triumphantly quoting Bekker's *Anecdota*, p. 436, 1: Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ συμβόλων ἐδίκαζον τοῖς ὑπηκόοις· οὕτως Ἀριστοτέλης.

Three questions must be answered here: First, to what extent were the allies of Athens required to bring their lawsuits to Athens for trial? Secondly, what were the δίκαι ἀπὸ συμβόλων, apart from any supposed allusion to them in Thucydides? Thirdly, are the ξυμβόλαιαι δίκαι of Thucydides identical with the δίκαι ἀπὸ συμβόλων?

I. The jurisdiction of the Athenian courts over the subject allies is fully discussed by Boeckh³ and Grote,⁴ and it is sufficient to refer to them for the ancient authorities on this subject. All are agreed that the tributary subjects of Athens, the ὑπήκοοι, φόρου ὑποτελεῖς, who were deprived of their military force and often had Athenian troops quartered on them, and were held to their allegiance by the presence of Athenian overseers (ἐπίσκοποι) and other officers, were deprived of most of their independent jurisdiction in civil causes and compelled to sue and be sued in the courts of Athens. With

¹ Griech. Gesch. II. p. 184, and p. 691 (note 37).

² s. v. σύμβολον.

³ Staatshaushaltung der Athener, I. pp. 528-539 (Book III. § 16): see especially note on pp. 529-531.

⁴ History of Greece, VI. pp. 48-63: for a discussion of Boeckh's views, see note on pp. 57-59.

regard to the independent allies, the *αὐτόνομοι*, οὐχ ὑποτελεῖς φόρου, the extent of the Athenian jurisdiction is more doubtful, as no ancient writers touch this point. We can assume, at all events, that their obligation to use the Athenian courts was not compulsory, and did not exclude (at least originally) some reciprocity on the part of Athens. This question will be discussed again below (p. 15). So far as this jurisdiction of Athens applied to civil suits between citizens of different states within the alliance, it was hardly a piece of oppression, as it secured an even administration of justice throughout the Athenian dominions. It is in some respects analogous to the necessity by which citizens of different states in the American Union are often compelled to bring suits in United States courts, sometimes even in the Supreme Court at Washington. Nor could it have been thought oppressive that Athens should insist on having all suits between Athenians and citizens of the subject states tried at Athens. The real hardship was felt when the subject allies were obliged to bring to Athens all the civil suits between citizens of the same state, in which neither Athens nor the confederacy as a whole had any direct interest.¹ We do not know how far the jurisdiction of Athens extended; it is absurd to suppose that none was left to the local courts of even the least favored states, although even there Athenian officers may have presided or judged, and it is likely that such courts were limited to cases which involved only small sums of money. As to criminal suits, we have little definite knowledge beyond the fact that sentence of death could be imposed only by an Athenian court or by the authority of Athens (not ἄνευ Ἀθηναίων). The oration of Antiphon *de Caede Herodis* was written for a citizen of Mytilene charged before an Athenian court with the murder of Herodes, who was probably an Athenian, resident as *κληρουῆχος* in Mytilene.² The speech says that *even a state* (obviously meaning a state in the position of Mytilene after its revolt in 428 B. C.) *has no power to inflict the death penalty without the authority of Athens.*³ We may infer from the tone of this remark that less important criminal trials were not carried to Athens. One other instance of a public

¹ To this compulsion Xenophon alludes, *De Rep. Ath.* I. 16: τοὺς συμμάχους ἀναγκάζουσι πλεῖν ἐπὶ δίκας Ἀθήραις. So Athenaeus, IX. p. 407 B: καθ' ἃν δὲ χρόνον θαλασσοκρατοῦντες Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνήγον εἰς ἄστυ τὰς νησιωτικὰς δίκας.

² Jebb, *Attic Orators*, I. p. 56; Blass, *Attische Beredsamkeit*, I. p. 162.

³ Antiph. *Caed. Herod.* § 47: οὐδὲ πόλις ἐξεστίν, ἄνευ Ἀθηναίων οὐδένα θανάτῳ ζημῶσαι.

suit brought against a foreigner in an Athenian court is the amusing case of the Thasian writer of parodies or burlesques, Hegemon. Though the offence charged is not mentioned, the use of *γραφάμενος* and *γραφῆ* shows that it was a public suit. Its importance can be inferred from the story told by Athenaeus, that Hegemon collected a crowd of "theatrical artists" to support him, and implored the help of Alcibiades, who encouraged a literary man in distress by going with the crowd to the record office and rubbing out the entry of the suit with his wetted finger, while the authorities stood by in peaceful amazement and the plaintiff took to his heels.¹ If, as Boeckh² supposes, the case was one of *γραφῆ ὕβρεως*, this was an *ἀγὼν τιμητός* and might lead to a capital sentence.³ The suits in which the "island-summoner and sycophant" in Aristophanes proposes to use his wings are plainly civil, not criminal, as appears from the use of *ἐγχεληχώς*, which like *ἐγκλημα* is used chiefly of private prosecutions, and from the plan for seizing the defendant's property when he was defaulted by his tardiness.⁴

II. What now were *δίκαι ἀπὸ συμβόλων*, in the ordinary sense of the expression? *Σύμβολα*, in the only sense admissible here, is thus defined by Harpocration: *σύμβολα, τὰς συνθήκας αἷς ὤν αἱ πόλεις ἀλλήλαις θέμεναι τάττωσι τοῖς πολίταις ὥστε διδόναι καὶ λαμβάνειν τὰ δίκαια*,⁵ treaties, therefore, which independent states make with each other to define the conditions under which citizens of either may sue or be sued in the courts of the other. The most distinct account of such treaties is given in the oration on Halonnesus, from which it appears that Philip, shortly after the peace of Philocrates (346 B. C.), sent an embassy to Athens to arrange *σύμβολα* between Athens and Macedonia, making the condition, however, that the decisions given under the treaty should not be valid until they had been confirmed by himself, thus (the orator says) making a judicial decision of Athens liable to be carried on appeal to the king of Macedon.⁶ The nature of such treaties appears when the orator speaks of the earlier times, when there was much

¹ Athenaeus, IX. 407 C.

² Staatsh. I. p. 532 (note).

³ Meier and Schömann, Att. Proc. p. 326.

⁴ Aristoph. Av. 1420-1460.

⁵ Harp. s. v. *σύμβολα*. The same definition is found (essentially) in Photius, Suidas, and the Etymologicum Magnum.

⁶ *ταῦτα δὲ κύρια εἶσθαι οὐκ ἐπειδὴν ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ τῷ παρ' ὑμῖν κυρωθῆ, ὥσπερ ὁ νόμος κελεύει, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴν ὡς ἐαυτὸν ἐπανερχθῆ, ἐφέσιμον τὴν παρ' ὑμῶν γενομένην γνώσιν εἰς ἐαυτὸν ποιούμενος.* [Dem.] Halon. § 9 (p. 79). A defence of the interpretation of these words here given will be found below (pp. 10-12).

greater intercourse between the two countries and less facility for settling disputes, and yet it was not thought profitable to make *σύμβολα* and for Macedonians to sail to Athens and *for Athenians to sail to Macedonia* to obtain justice, but Athenians brought suits in Macedonian courts and the Macedonians in Athenian courts in the ordinary way.¹ In Pseudo-Andocides in Alcibiad., § 18, it is said : *πρὸς μὲν τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις ἐν τοῖς συμβόλοις συντιθέμεθα μὴ ἐξεῖναι μήθ' εἰσῆξαι μήτε δῆσαι τὸν ἐλεύθερον*, from which it appears that the *σύμβολα* might secure the citizens of one state, especially a powerful one like Athens, from certain treatment and special penalties in the courts of the other. Athens would naturally be anxious to protect Athenians from many indignities to which other states subjected their citizens without scruple.²

We find many allusions to a *city of appeal*, *πόλις ἔκκλητος*, to the courts of which any one who felt himself aggrieved by a judgment in another state could carry his case on appeal. In Bekker's *Anecdota* we find : *ἔκκλητος πόλις ἐστὶν ἣν ἐκκαλεῖται τις εἰς τὸ κρίναι αὐτῷ ἀγῶνά τινα, δῆλον ὅτι φεύγων τὴν πρώτην ὡς πρὸς ἔχθραν ἢ χάριν κρίνουσαν.*³ Pollux mentions under *ἔφεσις*, *appeal*, one *ἀπὸ δικαστῶν ἐπὶ ξενικὸν δικαστήριον.*⁴ As we cannot believe that in any suit between two Athenians there was ever an appeal from the Athenian courts to a foreign tribunal of any kind, the words of Pollux, are naturally referred to cases in which a foreigner, feeling himself aggrieved by the decision of an Athenian court in the *δίκαι ἀπὸ συμβόλων*, carried his case by appeal to *some* foreign court. This is strongly confirmed by the words in Bekker's *Anecdota* which follow those just quoted : *ἐξῆν δὲ τοῖς ξένοις μάλιστα ἐκκαλεῖσθαι, τοῖς δὲ πολίταις ἤμιστα.* A more unqualified statement is found in the *Etymologicum Magnum* : *ἐξῆν δὲ τοῖς μὲν ξένοις ἐκκαλεῖσθαι πόλιν ἄλλην, τοῖς δὲ πολίταις οὐκέτι.* It would, of course, be chiefly or

¹ ἄλλ' ὁμως, οὐδενὸς τοιοῦτου ὄντος, τότε οὐκ ἐλπιεῖται σύμβολα ποιησαμένους οὐτ' ἐκ Μακεδονίας πλεῖν Ἀθήναζε δίκας ληφομένους οἷθ' ὑμῖν εἰς Μακεδονίαν, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς τε τοῖς ἐκεῖ νομίμοις ἐκεῖνοι τε τοῖς παρ' ἡμῖν τὰς δίκας ἐλάμβανον. [Dem.] Halon. § 13 (p. 79.)

² With the same object many nations now make treaties with certain states. Thus the United States have a treaty with Japan, providing that the U. S. consular courts in Japan shall have jurisdiction in all offences committed by American citizens against Japanese, while the Japanese courts shall try offences of Japanese against Americans; but allowing Japanese creditors to bring civil suits against Americans in the U. S. consular courts, and American creditors against Japanese in the Japanese courts.

³ I. p. 247, 30.

⁴ Onomasticon, VIII. 62.

only foreigners who would find it for their interest to appeal from an Athenian court to another, either of their own or of some third country; while an Athenian who had been defeated in his own city in a suit with a foreigner would never carry his case elsewhere.

But what are the foreign courts to which a foreigner, thus defeated in an Athenian court in a suit with an Athenian, could carry his case on appeal? It seems to me that they can have been no other than those of a πόλις ἑκκλητος which was agreed upon by the two states and appointed in the σύμβολα between them. It is generally stated that in the δίκαι ἀπὸ συμβόλων an appeal to the courts of his own country was open to every one who was dissatisfied with the judgment of a foreign court—that, for example, a Rhodian in a suit with an Athenian, tried at Athens, could appeal to Rhodes, while an Athenian in a suit with a Rhodian, tried at Rhodes, could appeal to Athens. Meier and Schömann repeat this from Hudtwalcker,¹ and add that “perhaps” also a party defeated in such a suit in his own state could appeal to a court in his opponent’s country.² But what could have been the object of all the machinery of the σύμβολα, with their appointment of suits to be tried in either country, and all their necessary detail, if either party at his pleasure could annul the judgment in any suit and carry the case for trial before the courts of his own country? Let us suppose, for example, that an Athenian and a Rhodian have a suit tried in an Athenian court, and judgment is given for the Athenian; is it possible now that the Athenian can have been compelled to submit to a second trial at Rhodes whenever it pleased his adversary to appeal to a “court of his own country”? Still less likely is it that the Athenian, if he was defeated in a contest with a Rhodian in an Athenian court, would value the right to carry his case to a Rhodian court. The common opinion makes a πόλις ἑκκλητος, so far as δίκαι ἀπὸ συμβόλων are concerned, merely one of the contracting cities to which a case is carried on appeal from the other, each being a *city of appeal* for all suits tried in the other’s courts. It would be difficult, however, to find an instance in which πόλις ἑκκλητος is actually so used, or indeed any authentic case in which two independent states exercised the supposed right of mutual appeal. We are sure, however, that πόλις ἑκκλητος did sometimes denote a third state appointed as umpire to decide disputes between

¹ Hudtwalcker, *Diaeteten in Athen*. p. 124.

² Meier and Schömann, *Att. Proc.* p. 775.

two states. Plutarch applies this name to Megara when the Athenians appealed to her to settle their disputes with the Spartan king Agesipolis.¹ The custom of referring international disputes to arbitration, so far from being a device of the present age, was almost universal in Greece, at least in theory.² It was, therefore, natural that the Greeks should adopt the same system of reference to an impartial state as umpire, when a court of appeal was needed in the *δίκαι ἀπὸ συμβόλων*. That they did not adopt the suicidal method of allowing each party to carry his suit by appeal home to his own courts, must be obvious. In a treaty between the Hierapytnii and the Priansii of Crete, probably made in the third century B. C., there is a distinct provision for referring disputes between their respective citizens, when they could not be settled by a tribunal recognized by the treaty, to some city which was to be agreed upon by the contracting states.³ To such a city of appeal all the notices of a *πόλις ἔκκλητος* and of *δίκαι ἔκκλητοι* naturally refer, and in none of them is there the slightest intimation that the appeal is to be made by a citizen to a court of *his own country*.⁴

The passage quoted above from the oration on Halonnesus seems to show that Athens, in the time of Philip, sometimes or always exercised the right of the stronger, and reserved to herself the right of "confirming" all decisions of foreign courts which affected her own citizens. This, however, can hardly have gone further than annulling the foreign judgment and ordering a new trial; it certainly did not constitute a right of *appeal*, in the proper sense of this word. When there was a *πόλις ἔκκλητος*, the *κύρωσις*

¹ Plut. Apophth. Lacon. p. 215: 'Αθηναίων πρὸς αὐτὸν, περὶ ὧν εἶχον πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐγκλημάτων, τὴν τῶν Μεγαρέων πόλιν ἐκκλητον λαμβανόντων.

² See the treaty between Sparta and Argos in Thuc. V. 79: αἱ δὲ τις τῶν ξυμμάχων πόλις πόλει ἐρίζοι, ἐς πόλιν ἔλθειν ἄντινα ἴσαν ἀμφοῖν ταῖς πόλεσι δοκίμοι. So, in Thuc. I. 28, the Corcyraeans propose to Corinth to refer the question of Epidamnus to any Peloponnesian states which both should agree upon. Such states, as Krüger rightly observes, would be called *πόλις ἔκκλητοι*.

³ Πόλιν στανυέσθων ἀγ κα ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς πόλεσι δόξῃ. See Boeckh's Corpus Inscript. Graec., No. 2556, lines 47-70, with the editor's remarks. At the end of the treaty the words *κατὰ τὸ δοχθὲν κοινῆ σύμβολον* occur.

⁴ See Hesych. s. *ἐκκλητοι δίκαι*: αἱ ἐπὶ ξένης λεγόμεναι, καὶ οὐκ ἐν τῇ πόλει. Aeschines (in Timarch. § 89) says: εἰ μὲν τοίνυν ἦν ὁ ἀγὼν οὐτοσί ἐν πόλει ἐκκλήτω, meaning simply *if this case were on trial in some foreign court*, where the parties were unknown to the judges. See the Scholia on this passage, which agree generally with Bekk. Anecd. (I. p. 247, 30) quoted above. See Pollux, VIII. 63: αἴται δὲ καὶ ἐκκλητοι δίκαι ἐκαλοῦντο.

reserved by Athens may have been merely the process by which a judgment could be carried on appeal to the foreign court; when there was no such city, it gave Athens the right of *veto* when she felt that a foreign judgment had done injustice to any of her citizens. The words of the orator § 9, quoted p. 9, make it perfectly clear that Philip's claim, whatever it was, was nothing more than what Athens regularly *ὡςπερ ὁ νόμος κελεύει*: insisted on whenever she made such a treaty. The indignation of the orator at Philip's claim is amusing in this light; but it is entirely inconsistent with the idea that an appeal from one country to the other *constituted not* merely a *veto* power, but the right of judging the case anew and finally, was an essential or even a common part of the system of *δίκαι ἀπο ἀλλοθίων*.

I am aware that most modern scholars, following Meier and Schömann's interpretation of *de Halonneso*, § 9, refer the demand of Philip for the right of *ἐπιπέσει* not to a confirmation or even a revision of the judgments rendered by the Athenian courts, but to the ratification of the treaty itself which was to provide for the *δίκαι ἀπο ἀλλοθίων*. They likewise understand the allusion to Athens to imply a similar claim on her part to a final ratification of such treaties. To this ratification on the part of Athens have been referred the words of Pollux, where he says of the Thesmothetae: *καὶ τὰ σήμβολα τὰ πρὸς τὰς πόλεις κηρύσσου*, and Meier and Schömann therefore suppose that the treaty itself was referred to a board of Heliastic judges under the presidency of the Thesmothetae for final ratification,² the advantage to Athens being that after this process "the other state could have no power of revision and alteration." But is it to be supposed that the courts of Athens had the right to "revise and alter" a treaty with a foreign state after the other state had ratified it, and that Athens would have ventured to insist on any such right against Philip just after the peace of Philocrates? Or would Philip have dared to set up such a claim against Athens when he was asking her to make a treaty with him? If, on the other hand, only the right of final ratification is meant, with no power of revision, what was the great value of the right to either party, and why should the Athenian orator be so indignant at Philip for claiming it while he admitted that Athens regularly (*ὡςπερ ὁ νόμος κελεύει*) exercised it toward others? Why, above all, should he say that Philip claimed that "a

¹ Att. Proc. p. 776 (note 9).

² Poll. VIII. 63; Att. Proc. p. 775.

judgment of an Athenian court should be carried up to him for appeal"?)¹

If it was supposed that Philip would ratify the treaty before it was submitted to the Athenian court, it cannot be meant that he claimed the right to change his mind and withdraw his ratification, which would simply leave things as they were before the treaty was negotiated; if, on the other hand, he was not expected to ratify it previously, it cannot be meant that Athens claimed the right to cut him off from ratifying it before he would be bound by its provisions. In any case, the plot of Philip would have been a harmless one after the Athenian orator had once suspected and announced it.

The right to ratify a treaty last rather than first would not be considered a very valuable one by an honest state, and the demand for such a privilege would be in itself suspicious. But we have abundant knowledge of the manner in which ordinary Greek treaties were ratified, and we see that no such loose system of ratification as we are here considering was customary. The treaty made by Athens in 420 B. C. with Argos, Mantinea, and Elis provided for a ratification by a most solemn prescribed oath on the part of each state, the oath in Athens to be sworn by the whole Senate and the Magistrates, and to be administered by the Prytanes, and all the oaths to be renewed before certain great festivals. The treaty was, moreover, to be set up on stone tablets in each of the four contracting states, and in bronze at Olympia.² The ratification of the peace of Nicias in 421 B. C. was quite as formal.³ The peace of Philocrates in 346 B. C. was not sworn to by Philip until nearly three months after it was ratified at Athens; but this was in consequence of the criminal neglect of the embassy which Athens sent with strict orders to administer the oath to Philip without delay. It seems incredible that a state which was accustomed to such formal ratification of treaties can have deemed the right of ratifying such conventions as these *σύμβολα* last rather than first a matter of any great moment.

All these difficulties vanish when we refer the ratification in question to the judicial decisions given under the treaties, and not to the treaties themselves. We must then understand by *ταῦτα* in

¹ [Dem.] de Halon. § 9: ἐφέσιμον τὴν παρ' ἡμῶν γενομένην γινώσιν ὡς ἐαυτὸν ποιούμενος.

² Thuc. V. 47. ³ Thuc. V. 18.

§ 9 of the oration on Halonnesus *the decisions* to be given under the *σύμβολα* which Philip proposed. Philip claimed then the right to revise all judgments given under the proposed *σύμβολα* in the courts of Athens or in his own courts, and to annul any which he thought prejudicial to the rights of his subjects,¹ a right similar to that which Athens herself asserted. That this and no other was the meaning of the orator, is still more plain in what follows, when he gives the reasons why Philip makes the claim in question. When Philip took possession of Potidaea, many Athenian residents of that city lost their property; and Philip (as the orator thought) wanted to be safe against any claims for restitution of such property, which if they were allowed might weaken his title to the place itself. This point Philip expected to secure by retaining a personal right of revision of all suits between Athenians and Macedonians, which he thought would prevent all Athenians from bringing suits relating to Potidaea in any courts. Such a provision as Philip wanted would give him a more direct supervision of *δίκαι ἀπὸ συμβόλων* than he could possibly exercise over the local courts in his dominions, in one of which some Athenian might sue for the recovery of his lost estates were it not for the *σύμβολα*. The only other possible explanation of the orator's words, that Philip expected to smuggle some clause into the treaty itself recognizing his title to Potidaea or providing against suits to recover Athenian property there, and to effect this by having *the right to ratify the treaty last*, would seem too unlikely to be noticed if it were not a necessary part of the interpretation which has been discussed.

¹ The interpretation of *ταῦτα* here given is that of Reiske, Jakobs, and others, who are censured for it by Meier and Schömann, Att. Proc. p. 776 (note 9). It is certainly not free from objection, but is the only one possible if we reject that of Meier and Schömann as untenable. This gives the words *γνώσιν* and *ἐφέσιμον* their proper judicial meaning, which they cannot have in any other way, and also explains the words *ὡσπερ ὁ νόμος κελεύει* more naturally. The statement of Pollux (VIII. 63), that the Thesmothetae ratified *σύμβολα*, is obscure. If *σύμβολα* can refer (like *ταῦτα* in the former passage) to decisions given by foreign courts, the passage supplements *ἐπειδὴν ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ τῷ παρ ὑμῖν κυρωθῆ* in the oration on Halonnesus, showing that the Thesmothetae had the duty of examining such judgments and bringing before an Athenian court by which they thought required revision. If it must be referred to the treaties themselves, we must understand that the Thesmothetae were charged with laying before the proper authorities for ratification all such *σύμβολα* after they were negotiated. The connection of these words with the following, *καὶ δίκας τὰς ἀπὸ συμβόλων εἰσάγονσι*, i. e. *they have the presidency in the δίκαι ἀπὸ συμβόλων*, favors equally either interpretation.

III. Having seen what *δίκαι ἀπὸ συμβόλων* were, and that reciprocity between two independent states was their chief characteristic, we must now consider whether the *δίκαι συμβόλαια* of Thucyd. I. 77 are identical with them. The identity is supposed to be established, first, by the resemblance in the two expressions; secondly and chiefly, by the notice in Bekker's *Anecdota*: *Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ συμβόλων ἐδίκαζον τοῖς ὑπηκούοις· οὕτως Ἀριστοτέλης.*¹ Aristotle being thus made authority for calling the suits which Athens compelled her subjects to bring in her own courts *δίκαι ἀπὸ συμβόλων*, and the *δίκαι συμβόλαια* of Thucydides being at least a part of these very suits, the argument seems at first conclusive. Unfortunately, we do not have the precise words of Aristotle, and especially we do not know whether he used the word *ὑπηκούοις*. Pollux, who used Aristotle's work on the Constitution of Athens, is more likely to give his opinion when he says: *ἀπὸ συμβόλων δὲ, ὅτε οἱ σύμμαχοι ἐδίκαζοντο.*² If Aristotle used *σύμμαχοι*, the expression might be applied to the members of the second Athenian alliance,³ the one with which Aristotle was personally familiar; but he cannot have spoken of these as *ὑπήκοοι*. He may, however, have included under the general name *ὑπήκοοι* the whole body of allies and subjects who acknowledged the supremacy of imperial Athens in the time of Pericles. In the brief enumeration of these in Thucyd. II. 9, some of the most important states in the Athenian *ξυμμαχία* are not tributaries, but independent allies. Such are the Chians, Lesbians, Plataeans, and Messenians of Napactus, who are elsewhere described as *οἱ ἀπὸ ξυμμαχίας αὐτόνομοι*, as opposed to *ὑπήκοοι* and *φόρου ὑποτελεῖς*.⁴ With all these Athens might naturally have had *σύμβολα*, providing for more or less reciprocity, and to these the notices of the Grammarians may have referred. Before the greater part of the original members of the Delian confederacy had become subjects, the *δίκαι ἀπὸ συμβόλων* would have had a wider range. Before 440 B. C., they would have included Samos; and before the secession of Naxos, in 466 B. C. (or earlier), they may have extended to most of the maritime cities of the Aegean.⁵ It would have been a very different thing if the use of the same

¹ Bekk. *Anecd.* p. 436, 1. Hesychius, I. p. 489, has the same notice, without mentioning Aristotle.

² Poll. VIII. 63. ³ This is Grote's opinion: *Hist. of Greece*, VI. p. 59.

⁴ Thuc. VII. 57. See Boeckh, *Staatsh.* I. pp. 528–539 (Book III. § 16).

⁵ In Aesch. *Suppl.* 701 we have perhaps the oldest allusion to such suits: *ἔτινοι ἢ εὐσυμβόλους, πρὶν ἐξοπλίζειν Ἄρη, δίκας ἀτερ πημάτων δίδοιεν.*

name had been continued when the reciprocity which was the essential feature of the suits was forcibly removed and the whole relation was one-sided and compulsory; and it is hard to believe that Aristotle, even if he used the word *ὑπήκοοι* at all, meant to include this compulsory jurisdiction of the Athenian courts in his remark. If there was any such expression used in Athens, surely the sarcasm of the name would have been too strong for what Curtius calls its "euphemism."

One of the strongest proofs that there was no such usage is found in Antiphon *de Caede Herodis*, where the speaker says that his father, though preferring to live in Thrace, has not expatriated himself from Mytilene, like some who go and dwell on the mainland among the enemies of Athens, and *bring δίκαι ἀπὸ συμβόλων against Athenians*.¹ This last clause must mean that migrating from Lesbos, and living in a state not bound to Athens by any such close ties as those which the speaker (in his trying circumstances) wishes to represent as existing between conquered Mytilene and Athens, gave men in some way a power to bring *δίκαι ἀπὸ συμβόλων* which they did not have in Mytilene. It seems incredible that this can have been spoken in a suit which was itself classed with the *δίκαι ἀπὸ συμβόλων*.

But, it will be said, Thucydides confirms the common opinion by calling the suits of the allies tried at Athens, in spite of their compulsory nature, *δίκαι ξυμβόλαιαι*. Is then this expression equivalent to *δίκαι ἀπὸ ξυμβόλων*? Or are *δίκαι ξυμβόλαιαι* what the form seems to imply, *δίκαι* relating to *ξυμβόλαιαι*, *suits relating to contracts or business suits*? The latter is the opinion of both Boeckh and Grote; but the resemblance in form between *ξυμβόλαιαι* and *ἀπὸ ξυμβόλων* has carried almost all modern scholars to the other side. There are, however, two passages in Aristotle's *Politics*, never yet brought into this discussion, so far as I know, which seem to me to settle the meaning of *δίκαι ξυμβόλαιαι* in Thucydides and entirely to destroy the presumption created by the resemblance of the expression to *δίκαι ἀπὸ ξυμβόλων*. In *Pol. III. 1, 10*, Aristotle speaks of certain states in which the administration of justice is divided among different magistrates, "as in Sparta different Ephors judge in different kinds of business suits", which he calls *τὰς τῶν*

¹ Ὡσπερ ἑτέροισι ὄρω τοὺς μὲν εἰς τὴν ἡπειρον ἰόντας καὶ οἰκοῦντας ἐν τοῖς πολεμίοις τοῖς ἡμετέροις, καὶ δίκας ἀπὸ ξυμβόλων ὑμῖν δικάζομενοι. § 78. See Boeckh, *Staatsh.* I. p. 530 (note): see also Boeckh's remarks on the following words: οὐδὲ φείγων τὸ πλῆθος τὸ ἡμέτερον. There is nothing in *πολεμίοις* implying a state of active hostility to Athens, or anything inconsistent with the existence of *σύμβολα*.

συμβολαίων (sc. δίκας).¹ In Pol. II. 5, 11, where he is speaking of suits which arise from the unequal distribution of property, he says: λέγω δὲ δίκας τε πρὸς ἀλλήλους περὶ συμβολαίων καὶ ψευδμαρτυριῶν κρίσεις καὶ πλουσίων κολακείας. There is not the smallest doubt that αἱ τῶν συμβολαίων δίκαι and δίκαι περὶ συμβολαίων here both refer to suits between citizens of the same state relating to contracts, including probably most civil suits about property or business.² The former passage is in the same chapter with a distinct reference to δίκαι ἀπὸ συμβόλων, in which Aristotle says that the right to sue and to be sued does not constitute citizenship, for if it did it would give citizenship to those who have this right by treaty.³ This shows Aristotle's clear distinction between δίκαι ἀπὸ συμβόλων, *treaty-suits*, by which foreigners gain access to the courts of a state by special treaty, and αἱ τῶν συμβολαίων δίκαι, *business suits*, which may be between citizens of the same state (as, in the case above mentioned, between Spartans), or, like any other suits, between citizens of different states which use each other's courts. These passages may fairly be cited to offset the reference to Aristotle made by the unknown grammarian in Bekker's Anecdota. It seems to me that there can no longer be any doubt that αἱ ξυμβόλαιαι δίκαι in Thucydides means the same as αἱ τῶν συμβολαίων δίκαι in Aristotle, and refers to the whole mass of *business suits*—either between two citizens of the same subject state, or between citizens of different subject states, or between an Athenian and a citizen of a subject state—which were tried in the Athenian courts in the time of which the orator is speaking (432 B. C.).

To understand fully the passage of Thucydides,⁴ we must take it in connection with what precedes and what follows. The Athenian

¹ καὶ τὰς δίκας δικάζουσι κατὰ μέρος, οἷον ἐν Λακεδαιμόνι τὰς τῶν συμβολαίων δικάζει τῶν ἐφόρων ἄλλος ἄλλας.

² Susemihl translates τὰς τῶν συμβολαίων in Pol. III. 1, 10, "Civilsachen." Shilleto (note on Thuc. I. 77) asks: "Are not all δίκαι 'κατὰ ξυμβόλαια'?" In Demosth. in Zenoth. § 1 (p. 882, 5) we find: οἱ νόμοι κελεύουσι τὰς δίκας εἶναι τοῖς ναυκλήροις καὶ τοῖς ἐμπόροις τῶν Ἀθήναζε καὶ τῶν Ἀθήνηθεν συμβολαίων, i. e., *suits relating to money lent on goods to be taken from Athens or brought to Athens*, in which a certain class of δίκαι συμβολαίων is mentioned. See Meier and Schömann, Att. Proc. p. 539, 540.

³ Arist. Polit. III. 1, 4: οὐδ' οἱ τῶν δικαίων μετέχοντες οὕτως ὥστε καὶ δικρῆν ἐπέχειν καὶ δικάζεσθαι· τοῦτο γὰρ ὑπάρχει καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ συμβόλων κοινωνοῦσιν.

⁴ Thucyd. I. 76, 77: ἄλλους γ' ἂν οὖν οἰόμεθα τὰ ἡμέτερα λαβόντας δεῖξαι ἀν μάλαστα εἰ τι μετριάσομεν ἡμῖν δὲ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπιεικοῦς ἀδοξία τὸ πλεον ἢ ἐπαινος οὐκ εἰκότως περίσση. καὶ ἐλασσοίμενοι γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ξυμβολαίαις πρὸς τοὺς ξυμμάχους δίκας, καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἐν τοῖς ὁμοίοις νόμοις ποιήσαντες τὰς κρίσεις, φιλοδικεῖν δοκοῦμεν.

orator at Sparta has been praising the moderation of his country in her dealings with her subject allies, a moderation which (he says) has brought her more reproach than credit. "For even when we put ourselves at a disadvantage in business suits with our allies, and have such cases tried in our own courts under the same laws to which we ourselves are subject, we are thought to be fond of litigation." The orator mentions only business suits, partly because it was felt to be the greatest hardship to bring these suits to Athens, since both parties (if they were not Athenians) were compelled to take an expensive journey and often to be absent from home a long time; while it is unlikely (as has been shown above) that any criminal suits except the more important were carried from the subject states to the Athenian courts, and in these it was probably a matter of indifference to the accused where he was tried, as he had no expenses. But the chief reason for referring to civil suits with special emphasis is to be seen in *φιλοδικεῖν*. The charge of *loving litigation* was based chiefly on the profits which Athens received from having the civil suits of the allies tried in her courts; and Xenophon, who states the case with his usual severity against Athens, alludes only to these. He mentions first the court fees or *πρυτανεῖα*, which with rare exceptions were paid only in civil suits, but in these were paid for both plaintiff and defendant; secondly, the opportunities for protecting the friends of democracy and plundering aristocrats; then the gain in the customs duties, the profits of lodging-house keepers, of stable keepers, etc.¹ Of course the object of the orator in Thucydides is to represent Athens as rather a martyr to her sense of justice than an oppressor. He therefore refers especially to civil suits between Athenians and citizens of subject states, and speaks of the Athenians as "putting themselves at a disadvantage" by allowing such cases to be fairly tried by Athenian laws, thus often exposing themselves to danger of losing their suits, whereas, instead of running this risk for the sake of doing impartial justice, they might settle such cases through Athenian governors without judge or jury. He implies that Sparta would have solved the problem in a much simpler way, and much less to the satisfaction of the allies, and says: *καὶ οὐδείς σκοπεῖ αὐτῶν, τοῖς καὶ ἄλλοθὶ πρὸς ἀρχὴν ἔχουσι καὶ ἴσσουν ἡμῶν πρὸς τοὺς ὑπηκόους μετρίους οὖσι, διότι τοῦτο οὐκ ὀνειδίζεται βιάζεσθαι γὰρ οἷς ἂν ἐξῆ, δικάζεσθαι οὐδὲν προσδέονται.*

¹ See the whole passage in Xen. *de Repub. Athen.* I. 16-18.

II.—TWO GERMAN SCHOLARS ON ONE OF GOETHE'S MASQUERADES.

Goethes "Jahrmarktsfest zu Plundersweilern," von W. WILMANN'S, Ein Abdruck aus dem XLII Bande der Preussischen Jahrbücher. Berlin: G. Reimer.

"Jahrmarktsfest zu Plundersweilern," Ein Capitel in "Aus Goethes Frühzeit," von WILHELM SCHERER. Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner. 1879.

By the publication of the three volumes, entitled "Der junge Goethe," in 1875, the study of Goethe's youth was greatly quickened. What was before accessible to but few in the manuscripts and documents of Hirzel was laid open to all the admirers of Goethe. It became even more clear than what a period of luxurious growth and blossoming his youth was, and through how great and how many changes some of his more perfect poems and even larger works had passed. Precious letters, clearing up doubtful relations, are in the collection and his first contributions to the journals of his time. Through the aid of these volumes the "poetry and truth" of his Autobiography have become more clearly distinguished. It may be doubted if from the youth of any other great poet we have such an abundance of productions. But if these books made an epoch in Goethe-study, they are so rich in materials that much in them needs further explanation and elucidation.

Among the dramas in the third volume is "Das Jahrmarktsfest zu Plundersweilern," a masquerade, which appears in the ordinary editions of Goethe's works in an enlarged and quite different form, though the Hempel edition presents the original version. Goethe's own mention of this piece in the "Wahrheit und Dichtung" gives it a peculiar interest. He has been speaking of the effects of the "Werther" in bringing him into publicity and causing him to become a lion to the detriment of the quiet composition that he had hoped to carry on. He proceeds: "Yet more than by all the distractions of the day, the author was kept from the elaboration and completion of greater works by the taste then prevalent in this society for *dramatizing* everything of importance which occurred in actual life. What that technical expression (for such it was in our inventive society) really meant shall here be

explained. Excited by intellectual meetings on days of hilarity, we were accustomed in short extemporary performances to communicate in fragments all the materials we had collected toward the formation of larger compositions. One single, simple incident, a pleasantly naïve or even silly word, a blunder, a paradox, a clever remark, personal irregularities or habits, nay, a peculiar expression and whatever else would occur in a gay and bustling life, took the form of a dialogue, a catechism, a passing scene or a drama—often in prose, but oftener in verse.

“By this practice, carried on with genial passion, the really poetic mode of thought was established. We allowed objects, events, persons to stand for themselves in all their bearings, our only endeavor being to comprehend them clearly and exhibit them vividly. Every expression of approbation or disapprobation was to pass in living forms before the eyes of the spectator. These productions might be called animated epigrams, which, though without edges or points, were richly furnished with marked and striking features. The ‘Jahrmachtsfest’ (Fair-festival) is an epigram of this kind, or rather a collection of epigrams. All the characters there introduced are meant for actual, living members of that society, or for persons at least connected and in some degree known to it; but the meaning of the riddle remained concealed to the greater part; all laughed and few knew that their own marked peculiarities served as the jest.”¹

“Die Pasquinaden die er gemacht hat,” writes Merck of Goethe to Nicolai in 1774, “sind aus unserem Cirkel in Darmstadt und alle Personen sind Gottlob so unberühmt und unbedeutend dass sie niemand erkennen würde.”²

It has long been supposed that Leuchsenring was the Mordecai of this play. But the other characters had not been deciphered until Wilmanns in Vol. XLII of the “Preussische Jahrbücher” made the successful attempt to ascertain the originals for some of the other parts. This year (1879) Scherer, in the volume “Aus Goethes Frühzeit,” has published an essay containing his views on the piece. He takes the work of Wilmanns for a foundation, and while in some cases he approves and extends Wilmanns’ views, in other matters he quite disagrees with his predecessor. By the light of these two essays what was before an amusing and clever farce becomes

¹ Goethe’s Autobiography, Oxenford’s translation, Vol. I, pp. 517, 518.

² Zimmermann’s Merck, p. 33.

highly ingenious and furnishes instruction not merely in regard to the action of Goethe's prolific mind, but also in regard to his real opinion of some of the *littérateurs* by whom he was surrounded.

But the essays are further valuable as illustrating the work of two of Germany's greatest scholars. Both gentlemen are professors of Germanic studies. Scherer is characterized by an almost exhaustless knowledge of details, whether in grammar, dialects, ancient languages or literary history. He is, moreover, brilliant and suggestive, and certain performances of his, like that on "Lautverschiebung" in his "Geschichte der deutschen Sprache," are bewildering to an ordinary mind. Wilmanns is soberer in movement, though very bold in conception, and a scholar of consummate sagacity. If not equal to Scherer in the knowledge of details, the unity with which he makes all the known phenomena march according to his conception, and converge to a single end, elicits even from his adversaries admiration and applause. His work on the "Gudrun," published in 1874, was a masterpiece of literary constructive ability. His book on the "Nibelungenlied," published in 1876, is still furnishing food for the digestion of the Unitarians, as late numbers of the "Germania" attest. These two scholars belong to the same school. They are followers of Lachmann, though not blindly devoted to his tenets, as were two or three of his earlier adherents. Like Lachmann, they unite the love of letters with the analysis of words. As Lachmann, who won his earliest laurels in the study of Propertius, put his countrymen under lasting obligations by his faithful edition of Lessing, these scholars do not pursue exclusively the studies of ancient or mediæval grammar and rhythm, but contribute of their time and gifts to the elucidation of the masters of modern German. Independently, then, of that interest that attaches to every work of Goethe's youth, the opinions of these eminent scholars with regard to the allusions in this farce to the better known persons in the Darmstadt circle may have value for American students of Goethe.

It became known soon after the publication of "Pater Brey," that Goethe's intention in that piece was to satirize Leuchsenring in the character bearing the title of the play; in fact, the explanation of the piece in "Wahrheit und Dichtung" would at least suggest Leuchsenring as "the tender and soft specimen" aimed at. Now it is by a comparison of the part of Mordecai in the "Jahrmarktsfest" with the words of Pater Brey that the identity of these two characters becomes sure. I quote here the tragedy which forms,

as it were, the heart of the "Jahrmarktsfest," and, as will later appear, contains a main part of the satire, if we may believe the letter of Caroline Flachsland, written in April, 1773, which says "that Goethe has recently sent hither a fair in verses to pay court to Herr Merck and exhibit in it Leuchsenring's character."

ACT I.

(Der Vorhang hebt sich. Man sieht den Galgen in der Ferne.)

KAISER AHASVERUS. HAMAN.

HAMAN.

Gnädger König Herr und Fürst,
 Du mir es nicht verargen wirst,
 Wenn ich an deinem Geburtstag
 Dir beschwerlich bin mit Verdruss und Klag.
 5 Es will mir aber das Herz abfressen,
 Kann weder schlafen, noch trinken, noch essen.
 Du weist, wie viel es uns Mühe gemacht,
 Bis wir es haben so weit gebracht,
 An Herrn Christum nicht zu glauben mehr,
 10 Wie's thut das grosse Pöbelheer;
 Wir haben endlich erfunden klug,
 Die Bibel sey ein schlechtes Buch,
 Und sey im Grund nicht mehr daran
 Als an den Kindern Haimon.
 15 Darob wir denn nun jubiliren
 Und herzliches Mitleiden spüren
 Mit dem armen Schelmenhaufen,
 Die noch zu unserm Herrgott laufen.
 Aber wir wollen sie bald belehren
 20 Und zum Unglauben sie bekehren
 Und lassen sie sich 'wa nicht weisen
 So sollen sie alle Teufel zerreißen.

AHASVERUS.

In so fern ist mirs einerley,
 Doch brauchts all, dünkt mich, nicht's Geschrey.
 25 Lasst sie am Sonnenlicht sich vergnügen,
 Fleissig bei ihren Weibern liegen,
 Damit wir tapfere Kinder kriegen.

HAMAN.

schüte Gott, Ihre Majestät,
 was leidt sein Lebtag kein Prophet.

- 30 Doch wären die noch zu bekehren.
 Aber die leidigen Irrlehren,
 Der Empfindsamen aus Judæa
 Sind mir zum theuren Aerger da.
 Was hilfts, dass wir Religion
 35 Gestossen vom Tyrannenthron,
 Wenn die Kerls ihren neuen Götzen
 Oben auf die Trümmer setzen.
 Religion, Empfindsamkeit;
 's ein Dreck, ist lang wie breit.
 40 Müssen das all exterminiren;
 Nur die Vernunft, die soll uns führen.
 Ihr himmlisch klares Angesicht,

AHASVERUS.

- Hat auch dafür keine Waden nicht.
 Wollen's ein andermal besehen.
 45 Beliebt mir jetzt zu Bett zu gehen.

HAMAN.

Wünsch Euro Majestät geruhige Nacht.

ACT II.

DIE KÖNIGINN ESTHER. MARDOCHAI.

ESTHER.

Ich bitt euch, lasst mich ungeplagt.

MARDOCHAI.

- Hätt's gern zum letztenmal gesagt;
 Wem aber am Herzen thut liegen,
 50 Die Menschen in einander zu fügen
 Wie Krebs und Kalbfleisch in ein Ragu
 Und eine wohlschmeckende Sauce dazu.
 Kann unmöglich gleichgültig seyn
 Zu sehen, die Heiden wie die Schwein
 55 Und unser Lämmelein Häuflein zart
 Durcheinander lauffen nach ihrer Art.
 Möcht' all sie gern modifiziren,
 Die Schwein zu Lämmern rektifiziren
 Und ein ganzes draus combiniren,
 60 Dass die Gemeine zu Corinthus
 Und Rom, Coloss und Ephesus
 Und Herrenhut und Herrenhag
 Davor bestünde mit Schand und Schmach.
 Da ist es nun an dir, o Frau,

65 Dich zu machen an die Königssaal,
 Und seiner Borsten harten Straas
 Zu kehren in Lämmleins Wolle kraas.
 Ich geh aber im Land auf und nieder,
 Caper' immer neue Schwestern und Brüder,
 70 Und gläubige sie alle r-zammen
 Mit Hämmeleins Lämmleins Liebesflammen.
 Geh dann davon in stiller Nacht,
 Als hätt ich in das Bett gemacht.
 Die Mägdlein haben mir immer Dank;
 75 Ists nicht Geruch, so ist's Gestank.

ESTHER.

Mein Gemahl ist wohl schon eingeschlaffen;
 Läg lieber mit einem von euren Schaafen.
 Indessen, kann's nicht anders seyn
 Ist's nicht ein Schaaf, so ist's ein Schwein.

With verses 57 ff. in this tragedy Wilmanns compares the following lines from "Pater Brey:":

"Da muss alles calculirt sein,
 Da darf kein einzig Geschöpf hinein;
 Mäus' und Ratten, Flöh und Wanzen
 Müssen alle beytragen zum Ganzen."

Both passages reveal the same "well-arranged plan for the improvement of the world." The use, too, of the word "Schwein" by both characters to denominate the *ignobile vulgus* who had not yet come into the alliance of enlightening sentimentalism is noteworthy, and points directly to the same person. By Mordecai there can be no doubt that Leuchsenring is represented. In attempting to decipher the other characters the question arises, what is the meaning of this little burlesque tragedy? It seems to be that, in spite of the rationalizing zeal of the men of intellect and the vast projects for amelioration devised by the men of sentiment, the world will go on in its old way. But who are the characters thus united and what are their affinities?

There are two groups, each composed of two persons, introduced as biblical characters, the monarch Ahasuerus and his minister Haman; the queen Esther and the rescuing Mordecai. The biblical issue is certainly wanting, but some sort of biblical affinity in the grouping and relations must be looked for.

To understand clearly the affinities, we must first answer the question, who was Leuchsenring. Besides what can be found in regard to him in the early part of the thirteenth book of "Wahrheit und Dichtung," it may be stated that he belonged to the Darmstadt circle, had travelled with members of the princely family, was a man of some medical knowledge and extensive acquaintance with literary people, who had everywhere, particularly by his influence with women, come to be of considerable importance. A quotation from a letter of Fritz Jacobi to his friend Garve, written in 1786, but describing Leuchsenring as he was eighteen years before, may be introduced here as throwing fuller light on his mind and projects. "At that time," viz., in 1768, writes Jacobi, "he wished to establish a secret order of sensibility, lived and moved in correspondences, and was always loaded with letter-cases from which he read aloud. . . . To transform an entire quarter of the globe appeared to him a trifle, if he could find a hearing with some one or other, or even only possessed money enough, or could get it as a loan. Can anything be more comprehensible than the hypothesis of secret Jesuitism in the head of such a whimsical creature with the liveliest conviction that he was not mistaken in his conjectures? But can, on the other hand, anything be more laughable than the cry of universal, pressing danger at the word of such a being?" It almost seems as if Jacobi had in mind, when writing this letter, not his own personal recollections of Leuchsenring, but the words which Goethe assigns the Hauptmann in regard to him in "Pater Brey:"

Er denkt er trägt die welt auf'm Rücken.
Fäng' er uns nur einweil die Mücken!

At all events, with the character which this letter describes, the ideas of Mordecai in the tragedy perfectly correspond.

It is clear that some sort of an antagonism must and does exist between Mordecai and Haman. If the former would establish a new sect, vast and universal, the latter would destroy all sects and introduce a reign of reason, and apparently the very "Empfindung" on which Mordecai would found a new order is the "new idol" that Haman would dethrone. As Leuchsenring is represented in "Wahrheit und Dichtung" in the passage already alluded to as opposed and exposed in his pretentious vanity by Merck, and as it is known from contemporary letters that hostility existed between the two men from about that time, Wilmanns conjectures that the

situation in the tragedy depicts the relations of the parties at the house of the La Roches during Goethe's visit there just after leaving Wetzlar, which visit is described in the above-mentioned passage of the Autobiography.

In other words, La Roche is Ahasuerus, Haman is Merck, Esther is Frau von La Roche. In the passage it is expressly related that after Merck arrived at Ehrenbreitstein, whither Goethe had preceded him, new affinities arose; "for while the two ladies approached each other, Merck had come into closer contact with Herr von La Roche. . . . The daughters, of whom the eldest soon particularly attracted me, fell to my share."

Here we have the group of the first part of the tragedy, Haman-Merck and Ahasuerus-La Roche. But where is Leuchsenring? It can hardly be doubted where, as he uniformly followed the ladies. He is so represented in "Pater Brey," and the hostess is in the tragedy represented by Esther according to Wilmanns' view. Why he selects her for Esther rather than Frau Merck rests perhaps primarily on his conception of Ahasuerus. But Frau von La Roche showed herself keenly "empfindsam" in her novels, especially in her renowned story, "Fräulein von Sternheim," whose history is that of Frau von La Roche herself.¹ Frau von La Roche and Leuchsenring seem thus to belong together, and though Esther neither falls in with Mordecai's plan nor Ahasuerus with that of Haman, there is an affinity indicated by the grouping. That Leuchsenring and Frau Merck were ardent friends might be adduced as a reason for regarding Esther as Frau Merck, if any valid reason existed for excluding Frau von La Roche from a leading part. On the contrary it would seem singular, if the Ehrenbreitstein relations at the time of that visit underlie the tragedy, that Herr von La Roche should be a character, and Frau von La Roche omitted. The biblical affinities are thus maintained, and although the shafts aimed at both Haman and Mordecai are coarse and the satire is subtle and, as far as Mordecai is concerned,

It ought to be noted that it was Merck's influence and Goethe's feeling toward Leuchsenring. Up to this Ehrenbreitstein in 1772, he had been entertained by Leuchsenring and cherished a certain respect for him. Here in the tragedy Goethe makes free with Merck, according to Wilmanns, and shows a certain rationalizing zeal, but it is not hard to see that the

¹Goethe's Autobiography, that book may be here quoted: "Alle die Herren irren sich, sie beurtheilen ein Buch—es ist eine Menschenseele."

piece might in a certain sense, in view of the sharper satire of Leuchsenring, be said to "pay court to Merck." This expression from Caroline Flachsland in regard to the play is unintelligible to Wilmanns, while Scherer explains it by supposing that Ahasuerus represents Merck, and that the work was sent to Darmstadt (the tragedy signalizes Ahasuerus' birthday) as a birthday compliment to Merck. It was sent in, or just before, April, 1773, and Merck's birthday is said to have been early in this month.

Scherer's reasoning for reversing the parts in the first act of the tragedy is as follows: In the first place he mentions Wilmanns' quotation from Goethe in regard to Herr von La Roche's "unveröhnlichen Hass gegen das Pfaffenthum." He had published some vigorous letters in regard to monachism. "Is not Haman's part involving a hatred of priestcraft more in accordance with La Roche's than Merck's notions?" Scherer would seem to ask.

In the second place he asks, "Where does Wilmanns find proof for the proselyting rationalism of Merck?" The entire issue of the "Frankfurter Gelehrten Anzeigen," for 1772, when Merck edited it, protests against such rationalism, and Herder pays Merck's own contributions the compliment that "he was always in them Socrates-Addison." As a proof of the freedom of the journal under Merck's editorship from rationalizing tendencies, Scherer cites a review of Damm's "Vom historischen Glauben." This was a decidedly rationalizing book. The author puts the divine authority of the Bible under the critical examination of the sound reason, and says, "one can never appeal to the Bible in defiance of the sound reason; the sound reason is rather the judge in regard to those human writings." Scherer quotes the following interesting passage from the criticism of the book: "Welchen Namen soll man diesem menschenfeindlichen Eifer gehen? Sie' sehen bey Brahmanen, Schamanen, Gebern, und Sinesen überall die Fäden der Wahrheit durch die sonderbare Textur ihrer Religion durchziehen und nur bei uns erkennen sie sie nicht in dem Vorhang des Allerheiligsten. Sie sagen und beweisen uns, dass dieser Baum des Erkenntnisses durch so mancherlei Jahrhunderte und Sekten und Dogmen und Concilien habe müssen verschnitten, angebunden, ausgeputzt, gezogen, genährt und gepflegt werden, bis er in dieser Gestalt erschienen sei. Und ist er nun auf einmal so alt oder hat er nicht vielmehr jetzo das Alter, das er nach so vielen Veränderungen haben müsste und sollte?"

¹ Such as the author.

. . . Wer seine Brüder liebt und den Lauf der Welt ein wenig kennt, der wird fühlen dass man mehr zum Wohl des Ganzen beiträgt wenn man sein eigen Feld im Frieden baut, ohne Projecte fürs allgemeine Wohl zu machen, und in allem Jahreszeit und Witterung abwartet." Not a very religious protest one might say. Simply "let well enough alone," something like "das ewige gelten lassen, das leben und leben lassen," which, in Goethe's character, was to Merck "an abomination." But between this passage and Ahasuerus' utterances in the tragedy there is certainly a closer affinity than between this and Haman's intolerant rationalism. And without doubt one must admit Scherer's implication that the sentiments of Merck's editing are fairly represented by this passage. But how can one account for a remark in a letter¹ of Sophie La Roche to Merck that "he ought not to have suffered that in the very first leaves of the journal nuns and priests should be attacked; it had offended some persons"? Possibly the two views are to be reconciled by assuming that at first Merck gave his own ideas freer rein, and learned by experience that a more careful regard for existing institutions, religious and other, would conduce to the prosperity of the journal. The newspaper editor wanted even then, first and foremost, circulation. Merck was a business man, and it is not very averse to the traditional opinion in regard to him to suppose that on more than one occasion, when sending copy to his printers, he may have thrust his tongue into his cheek.

It is fairly legitimate for one who holds firmly to the hypothesis that more of Merck than of any other person underlies the Mephistopheles in "Faust," to adduce here, as confirmatory of the view that Wilmanns advances in regard to Merck's rationalism, the rage and jests of Mephistopheles over the rapacity of the church, as he walks with Faust, after Margaret's mother has handed to the priest the first jewelry supplied by the tempter.

It is not improbable that these humorous but profound words,

Die Kirche hat einen guten Magen,
 Hat ganze Länder aufgefressen;
 Und doch noch nie sich übergessen;
 Die Kirch' allein, meine lieben Frauen,
 Kann ungerechtes Gut verdauen,

were suggested by some bitter sarcasm from Merck himself.

¹ This remark is quoted in Zimmermann's Merck, p. 133, from the first collection of Merck's Letters, Darmstadt, 1835. I have verified the quotation.

The more closely the relations in the tragedy are assumed to answer to the little comedy at Ehrenbreitstein, which, after Merck's arrival, was soon played out, the more natural would seem to be a direct antagonism between Mordecai and Haman. As it was Merck who really opened Goethe's eyes to the character of this sentimental adventurer, and as between Merck and Leuchsenring the antagonism was most decided and became permanent, the Ehrenbreitstein relations seem to answer to Wilmanns' argument. The words of Haman,

Aber die leidigen Irrlehren,
Der Empfindsamen aus Judæa
Sind mir zum theuren Aerger da.
Was hilfts, dass wir Religion
Gestossen vom Tyrannenthron,
Wenn die Kerls ihren neuen Götzen
Oben auf die Trümmer setzen.
Religion, Empfindsamkeit;
's ein Dreck, ist lang wie breit.
Müssen das all exterminiren;

refer, as has been said, to the new order of the "Empfindsamkeit" that Leuchsenring proposed to establish. La Roche, to be sure, laughed at the letters of the fraternity that the founder drew forth from his exhaustless treasury, but Merck regarded them and their porter as detestable. It is an ingenious suggestion by Wilmanns that the concluding words of Mordecai that "the girls will thank him for it," may be an allusion to a sudden departure by Leuchsenring from the house of the La Roches, and that they thank him for withdrawing and thus putting an end to a quarrel.

The reference of Esther to Frau Merck which naturally follows Scherer's view of Ahasuerus, seems to violate the propriety of the situation. Apart from the culture and elegance of Frau von La Roche, of which contemporaneous letters are full, and which would adapt her for the rôle that one would expect from Esther (in regard to Frau Merck comparatively little is known, and that little gives a painful impression of the domestic relations of the Mercks), might not the host and hostess fitly have the places which in the tragedy Wilmanns assigns them? It would seem that the inference should be back from Esther's prototype to that of Ahasuerus, rather than forward to her from him, as Frau von La Roche is too important a figure in the circle not to receive a rôle in some way significant.

On a point of such nicety, where two eminent scholars disagree, it may not be safe to have an opinion. If the preference here seems to be with Wilmanns in the exposition of the tragedy, there are undoubtedly points in the analysis of other parts of the play where Scherer's knowledge of details has helped him to a nicer exactness. Few readers would need to wait for Scherer's minute unfolding of obscure personal relations in order to agree to his objection to the repeated assignment of several characters in the masquerade to one person. It is barely possible that Goethe himself should be represented, not merely by the Doctor, but also by the Tyroler, the Nürnberger and the Zigeunerbursch, though he is undoubtedly behind the latter. It is not probable that Christian Heinrich Schmid, whose acquaintance Goethe made in 1772, as is deliciously described in the latter part of the twelfth book of the Autobiography, is behind any other character than the Marktschreyer, whose deference for Doctor-Goethe aptly represents the parasitic character of Schmid's relation to German literature. This sagacious explanation by Wilmanns of the Marktschreyer is approved by Scherer, as is also the reference of the Zigeunerhauptmann to Herder.

To ascertain the resultant of the various influences which Herder exercised upon Goethe is one of the most difficult puzzles in connection with this many-sided man. But in the piece before us the testimony is pretty clear. The main passage from the masquerade is the conversation between the Zigeunerhauptmann and the Zigeunerbursch:

ZIGEUNERHAUPTMANN.

Lumpen und Quark
Der ganze Mark.

ZIGEUNERBURSCH.

Die Pistolen
Möcht ich mir holen.

ZIGEUNERHAUPTMANN.

Sind nicht den Teufel werth.
Weitmäuligte Laffen
Feilschen und gaffen,
Gaffen und kauffen.
Bestienhauffen,
Kinder und Fratzen,
Affen und Katzen!

Mögt all das Zeug nicht,
Wenn ichs geschenkt kriegt.
Dürft ich nur über sie!

ZIGEUNERBURSCH.

Wetter! wir wollten sie

ZIGEUNERHAUPTMANN.

Wollten sie zausen,

ZIGEUNERBURSCH.

Wollten sie lausen.

ZIGEUNERHAUPTMANN.

Mit zwanzig Mann
Mein wär der Kram.

ZIGEUNERBURSCH.

Wär wohl der Mühe werth.

There can be no doubt that the Zigeunerhauptmann is Herder, and as little that the Zigeunerbursch represents Goethe. Here we find Goethe recognizing the great talents of Herder and his superiority to the common literary men of his time; recognizing also his ability and right to assault and rout the entire sickly brood. We find Goethe also expressing his own willingness to be a humble adjutant to so great a captain. One is at once reminded of the letter of Goethe (quoted by Grimm in his account of Herder's relation to "Götz von Berlichingen," and quoted in this connection by Wilmanns), in which Goethe compares himself to Georg and Herder to Götz. "Der Junge im Küras wollte zu früh mit und Ihr reitet zu schnell." Yet Herder is here a gypsy-captain. There is something bold and noble in him, but a wild flavor, a touch of communism, an Ishmaelish Rousseauism. But Goethe is ready to follow him. In the "Pater Brey," too, Herder is a captain of dragoons, a reformer, but brought into contrast with Pater Brey-Leuchsenring, he represents a more orderly and rational antagonism to a seductive sentimentalism, and warns maidens against the dangers of a too familiar priesthood. Soldier and reformer in both pieces, he receives Goethe's respectful homage.

But Scherer, who admits the typified relation between Goethe and Herder here expressed by the Zigeunerhauptmann and the

Zigeunerbursch, believes that Goethe satirizes Herder in "Satyros," and Grimm conjectures that he is the original Mephistopheles. This conjecture of Grimm's Scherer, even after his clever and learned argument for the reference of "Satyros" to Herder for the original, corrects to a supposition that Herder *with others* furnished elements for the Mephistopheles, a very different and a very probable supposition. Can the variance between Goethe and Herder, lasting from the spring of 1773 to January, 1775, account for the presentation in "Satyros," so utterly unlike that in the "Jahrmarktsfest" and "Pater Brey"? It is a question worthy of serious consideration. Is it not possible that Goethe in "Satyros" satirizes himself, and gives to the passion, so ingrained in his nature, to bewilder and mystify his readers, its fullest scope?

Behind the Milchmädchen in the "Jahrmarktsfest" Wilmanns discerns and Scherer agrees with him in discerning Caroline Flachsland, Herder's betrothed. Wilmanns refers the purchase of the ring from the Marktschreyer-Schmid by the Zigeunerhauptmann for Caroline to a recommendation by Herder of Otway's "Orphan," published in a poor translation under Schmid's auspices. Herder alluded in a letter to Caroline to the piece and its indelicacy, but spoke glowingly of the character Monima. The modest Caroline failed to refer to the piece in her later letters to Herder, and the Darmstadt circle made merry over the *faux pas* of the gypsy-reformer. Scherer considers the purchase of the ring as an allusion to the protracted engagement between Herder and Caroline. The reader can take his choice between these interpretations. Caroline does not appear to have been a person of profound insight, and the expression "man sieht sich an den sieben Sachen blind," is said by Scherer to characterize aptly her "uncritical admiration," which gushed forth on every occasion.

The ordinary assignment¹ of parts in "Pater Brey" also includes Caroline Flachsland, who is said to be represented by Leonora. As has already been stated, Balandrino is Herder and the Würztemer is believed to stand for Merck. It would be strange if this assignment of parts had no influence in suggesting to Wilmanns Merck as behind Haman, which suggestion it favors, since the Würztemer is hostile to Pater Brey, as Haman is to Mordecai.

Schattenspielmann is Wieland according to Scherer. Wilmanns had already noticed that the Mercurius at the end of the Würztemer's harangue must be Wieland's journal, the

¹ Goedeke, Vol. II, p. 718.

"Mercur," but he found in the pleonastic "sie" of the showman's language a probable but unintelligible reference to some definite person. Scherer thinks Goethe only intended to represent the manner in which a real showman of romantic nationality would mangle German. Perhaps the affected romanticism of Wieland was satirized by this comical repetition. Certainly Scherer's reference of the showman's demand for darkness in order that his magic lantern may undimmed send forth its rays, to the boasting assumption in Wieland's preface to the "Mercur" that his periodical would furnish by its reviews a great light in the darkness of German criticism, is apt, and gives probability to the idea that the facile Wieland was indeed the showman of the piece.

The analysis of the other characters reveals less well-known personages, and the evidence for the application is not always convincing. But if the farce with these explanations becomes to us full of the brightness and vigor of a great mind at play, what must have been the delight with which the initiated few, Merck and Frau von La Roche for instance, noted the sharpness of the hits (many of which are lost even for the great critics whom we have followed) and discerned the skill with which they themselves and other well-known personages were woven into a somewhat organic whole. How instructive the piece becomes under the analysis of these German scholars in regard to Goethe's mental processes in composition, for we are dealing here not merely with a phase, but also with a tendency, and what a hope it inspires that, when by and by the secrets of the Goethe-house are accessible, other and nobler creations of Goethe, as yet unknown in their genesis, will disclose the roots of their being! We shall then admire the characters no less, but the master still more, as it becomes more plain that nothing in human nature of sweetness, or grandeur, or ugliness escaped his searching eye; that the most diverse elements were happily united in his poetical fabrics; that his characters are so near and dear, because he ruled nature and transmuted the sweets of her every flower into honey for the cold, dull winters of a more prosaic time.

FRANKLIN CARTER.

III. —GEDDES' PROBLEM OF THE HOMERIC POEMS.

It would seem almost impossible to invent a new theory in regard to the Homeric poems. The line which stretches from Lachmann at one extreme to Nitzsch and Mure at the other, seems to have the different theories set on it so closely side by side and shaded so nicely into one another, that it would be impossible to get a foothold on it, to devise a new combination of the old elements which should differ perceptibly from all its predecessors. There is, of course, no shadow of a chance of any new element in the question. The traditions in ancient literature, the probabilities suggested by the poems themselves, the indications of the mental state of the Greeks in the Homeric period—all these have been hunted out, combined and re-combined, doubted and defended, until they must have yielded their last drop of information. One might almost as well hope to discover a lost classical author in palimpsest or papyrus, as to find in any known writing a passage referring to Homer that has hitherto escaped notice, or to contrive a plausible theory as to the origin of the poems that will not outrage the prejudice of some German scholar. Yet here we have this very thing done by a daring Scotchman. Here is a tangible book, published in the year 1878, which propounds a theory of the origin of the poems which has never before, we believe, been suggested by any man. Such a phenomenon deserves attention, and every one interested in Homer must feel challenged to the attempt to show in the same volume why the book offers him the idle whims of a pretense or another plausible theory, or the long-sought truth itself.

The theory advanced by Professor Geddes is, essentially, an extension of the hypothesis of Lachmann in the second volume of his *History of the Homeric Poems*, in which he takes and the concession is, however, that it is not a new theory, but a new independent one, which is not a mere extension of the earlier in order to make it more plausible, but a new one, and there is a natural

It is a book of 100 pages, published by Messrs. G. & J. Chapman, 25, Abchurch Lane, London, E.C. 4, in the year 1878.

connection between the two, and since the small end of a wedge ought generally to be put in first, it is better to state briefly Grote's theory and his arguments in defense of it, before we discuss our proper subject. The Iliad, he held, is an enlargement of a much shorter original, which, from its subject, would properly be called an Achilleid. This original poem consisted of Books I, VIII, XI-XXII, inclusive, and was confined in its subject to the wrath of Achilles, describing its cause, its consequences to himself and the Greeks, and its end, with the killing of Hektor by him as a natural sequel to the death of Patroklos. The added Books, II-VII, IX, X, XXIII and XXIV, describing the achievements of other heroes in the absence of Achilles, the embassy to him, the funeral games in honor of Patroklos, and the ransoming of Hektor's body, converted the Achilleid into an Iliad, that is, into a poem on certain incidents of the Trojan war, having the wrath of Achilles as its centre but not as its exclusive topic. There are, of course, no external arguments for this theory, or it would long ago have been propounded by some one else. The internal arguments upon which Grote rested it are drawn not from the linguistic features, nor from the poetic quality of the different books, but from the subject-matter. The promise of Zeus to Thetis given in the first book, that the Greeks should suffer in the war until the wrong done to Achilles was fully avenged, does not begin to be fulfilled, nor in any way to influence the course of events until the eighth book. There are difficulties in the story, awkwardnesses which seem to betray the putting in of a new piece upon old stuff, at both ends of the supposed addition, at the beginning of the second and at the end of the seventh book. The embassy sent to Achilles in the ninth book to offer him abundant compensation for the injury to his honor, which offer he indignantly rejects, is never referred to in the subsequent books, though several occasions for reference to it arise. These are the principal reasons which Grote assigns for regarding books II-VII and IX as additions to the original poem. It will be seen at once that they belong rather to the old-fashioned school of literary criticism than to the modern German method of scholarship. He treats the Homeric poems almost as one would treat Virgil or Milton, as if they were the work of one poet in a literary age, when books abounded, and the idea of authorship was well defined and familiar. That may, of course, be the proper and legitimate way of treating them, but we must admit that it is regarded by most German Homeric scholars of the present day as a fundamental error.

We find ourselves in somewhat the same atmosphere in reading Professor Geddes' book, although it must be confessed that in minute study and laborious gathering of particulars he is hardly surpassed by any German scholar. Still his theory makes almost the same division of the Iliad that Grote's does, and the arguments in support of it belong to the same general class. If it is assumed that one poet wrote one great portion of the Iliad and another the remainder, then it is natural to find in each portion views of the gods, of society, of nature, and of single characters, forms of expression and turns of thought, which do not occur in the other. This is the substance of Mr. Geddes' book, although, as he tells us, the process was in fact the reverse of what is stated above, and it was the observation of different views current in the different portions which suggested the difference of authorship. Still the whole theory implies such a conception of the origin of the poems as we have ventured to call old-fashioned. But it is time to state more precisely what the new theory is.

We have said that it makes nearly the same division of the Iliad that Grote proposed. Grote rejected from his original Achilleid Books II-VII, IX, X, and possibly also XXIII and XXIV. In addition to these Geddes rejects the speech of Nestor in XI (670-806), the description of the shield in XVIII, and the last hundred lines or so, all that follow the death of Hektor, in XXII. He goes through the poems with a series of tests, and with each one finds these portions of the Iliad differing from the rest and agreeing with the Odyssey. All these parts of the Iliad, then, he regards as an addition made by the same poet who wrote the Odyssey, and so he calls them the Ulyssean books, the rest being the Achillean. After this he endeavors to establish by somewhat similar internal evidence where this later poet lived, whom he regards as the true Homer, the person to whom the name and the traditions attached to it rightly belong. This opinion is founded mainly on the fact that the poet who wrote the Achillean portion shows a familiarity with Thessaly and its woodland scenery, and with the geography of this and the adjacent countries, whereas the poet of the Ulyssean portion and of the Odyssey seems to have lived in Asia Minor, with which latter region all the traditions associate the name of Homer. He finds also a subtle partisanship betrayed by the two poets, which goes to show the same thing. The one favors Achilles, the representative of the old Aeolo-Dorian stock of Greeks, and with him the chieftains of northern Greece, and the

habits of life and of mind which characterized the Dorian race. The other favors Odysseus and the heroes of southern Greece, and the traits familiar in later times as marking the races of Ionian stock. Thus this great division in the Greek family, which runs through all its history and reaches its climax in the terrible death-struggle of the Peloponnesian war, is seen to have begun as early as the heroic period, and to have left its mark on the form of the great national epic.

It seems right, though it is no part of our purpose to examine minutely the several arguments brought to sustain this theory, that we should give some idea of the nature of them, and to this end we will mention the principal tests which Professor Geddes applies to the poems. In this selection we omit some of the weaker ones, thus sacrificing the joys of an easy and palpable triumph. We mention first the one which Mr. Geddes says first "directed his own attention forcibly to the subject," the high estimate, in the Ulyssean books and the *Odyssey*, of Odysseus as the impersonation of spirit and intelligence. It is easy to show that he is prominent in the Ulyssean books, especially in II, III, IV, IX and X. The proof that he is not so in the Achillean books is drawn partly from two or three passages where his courage is apparently disparaged, and partly from the lack of reference to him in XII, XIII, XV, XVII, XVIII, XX-XXII. His absence from the scene in these books cannot, it is said, be adequately explained by the fact of his being wounded, though it is difficult to see why not, since Agamemnon and Diomedes, who are wounded with him in XI, are just as much absent from the scene in the above-mentioned books as he is. The three appear together in XIV and are repeatedly referred to together as wounded and hence absent, so that there appears to be no reason for regarding the lack of reference to one as due to any cause affecting that one only. In a somewhat similar way, the position of several other characters in the two sections respectively is discussed. Thus Achilles appears in the Achillean section as fierce and inexorable, with no feeling for any one but himself, if we except his intense love for Patroklos, whereas, in the Ulyssean portion, he is softened and humanized, as in the funeral games in XXIII, and the scene with Priam in XXIV. So Hektor, in the *Achilleid*, is overbearing and boastful, while in the rest of the *Iliad* he is modest, generous, and prone to melancholy. (This division of the character of Hektor, by the way, has been made the subject of trenchant criticism by Gladstone in the

"Nineteenth Century" for October, 1878.) So the author goes on, taking up Helen, the two Ajaxes, and others, and finding in greater or less degree a difference in the treatment of them in the two sections. In one case of very subordinate characters he makes a good point in favor of his theory, which, however, has been noticed before, though not used as in this book. It is, that in the Achillean books we find Polydamas, the Panthoid, as the adviser of Hektor, whereas in the Ulyssean section it is Helenos, a Priamid, who alone appears in that character. It is true, the appearance of Helenos in this relation is confined to VI and VII, so that little stress can be laid on that side of the argument, but on the other hand, Polydamas, who appears in every book from XI to XVIII (not XXII, as Mr. Geddes says) inclusive, is not once mentioned in the Ulyssean section. We have next a more interesting discussion in the shape of a comparison of the two sections as to the theology, the psychology and ethics, the manners and customs, recognized in them. Under each of these heads it is maintained that the Achillean books show an archaic stage of belief, opinion, and practice, as compared with that of the rest of the poems. In the narratives concerning the gods, in the conception of Zeus, in the meaning of the word *φρένες* in the ethical standards, in architecture, house-furniture, dress, diet, amusements, hospitality, commerce, marriage, etc., it is claimed that the Achillean area shows a comparatively rude and early type of thought and social life. This is perhaps the most valuable part of the book. It is full of interesting observations and nice distinctions, and bears witness to minute and laborious study on the part of the author. But it is impossible, without taking up far too much space, to give any more particular account of the matter contained in it. Next comes an original criticism, the treatment in the two sections respectively of the horse and the dog. Mr. Geddes finds that the horse is preëminently the favorite animal of the Achillean books, and the dog disparaged, while in the Ulyssean books and the *Odyssey* this relation of the two animals is just reversed. We must refer our readers for the particular evidence to the work itself, and we assure them that, along with not a few weak arguments and partial statements, they will find much valuable matter that probably cannot be found elsewhere.

There is, no doubt, much that is attractive in this theory; and the arguments in its defense, if not always so conclusive to other minds as they seem to Mr. Geddes, still contain valuable observations

on the contents of the poems, and deserve to be fairly met as arguments. It will not do for any one, because he accepts some one of the various analytic theories of German scholars, to throw aside this book without examination, as joining together what his theory puts asunder. For it may be that both are true; it may be that two poets contributed in such proportions as Mr. Geddes supposes to produce the result which we have before us, and yet that each took up earlier lays without material change into his poem. Herein is the difficulty, and, in part, the fascination of the "Homeric question"; there are so many possibilities, for any one of which some arguments may be found, and yet it is so difficult to frame a theory which shall satisfy all the conditions and fully account for the existence of these wonderful poems with all their perfections and all their inconsistencies in that age and state of society. It may be that Mr. Geddes is right. He may have detected one great fact in the history of the poems which explains many of their peculiarities, and must be taken into account in all future discussions. At present, we admit, he does not seem to have fully made out his case, and we shall point out in a moment some faults which we think his method involves. But the thorough discussion of his work, for which this is not the place, would require an examination of every one of his tests and all the passages which are adduced to support it, and a careful inquiry whether the facts are as he represents them, and whether they point to his conclusion or are to be interpreted otherwise. We do not mean to imply that he ever intentionally misrepresents the facts, but that, in order to pronounce upon the theme a positive judgment, one must bring to the reading a wider knowledge of the facts than the book itself gives him. For it must be admitted the book presents in general only the facts which support the view which the author holds to be the truth; in other words, it is an argument in defense of a theory. But the only person who is entitled to lay it aside as unworthy of his notice is one who, like Mr. Gladstone, accepts the poems as original units and every line as inspired, so to speak, by the genius of the one personal Homer.

The first criticism we should make upon Mr. Geddes' method is that it assumes the connection of the Ulysean portions of the Iliad with one another and with the Qdyssey in time and authorship. It is, perhaps, natural for one to do this with regard to the Ulysean portions of the Iliad, when he has been influenced for a long time by Mr. Grote's able argument in support of his theory,

but the question must be raised whether there is any real ground for the assumption. And if true of those books, it is true (and this increases the difficulty a hundred fold) of them and of the *Odyssey* too. The whole *Odyssey*, is it one poem,¹ without any question of the *Telemachia*, or of the eleventh book, or of the lay of *Demodokos*? And then if the *Odyssey* is one poem by one author, how can we know it to be of the same time with the *Ulyssean* portions of the *Iliad*? Why does *Nestor's* speech in XI belong to the same period and author with the *Catalogue* in II, with the *Shield of Achilles* in XVIII, with XXIII and XXIV? Why does the *Glaukos* episode in VI, with all its peculiarities, belong to the same stratum with the rest of the *Ulyssean* books? It is apparent on a moment's thought how much of assumption is involved in this view, how many questions may be asked which must be answered without adequate reasons for the answer. But Mr. Geddes would protest against the phrase "assumption," and declare that he puts together those parts of the poems which, by internal evidence, belong together; that he first collected the data and then drew his inference from them; that, therefore, it is not an assumption, but a well-grounded inference. Let us admit that it is not an assumption; still it is not therefore certain to be a well-grounded inference. Grant that his collection of passages is full and his interpretation of them always correct, and it is still a question whether his inference is sound. For his data prove at the best that the *Achillean* books proceeded from one stage of society and one locality, and the *Ulyssean* books with the *Odyssey* from a later stage of society and a different locality. But they fall far short of proving that all these latter were produced at the same time and by the same hand, and this point, we think, he may justly be said to assume. The advanced civilization, the milder theology and manners which he finds in them, may have prevailed, we may indeed say, did prevail for a long period of time; why may not these different books and scattered passages have been produced at intervals during that period? There were many poets on the shores of *Asia Minor* in

¹ We cannot help regretting that this book, the most learned and elaborate contribution of English scholarship to the Homeric question since Mure, should so wholly ignore the work of Hennings, Kirchhoff, Köchly, and others, in demonstration of the want of unity in the *Odyssey*. It is true that Mr. Geddes follows in the steps of Grote (and many others) in assuming the unity of the *Odyssey* as a foregone conclusion, but there is this great difference, that the investigations above referred to were not published when Grote expressed his opinion, whereas now they have been accessible for many years.

the epic age; why may not half-a-dozen of them have contributed separately the "local mint-marks" on which he lays such stress? His argument establishes, we may for the moment grant, a limit after which these later portions of the poems must have been written; it gives, however, no reason whatever for fixing the point before which or the person by whom they must all have been written. It determines one limit, it may be, but contributes nothing to the determination of the other. And is the determination of the first limit altogether certain?

This question leads us to our second criticism, which is that in many instances he seems to find his evidence only in some single book or passage, or in some two or three only, and then to set it down as a feature of the Achillean or Ulyssean portion as a whole. A few examples will make this clear. The Catalogue in II gives the sole evidence of knowledge of the Dorians on the part of the Ulyssean poet (p. 63), and of the feeling of offense at the sound of a foreign language (p. 66). The Glaukos episode, in VI, furnishes the sole Ulyssean cases of the phrase—"the gods who live at ease" (p. 134), and of the worship of Dionysos (p. 142). From the ninth book alone is the evidence drawn that the Ulyssean poet knew of Egypt (p. 64), that he recognized a higher degree of kindness in domestic relations as shown by his use of certain adjectives (p. 79), that he applied the word *ἴλαος* to a mortal (p. 146; though why XIX, 178, where the Achillean poet does the same thing, should be discredited, does not appear), and that he used of a mortal the phrase *ἐπ' ἀφρόσι νεῦσε* (p. 147). The tenth book alone gives proof that the Ulyssean poet divided the night into three parts as did the poet of the *Odyssey* (p. 176). Similar instances of evidence drawn from XXIV alone may be found on pp. 140, 150, 176, 330. These books and episodes, it will be noticed, are all such as have long been regarded as interpolations in the *Iliad*, a fact which prepares us for their differing from the rest of the poem in language and matter, and may explain why they alone in these cases furnish the needed evidence of resemblance to the *Odyssey*. So also from the Catalogue and the ninth book are drawn the references to Delphi (p. 63), the phrases implying a wider extension of meaning for the name Hellas (p. 68), the (very doubtful) evidences of the first beginning of regular festivals (p. 144), and the most important of the arguments (pp. 278-287) to prove that the Ulyssean poet lived in Asia Minor. From the Catalogue and the tenth book alone is it proved that the Paeonians

are represented in the Ulyssean books as archers (p. 123). These are all little matters, it is true, and might be passed over as weak points in an otherwise strong argument. But the argument here is a cumulative one, and as such derives its force chiefly from the number of cases on either side, be they little matters or great; hence it seems right to point out every deduction that ought to be made, however trifling in itself. In a similar way a number of points of difference between the two sections of the Iliad, and of likeness between the Ulyssean sections and the Odyssey, are established by single phrases occurring here and there in scattered books. Of course, such instances, all pointing in one direction, have a certain weight, combined with other arguments. But when we find so many isolated cases used as material of proof, we cannot help questioning the inference, especially when we remember Friedländer's calculation, that of all the separate words used in the two poems about one quarter occur only once.

Another criticism that we should make on this book is that it ignores too much the influence that the poet's subject has upon his use of words and upon his representations of life and character. This influence has long been recognized as the cause of part of the manifest differences between the Iliad and the Odyssey. Indeed, it is implied in Bentley's famous remark that Homer wrote the Iliad for men and the Odyssey for women. It is mentioned by Mr. Geddes several times with that application, but he expressly declares that no such difference of subject exists between the two sections of the Iliad itself. On this point we must take issue with him. It may easily be shown, we think, that there is a decided difference in this respect between his two sections of the poem, and such a difference as accounts for many of the divergent characteristics which he ascribes to difference of authorship. There are ten whole books of the Iliad in what he calls the Ulyssean section. It will be conceded at once that in four of these, II, IX, XXIII and XXIV, there is no fighting at all. The Achillean books, except the first, which, by the way, contributes very little to the array of proofs, are full of fighting; there is almost nothing in them but the fierce passions and clashing weapons of the battle-field. In the specified Ulyssean books, on the other hand, we find the same persons in the assembly, in the embassy, in the funeral games, and in the quiet of their tents. Is it not natural that there should be a difference in the ideas and views of life, in the very words of which the lines are composed, when so different scenes and occupations

are being described? Now how is it with the other six Ulyssean books? In the third there are 460 lines, of which 330 are taken up with the Teichoskopia and the return of Paris to Helen, while the only fighting is the brief and bloodless duel between Paris and Menelaos. The fourth book is mainly occupied with the breach of the truce by Pandaros and the tour of Agamemnon to inspect the Greek host, and the fighting is confined to the last hundred lines of the 544. Passing by for the moment the fifth book, we find in the sixth some hundred lines of battle, and then the Glaukos episode and the visit of Hektor to the city occupy the remaining 400 lines. The seventh book contains some ten lines of general fighting at the beginning, then the duel of Ajax and Hektor and the debates which result in the truce fill up the book of 480 lines. With the exception, then, of the fifth, we find these Ulyssean books to contain remarkably little fighting of the kind which characterizes all the Achilleid. Out of nearly 2000 lines in III, IV, VI and VII, only some 210 are of this character. To these we may fairly add the tenth book, to which the killing of Dolon and the sleeping Thrakians can hardly be thought to impart a strong likeness to the battles of the Achilleian books. Thus we see that there is a real difference of subject between these books of the Iliad and the others from which this theory separates them, and it is such a difference as goes far to explain the difference of language and of mental horizon. It is in the Ulyssean books that we have the details of several assemblies with their debates, the narrative of the funeral games, the fullest accounts of the life of the heroes within their tents, the occasions which bring out the nobler side of the character of Achilles and Hektor and others. It is in these books only that we are taken within the walls of Troy (for the last hundred lines of XXII belong, on Mr. Geddes' theory, with these books), and see something of the home life of its royal family. Another fragment which the theory joins with these books, solely on the internal evidence, the Shield of Achilles in XVIII, agrees in subject with them, describing mainly scenes of peace. Like the rest, it produces the impression of a later and more developed stage of civilization, and this is really the essence of much of the divergence which Mr. Geddes has observed between the two sections of the poem. But how is it with the fifth book, which we have all this time left unnoticed? There we find plenty of fighting of the same kind that characterizes the Achilleian books. It is the exception in the Ulyssean area, and it is worth noting in that connection that

Mr. Geddes finds it necessary often to qualify his statements with regard to the Ulyssean books by an exception in the case of this one. One word, for instance, *βροτολογία*, occurs seven times in the Achillean area and not at all in the Ulyssean except in this fifth book, where we find it used five times. Several things in this book are noted as "echoes" or "imitations" of something in the Achilleid. Instances of this special position of the fifth book may be found on pp. 130, 134, 152, 157, 159, 201, 209, 210, 212, 231, 243, 257, 263, 274. We venture to say that no such list can be given of exceptions that need to be made in regard to any other book of either series. The case then stands as follows: The Achillean books, except the first, are in general full of fighting. The Ulyssean books differ in this respect, four of them having no fighting, five very little, and only one as much as the average Achillean book. This last one, moreover, the fifth, is the one which has more points of resemblance, on Mr. Geddes' system of comparison, to the Achillean books than any other of its Ulyssean companions. Can it be doubted then that this difference in subject, the presence or absence of the element of war, is the chief cause of the distinctions observed between the two sections of the Iliad? Let it be observed, moreover, that the same difference exists between the Achillean books and the Odyssey, and it seems clear that we may reasonably account in this way for a great part of the divergence of the Achillean books from all the rest and of the resemblance between the Ulyssean books and the Odyssey. But let us hear Mr. E. A. Freeman, who in the "Contemporary Review" for February, 1879, has anticipated this criticism upon the book: "Nor is it any answer to say that in the books of the Achilleid as being mainly taken up with fighting, such scenes are not to be looked for, while they were to be looked for in the other books which are of a more general character. For this is the very point, that this difference of character does distinguish certain books of the present Iliad from the others, and that this distinction coincides with a division already made on quite different grounds. The one poet keeps on his fighting scenes without interruption; the other interrupts his fighting to bring in pathetic scenes with Helen and Andromache. It would have been just as easy, if the poet had so willed, to diversify the later fighting with episodes of this kind as it was to diversify the earlier fighting in the same way." With regard to the coincidence of this distinction with another division (Grote's, we suppose, is meant), made on quite different grounds, we may admit in a measure the force of the remark. Grote and

Geddes do confirm one another, and with arguments of different kinds, although that fact cannot have the weight of an undesigned coincidence, for Geddes avowedly aims to establish Grote's theory, which, of course, was known to him from the first. Besides, he is obliged, in order to make out his case, to couple with the books which Grote excluded from his *Achilleid*, certain other detached passages. But the main part of Mr. Freeman's answer we cannot admit. There is no such diversifying of fighting scenes by peaceful ones in the Ulyssean portion, no such neglected opportunity for it in the Achillean portion, as he supposes. In the main Ulyssean portion as we have seen, there is one considerable stretch of fighting scenes, occupying the end of the fourth, the whole of the fifth, and the beginning of the sixth book, and with this exception the rest is free from general fighting. The *Achilleid*, on the other hand, contains the entirely peaceful first book, and several short episodes of similar character, such as the interview between Zeus and Hera in XIV, the announcement to Achilles of the death of Patroklos in XVIII, the assembly of the Greeks in XIX. Thus each portion is diversified, the Ulyssean once by the warlike passage in IV-VI, the *Achilleid* by the peaceful episodes just specified. What gives the impression of greater diversifying in the earlier portion is partly the occurrence of the two duels in III and VII, and the insertion of IX and X after the battle of VIII. What Mr. Freeman ought to say, to be in harmony with Mr. Geddes' theory and the facts, is that the Ulyssean poet has inserted more peaceful passages, with the one exception of the fifth book, into the warlike poem of the Achillean poet, and has inserted them where he could, at such distances as to diversify the one kind of narrative by the other. A fair parallel to the warlike passage of the fifth book amid peaceful scenes is afforded by the eighteenth and nineteenth books, which contain no fighting at all and stand in the heart of the *Achilleid* between the struggle over the body of Patroklos and the slaying of Hektor. And these two books we find furnish comparatively few examples of Achillean traits and several points of likeness to the Ulyssean books.

One more remark remains to be made upon this new theory, a remark which will suggest itself inevitably to any one acquainted with the modern discussion about the unity of authorship of the Homeric poems. Mr. Geddes' theory is open to the criticism which has been made on that of his predecessor, Grote. It does not take account of the inconsistencies that run through the whole texture of each of the poems. It recognizes the awkward junction of the

first and second books, the lack of reference to the promise of Zeus in II-VII, the non-recognition in any subsequent book of the embassy in IX, but there are many other and no less serious incongruities within the limits of the books which this theory groups together and ascribes to one author. For a full statement of these incongruities we must refer the reader to some of the many books on the Homeric question, for we have space here only to mention a few specimens. Within the Ulyssean area we have the grand review of the second book, issuing only in the indecisive duel of the third; then this in its turn is followed by the other duel of the seventh book which is narrated in entire forgetfulness, if not ignorance, of the earlier one (for the vague reference in VII, 69, amounts to nothing); the conduct of Diomedes in the Glaukos episode of the sixth book can hardly be reconciled with his conduct immediately before in the fifth. Within the Achillean area similar cases abound. In XI and XVI, the same mark of time occurs of the same day, although all the varied incidents of 4000 lines have come in between the two passages. Patroklos is sent on an errand by Achilles at the end of XI., but when he returns at the beginning of XVI, no reference is made to the errand by either of them. In XIII, there are two distinct accounts of the entrance of Poseidon upon the field of battle. In XVI and XVII there are two distinct accounts of the death and despoiling of Patroklos. These are but examples of the inconsistencies and contradictions that are to be found throughout the Iliad, and similar ones, quite as serious, appear in the Odyssey. Now of things like these this theory takes no account, except in so far as it is identical with Grote's theory, which was based on certain striking cases of inconsistency like those cited. If, then, Mr. Geddes' argument should stand examination, and it should come to be admitted that there are precisely such differences as he points out in the ideas and language of the two portions of the poems, and no others of different character favoring a division at some other point, then, after all that, we should still have to explain these inconsistencies which pervade the whole structure of both poems. The present theory, therefore, does not seem to supersede the "Klein-Lieder Theorie" in any of its forms, but rather to be a possible addition to it, applying to a later stage of the growth of the poems. The distinction which it aims to establish may really be a distinction between the contributions, not of two original poets, but of two editors or compilers of a mass of previously existing short epic lays.

LEWIS R. PACKARD.

IV.—ENCROACHMENTS OF μή ON οὐ IN LATER GREEK.

Every one who has read much Greek of the post-classic period must have noticed for himself that the negative μή is used by later Greek authors in various relations in which it would not be employed so readily, if at all, in model prose, and the editors of Plutarch and Lucian and Arrian and others of the more prominent writers of the second century have not failed to call attention to these deviations. But in the ordinary manuals the matter is touched lightly, if touched at all, and even more elaborate treatises on Greek Grammar are content with slurring over the phenomenon or with references to older explanations which the development of grammatical study has rendered obsolete.¹ Hermannus ad Vigerum is not an end of controversy now; a Latin or quasi-Latin translation of an idiom is not accepted as a proof of the correctness of a theory; and modern research requires a far wider basis of induction than was dreamed of once. True, every now and then we find a happy guess, a suggestive parallel; but the same great scholar, who compares *δτι μή πεπιστευκεν* with *quod non crediderit* and recognizes the analogous function of Greek negative and Latin subjunctive, allows himself to account for μή in the famous passage, Il. 15, 41,² by suggesting: nisi particula μή sic posita est ut cum dubitatione neget. Germanice *wohl nicht*. Idque bene eo loco Iunoni convenit ut quae non possit satis liquido iurare non suo iussu Neptunum Graecis opitulari. (Hm. ad Vig., ed. 3, p. 805.)

It is unnecessary to say that the abuse of the words "objective" and "subjective" is rampant in some treatises, and so we are gravely told by Winer in regard to Mark, 12, 14: ἔξεστι κήνσον . . . δουναί η̄ οὐ; δῶμεν η̄ μή δῶμεν; [dass] das erste Mal nach der objectiven

¹ Such a huddle as we find, for instance, in Hartung, *Lehre von den gr. Partikeln* II 124, would not be possible to the most puzzle-headed grammarian now. So in Thuc. I, 71, which is cited for μή after δήλος, μή occurs in a generic relative sentence; in Thuc. I, 90 (cited for μή after ὀρώ), μή is virtually conditional. Of course such men make no historical distinction between classic and post-classic authors.

² μή δὲ ἐμὴν ἰδίητα Ποσειδάων ἐνοσίχθων | πημαίνει Τρώας, cited in Curtius, *School Grammar*, § 614 Obs., as a normal example of μή in oaths!

Begründung der Steuerzahlung gefragt, das zweite Mal eine subjective Maxime ausgedrückt wird—the simple fact being that *οὐ* belongs to *ἔξεστι*; and further on a beautiful objective and subjective distinction is set up between the actual *τὸ μὴ φαγεῖν* and the impossible *τὸ οὐ φαγεῖν*. Then again “strong” and “weak” are made to do yeoman’s service. So Kühner (II p. 747) explains the later use of the causal *ὅτι μὴ* by the preference of the more vigorous negative “according to the usual course of language,” and yet (II p. 751) considers *μὴ* with the inf. in Xen. Comm., I, 2, 39 (*φαίην δ’ ἂν ἔγωγε μηδενὶ μηδεμίαν εἶναι παιδεύσειν κτ.*), as a modest statement, a mere approximate guess of the author. It is no wonder that non-Hellenists stop their ears when *οὐ* and *μὴ* come up for discussion in our philological associations, if this vague use of terms is to be tolerated. And yet for many scholars the problem of the negatives has a special fascination; and many students of Hellenistic Greek will not be content to dismiss *μὴ* for *οὐ* with Cobet’s convenient sneer at the *Graeculi*,¹ or with the equally convenient phrase, *soloecismus Alabandicus*.² For such corruptions do not come in without cause. If, according to the current phrase, the appreciation of the negatives was indeed so much enfeebled, we should expect the two to be exchanged pell-mell, whereas it is *μὴ* that has encroached on *οὐ*, while *οὐ* has troubled *μὴ* very little. If it could be proved that *μὴ* has more claim to be Aryan, there are some who would see in this change a harking back to a primal type, a species of atavism, a phenomenon especially appropriate at a period when Greek aspired to be the language of humanity. But, unfortunately, *md* is a prohibitive, and claims of equally remote ancestry have been set up for *οὐ*, and such fancies, of which there are far too many in philological treatises, must be excluded from any serious research. What a sober investigator has to do, is simply to acquire possession of the phenomena and observe the categories under which they seem to fall. Some months ago, in resuming the study of one of the best of later

¹ [Alciphron Ep. 37, 2.] *θῆλος ἐστι μηδ’ ὅλως ἡμῖν ἐντευξόμενος*. Graeculi discrimen inter *οὐ* et *μὴ* ita negligunt ut saepissime *μὴ* scribant ubi *οὐ* est necessarium, VLL. p. 47. Perpetua negligentia Lucianus *μὴ, μηδεῖς, μηδέποτε*, caett. ponere solet ubi *οὐ, οὐδεῖς, οὐδέποτε* erant ponenda . . . quae turpissima vitia sunt, VLL. pp. 315, 316.

² Ἀλαβανδιακὸς σιλοικισμὸς, ὡς Φιλῆξενος τὴν Ὀδύσσειαν ἐξηγουμένος, ὅταν ἢ μὴ ἀπαγόρευσις ἀντὶ τῆς οὐ κεῖται ὡς τὸ μὴ δι’ ἐμῆν ἰδίτητα Ποσειδάων ἐνοσίχθων (II. 15, 41), Steph. Byz.

Greek writers, and beginning to read him again in his entirety, I thought it might be well to reëxamine Lucian's usage and employ the results thus gained as categories for further investigation. After completing my task, I received a dissertation by Dr. Adolf du Mesnil, of the Gymnasium at Stolp (1867), on the Differences of Lucianic from Attic Syntax, in which pp. 40-46 are devoted to the use of *μή* for *οὐ*. It is not necessary for me to specify the shortcomings of his treatment from my point of view. At all events his work has not made mine superfluous. Like myself, the author did not have access to Fritzsche's *Quaestiones Lucianae*, but unlike myself he finds Madvig a thoroughly satisfying portion. Du Mesnil has not undertaken to exercise any criticism, except so far as to leave out the *Philopatris*. He has also omitted the poems, the treatises in the Ionic dialect, and the *Lexiphanes* and *Soloecista*, which are grammatical quizzes (*qui consilio non eleganter scripti sunt*). The omission of the *De Dea Syria* and the *De Astrologia*, so far as the negatives are concerned, is a mistake, as Herodotus, who is more or less closely imitated, is a perfect Attic in that regard, and a deviation from the usage of the model would show a strong bent in the *μή* direction;¹ but the inclusion of all the other tracts makes no difference as to the results, as Lucian and the pseudo-Lucians, whoever and however many they be, are as one in the use or misuse of the negatives. Now, Lucian was a careful student of Attic Greek, and in his *Soloecista* notices not only such gross blunders as *ἄφελον δυνήσῃ*, but such pardonable lapses as *συνήσων ἄν*, so that it could hardly have been absolute heedlessness of the earlier usage; and, indeed, we find him every now and then reverting to the classic norm. Cf. Du Mesnil, l. c. pp. 45, 46. The explanation is to be sought in the popular speech of the time. Lucian, man of the world as he was, avoided all affectation and followed the drift of the spoken language so far as it was not rude or solecistic. And for this he is greatly to be praised. Our schooldays' friend, Xenophon, has had to stand many fierce attacks of late on account of the peculiarities of his diction, and before long Tycho Mommsen and others will hawk him down from his pride of place as an elementary text-book. But, for my part, I like Xenophon rather the better now that he is in trouble. I am disposed to forgive him the crime of using *σύν*, and I am glad to find that the military prig did get a

¹ There happens to be no misuse of *μή* in the *De Astrologia*, which is a very short tract; the freedom of *λέγουσι μή* (*De Dea Syria*, 17) will be noticed below.

little of the dust of his campaigns on him. And so, if Lucian's negatives are no better than those of my poor old Christian friend, Justin Martyr, and no worse than those of the vaunted Dio Chrysostomus,¹ I am content.

It will not be expected that I shall go into a detailed discussion of the classic differences between $\omega\delta$ and $\mu\eta$. These differences, I must assume, are sufficiently well known, if not sufficiently well formulated, nor referred to sufficiently satisfactory causes. The view which considers $\omega\delta$ as the negative of statement, $\mu\eta$ as originally the negative of the will, I am content to accept. How the negative of the will comes to be used in all its varied relations, this is not the place to develop. Suffice it that we find these two negatives in the very beginning so clearly distinguished, so accurately used, that we can recognize in them a sharper modality than obtains even in the moods. Future indicative, subjunctive, and optative are in the Homeric time not so far from each other as are $\omega\delta$ and $\mu\eta$. Still there is a certain border-land, which in the classic period was occasionally invaded by $\mu\eta$; and it is just this border-land on which $\mu\eta$ has squatted so resolutely in the post-classic time; so that we may fairly say that the later use of $\mu\eta$ is not so much an innovation as an extension; and it will be the object of this paper to follow the lines of intrusion, as far as possible.

1.— $\mu\eta$ with *oratio obliqua* infinitive.

A statistic of later usage would reveal, I think, that the most extensive encroachments of $\mu\eta$ have been made in the territory of the participle, and the grimness of its hold there I shall have occasion to illustrate by and by; but historical research indicates another point at which $\mu\eta$ has a better claim of preëmption, indeed so good a claim, that some of our dictionaries and grammars have actually misstated the facts of the language and ceded the infinitive after verbs of saying and thinking to $\mu\eta$. True, the natural negative of the infinitive as such is $\mu\eta$, and it was not until the infinitive had begun to represent the indicative that the negative $\omega\delta$ could have been tolerated. But this toleration was established before our record, and the infinitive has as clear, if not so common, an *oratio obliqua* use in Homer as in Thucydides. So especially after

¹ Ueberall ist eine vortreffliche Sprache, ein rein gewonnener Atticismus, den er mit bewundernswerther Meisterschaft beherrscht (Niebuhr). Bernharly's judgment as to Dio's style is much sounder.

φημί: *δς τέ με φῆς Αἴαντα κελώριον οὐχ ὑπομείναι*, Il. 17, 174; cf. 21, 316; Od. 4, 664. We can therefore only guess at the primal state before the incoming of the future infinitive, which, as I have remarked elsewhere,¹ betokens unmistakably a new function of the infinitive, just as the incoming of the future optative marks a new function of the optative. Still there is a group of verbs of saying and thinking, which retain the old negative. Such are verbs of asseveration and belief, such verbs as *δμύναι*, *μαρτυρεῖν*, *πιστεύειν*, *πεπεισθαι*, and the like. *Ἔομυμι*, I believe, is perfectly steady. In the example sometimes cited for *οὐ*, Plat. Apol. 35 C,² the *οὐ* belongs to the leading verb and not to the infinitive, a rectification which would seem to be unnecessary, if experience did not show how often commentators blunder in assigning the reference of words. Examples abound. So *ἐπὶ δὲ μέγαν δρῶν δοῦμαι*, *μή ποτε τῆς εὐνῆς ἐπιβήμεναι ἢ δὲ μιγῆναι*, Il. 9, 132-3; cf. Od. 5, 178; Hdt. 1, 165. 2, 179; Ar. Vesp. 1047, 1281; Andoc. 1, 90; Lycurg. 76; Dem. 21, 119, etc. In like manner, *μαρτυρῶ μή*, Dem. 45, 15; cf. 40, 47. Especially interesting are the shifting constructions of verbs of belief in Greek, which run through the whole range of thought and feeling, and show now by the negative, now by the finite or infinitive dependency, that the notion was complex to the Greek mind. For *πιστεύω μή*, see Dem. 21, 221; Andoc. 1, 2; *πέποιθα μή*, Pind. Ol. 1, 104; *πέπεισμαι μή*, Plat. Apol. 37 A. Occasionally *φημί* and *λέγω*, occasionally *οἶομαι* and *νομίζω*³ join the ranks of these verbs, which involve the will, these verbs in which the utterance strives to make the statement good, and the thought is at once a wish.

Still examples enough are left in the classic authors to verify the deviation, e. g. *φαίην δ' ἂν ἔγωγε μηδενὶ μηδεμίαν εἶναι παιδεύειν παρὰ τοῦ μή ἀρέσκοντος*, Xen. Comm. 1, 2, 39; *φήσομεν . . . μηδέποτε μηδὲν ἂν μεῖζον ἢ ἔλαττον γενέσθαι*, Plat. Theaet. 155 A; *πάντες ἐροῦσι*

¹ Transactions of American Philological Association for 1878, p. 5.

² *ὁμίμοκεν οὐ χαριεῖσθαι οἷς ἂν δοκῇ αὐτῷ ἀλλὰ δικάσειν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους*.

³ It must be observed, however, that grammarians have not always been careful to distinguish the legitimate use of *μή* with the infinitive in apposition from this extended use of *μή* with the infinitive. So in Thuc. 1, 20 (cited by Kühner, II, p. 752): *πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα οἱ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες οὐκ ἁρθῶς οἰοῦνται ὡς περ τοὺς Δακεδαιμονίων βασιλέας μή μᾶ ψήφῳ προστίθεσθαι ἑκάτερον*, in which *μή προστίθεσθαι* is a substantive exemplification of the *πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα*, although I must confess I should prefer τὸ τοῖς. In the same manner we must explain: *καὶ τοῦτο ἐν ἰσθίῳ ὧν φημι μηδένα ἂν ἐν βραχυτέροις ἐμοῦ τὰ αὐτὰ ποιεῖν*, Plat. Gorg. 449 C. Perhaps also Thuc. 5, 49, 5.

τὸ λοιπὸν μὴδὲν εἶναι κερδαλεώτερον ἀρετῆς, Xen. Cyr. 7, 1, 18 (probable influence of a preceding ἴσθι); cf. προύλεγον . . . μὴ, Thuc. 1, 139 (notion of solemn promise); ἔλεγον μὴ, Plat. de Rep. 1, 346 E; οἴομαι ὑμᾶς μὴδὲν (v. l. οὐδὲν) ἀγνοεῖν τῶν εἰρημένων, Dem. 54, 44; ἐνόμισε μὴ ἂν γενέσθαι ποτὲ πιστὸν χτέ, Xen. Cyr. 7, 5, 59 (but Andoc. 1, 70, cited by Bäumlein, is a conditional clause); cf. Thuc. 6, 102 extr.

Now it is evident that this form of expression carries with it the emphasis of the witness on oath, so to speak the emphasis of desire, and hence the tendency to use it in the later time, which always leans toward the impressive. *Μὴ* with the infinitive is equivalent to "I swear," "I vow," "I bet," instead of quieter forms, and how common this *oratio obliqua* μὴ is in Lucian is known to every reader of the Pantagruelist of Samosata, as George Saintsbury has happily called him.

So μὴ occurs after φημί: De Peregr. Morte 44 (III 363); Dialog. Meretr. 10, 2 (III 306); Paras. 27 (II 857); Bis accus. 28 (II 827); Iupp. trag. 35 (II 683); Gall. 17 (II 728); Eun. 6 (II 355); Iupp. confut. 6 (II 630); Apol. pro merc. cond. 13 (I 722); Epistul. Saturn. 20 (III 403); Abdic. 4 (II 162).

After λέγω: Iupp. trag. 17 (II 661); Vit. auct. 16 (I 556); De Dea Syria 17 (III 464); Abdic. 1 (II 159); Pisc. 35 (I 614); De Salt. 63 (II 301).

After εἶπον: Hermot. 29 (I 770); Hist. conscr. 29 (II 38); De Peregr. Morte 18 (III 342).

After οἴμαι: Salt. 22 (II 280); Tox. 8 (II 515); Nav. 1 (III 247).
δοκεῖς: Dem. encom. 30 (III 512).

ἔοικας: Anach. 14 (II 892).

Oratio obliqua generally: Nigr. 14 (I 53); Icarom. 32 (II 789); Alex. 57 (II 262); Pro Imag. 10 (II 489); Tox. 20 (II 528), 40 (II 548); Dial. Meretr. 9, 2 (III 302); Philops. 34 (III 61); De Salt. 21 (II 280); Vera Hist. II 18 (II 115, 116); Dem. encom. 24 (III 508).¹ Ὡς μὴ with fut. inf. Dial. Deor. 21, 1 (I 268), is due to the influence of οὐκ ἂν πεισθεῖην.

¹ Having mentioned Dio as a sinner in this regard, I subjoin a few passages: For φημι μὴ, Or. 11 (p. 173 M.), 23 (p. 299), 31 (pp. 315, 349), 32 (p. 392), 40 (p. 492); λέγω μὴ, Or. 36 (p. 452); εἶπον (in combination with δυνάμι): δύνάμι γὰρ ὁμόσας εἰπεῖν μηδεμίαν ἄλλην πόλιν ἐμοὶ κρείττονα πεφηνέμαι, Or. 47 (p. 525); καταμηνίω μὴ (cf. μαρτυρῶ μὴ), Or. 59 (p. 575); μέφομαι μὴ (cf. μέφομαι ὅτι μὴ below), Or. 74 (p. 641); οἴμαι μὴ, Or. 7 (p. 104), 11 (p. 153), 16 (p. 216), 31 (p. 337), 47 (p. 526); ἠγούμαι μὴ, Or. 53 (p. 555).

2.—*ὄτι μή*.

The next group, genetically speaking, to be noticed is the *ὄτι μή* group. This seems to have been the resumption of an old growth, the development of which was checked. We have already seen in Homer a *μή* with the indicative in an oath, and so with the *ὄτι* form we have in Theogn. 659: *οὐδ' ὀμόσαι χρῆ τοῦθ' ὄτι μή ποτε πρᾶγμα τόδ' ἴσται*, which is an easy step after the Homeric *ἴστω . . . μή μὲν τοῖς ἱπποισιν ἀνὴρ ἐπιβήσεται ἄλλος*, II. 10, 329, 330. In Antiphon we have (5, 21): *αὐτὰ ταῦτα σκοπεῖτε ὄτι μή προνοία μᾶλλον ἐγένετο ἢ τύχη*, where Mätzner would write *οὐ* and Kühner (II 747) makes the somewhat feeble suggestion that *ὄτι μή* is after the analogy of *ὀπως μή* after *σκοπεῖν*. The imperative may have its influence here as the anticipated optative *μήτ' ἐπισταίμην* may be responsible for the puzzling *ὀπως σὺ μή λέγεις* of Soph. Antig. 685. But these deviations are, after all, so rare that we must not insist on them as any more than examples of the potentialities of *ὄτι μή*, and for this stage of the language we must rather connect the *ὄτι μή* that *not* in declarative sentences with the use of *μή* with the infinitive in *oratio obliqua*. It is clear that in a period in which *μή* could be used freely after a verb of saying, this form *ὄτι μή* would suggest a convenient equivalent for an *oratio obliqua* expression which would answer alike after principal and historical tenses, from the former of which *ὄτι* (*ὄτι οὐ*) with the opt. is excluded. It were indeed worth inquiry whether this form *ὄτι μή* with indicative did not help to throw out *ὄτι οὐ* with the optative. At all events, we find the optative form of *oratio obliqua* becoming rarer and rarer, and, when it is used, used with a certain uneasiness. I have sometimes thought that the legitimate *ὄτι μή* *except*, being a well-known combination, might have led to the more general acceptance of the illegitimate *ὄτι μή*, for we find elsewhere that when a combination becomes familiar to the ear, it is readily used out of all proper relation to its sense. But a discussion of this subject would require a separate chapter, and I return to my immediate theme.

It appears then that in Lucian, as in other authors of the post-classic time, *ὄτι μή* is used as a form of *oratio obliqua*, either entire or partial, i. e., where we should have in classic Greek the infinitive or *ὄτι* with the opt., or where we should have *ὡς* with the participle. In many combinations the construction bears a strong analogy with the Latin *quod* and subjunctive, the subjunctive

element being represented by the "subjective" negative; and just as in *quod* sentences, object and cause are fused.

So especially after verbs of emotion and expressions of emotion (praise and blame) = *quod c. coni.*

κατακλιθεὶς: Nigr. 24 (I 64); Alex. 55 (II 59); Phal. I 6 (II

385); Hermot. 71 (I 813); Epist. Sat. 36 (II 475); Demon. 24 (II 385).

ἐκείνου (ἐπὶ τούτου ὅτι οἱ), Apol. 15 (I 723); cf. ἀνταρὸν (ἐκείνου) Pro Imag. 16 (II 494).

ἐκείνου: Dial. Deor. 15 (I 266); Dial. Mort. 15, 2 (I 400).

ἐκείνου (ἐπὶ ἑαυτοῦ): Dial. Deor. 24, 2 (I 275); Salt. 4 (II

733); Nigr. 31 (I 73).

ἐκείνου: Nigr. 21 (I 59, 60).

ἐκείνου: Dial. Meretr. 12, 1 (III 310).

ἐκείνου: Epistul. Sat. 3, 32 (III 412).

ἐκείνου: Dial. Mort. 10, 11 (I 374).

ἐκείνου (ἐπὶ τούτου ὅτι μὴ) Pseudol. 18 (III 176).

ἐκείνου: Hermot. 50 (I 792).

ἐκείνου: De Sacrif. 1 (I 326).

ἐκείνου: Pass. 16 (II 254).

ἐκείνου: Catapl. 17 (I 369).

ἐκείνου: Menipp. 12 (I 473).

What is with *int.* is preferred after verbs of saying and thinking.

ἐκείνου: Chronosol. 12 (III 395), imperative complex.

ἐκείνου: Pro Imag. 6 (II, 487); Icaromen. 21 (II

242); Diss. cum Hesiodo 4 (III 242).

ἐκείνου: Dial. Deor. 24, 2 (I 275); Dial. Deor. 24, 2 (I 275); Dial. Deor. 24, 2 (I 275).

ἐκείνου in a quasi *oratio obliqua*: Abdic. 22 (II

385); Dial. Mort. 21, 2 (I 400); Dial. Mort. 21, 2 (I 400).

ἐκείνου: Dial. Mort. 21, 2 (I 400).

ἐκείνου is frankly used after verbs of knowing, but only in indicating circumstances.

ἐκείνου: Catapl. 20 (I 268), Hist. conscrib. 29 (II 40),

Pro Imag. 16 (II 494) the last in a clause of purpose.

ἐκείνου: Dial. Deor. 24, 2 (I 275), in which consider the influence

mentioned above.

παισθῆναι ὅτι μή: Asin. 13 (II 581).

μανθάνειν ὅτι μή: Dial. Deor. 20, 10 (I 261), where *δπως μάθη* ὅτι μή . . . ἔχω is used as if=*ἐμέ μή ἔχουσαν* (final complex).

μεμνησθαι ὅτι μή, Rhetor. praec. 26 (III 28), in an imperative complex. Likewise Charon 1 (I 490).

So also *δηλον ὅτι μή*: Abdic. 14 (II 172), *δηλώσαι ὅτι μή* Ep. ad Nigr. (I 38).

Add sentences which have a correlative to *ὅτι* and in which the *oratio obliqua* notion is obscured. So *τοῦτο ὅτι μή* Zeuxis 1 (I 840); Adv. indoct. 10 (III 109). Here *ὅτι μή* in ind. is treated as if it were *τὸ μή* with inf. In Hist. conscrib. 40 (II 54), we have partial obliquity.¹

3.—Causal μή.

When we come to the clearly causal sentences, which in classic Greek take *οὐ*, we find that as object *ὅτι* and causal *ὅτι* run in the same groove, so *διότι* follows the simple *ὅτι*.

Oratio obliqua influence is seen in Philops. 30 (III 56); Dial. Mar. 5, 1 (I 300); Iupp. confut. 16 (II 639); Hermot. 20 (I 729); Dial. Deor. 2, 1 (I 206); Cyn. 11 (III 545). In Prom. s. C. 20 (I 203) and Pro Imag. 24 (II 504) causal and conditional relations approach each other.

The combination *ἐπεὶ μή*, which is especially grating to a student of Attic, may be due to the analogy of *ὅτι* (*διότι*) or to some obscure feeling of connection with *εἰ* or to the working of the causal relative element, of which more presently.

Examples: Amor. 4 (II 401); Phal. I 6 (II 193); Hist. conscrib. 3 (II 5); Vera Histor. I 4 (II 72), II 32 (II 128); Hermot. 22 (I 760), 47 (I 788); Dem. Encom. 5 (III 494); Dial. Meretr. 10, 2 (III 306), 15, 2 (p. 323).²

¹ Parallels can be had for the seeking. So, to go no further than Dio Chrysostomus, we have *ὅτι μή* in *oratio obliqua* Or. 6 (p. 93); 31 (pp. 317, 323, 324); 3, 4 (414). After *ὁμολογεῖν* (which often takes *μή* with inf.) Or. 45 (p. 515). In an imperative complex Or. 31 (pp. 322, 344); 35 (p. 432); 38 (p. 478); 50 (p. 542). So, also, after opt. with *ἄν* (quasi-imperative) Or. 40 (p. 493). In a conditional complex Or. 16 (p. 216); 31 (p. 319). In an infinitive complex Or. 31 (p. 350). For the emotional group cf. *θανμαστὸν ὅτι μή* Or. 31 (p. 344) and *ἀχθομαι διότι μή* Or. 38 (p. 474). The simple object-sentences do not seem to be very numerous in Dio e. g. Or. 17 (p. 249); 31 (p. 316); 34 (p. 416); 38 (p. 571). On *ὅτι μή* in Justin Martyr cf. Apol. I 24, 9 (*ἐγκαλῶ*); 26, 35 (*ἐπίσταμαι*); II 3, 16 (*ἐλέγχω*). For *ὡς μή* with opt. I 26, 21.

² The effect of *cum c. comi.* is closely analogous.

4.—Relative μή.

Another important extension is to be noticed in the relative sentence. Even in classic times the negative of a relative clause is μή when the relative gives the notion of characteristic, and as the characteristic sometimes gives a ground, the clause with μή seems to be causal outright. Here the subjective element represented by μή would appear in standard Latin as the subjunctive. Causal relatives thus begin to take μή, and causal relatives are followed by adversative relatives, which are in this way fused with concessive, opposing fact with granted notion, and this is extended to the integral parts of the relative sentence. Of classic authors Sophocles is especially free in using μή with the relative. ὦ δύστανά γενῆ βροτῶν, οἷς μή μέτριος αἰὼν: Phil. 178, foll.; cf. vv. 254, 408, 713; O. R. 816; O. C. 1680; Antig. 586; El. 911; Trach. 818 (see Bäumli. Gr. Partikeln S. 294). But Sophocles is not alone, and many a passage which would be set down in a post-classic author as a *foedissima locutio* is duly admired in a standard writer. There we are quick enough with our conditional conception, our particular example as generic and the like. So when Herodotus says (8, 61): ὁ Κορίνθιος Ἀδείμαντος ἐπεφέρετο σιγᾶν τῷ (sc. Themistocles) μή ἔστι πατρις and Aeschin. 1, 24: τῆ πόλει ὑπὲρ ἧς τὰ ὄπλα μή τίθεσθαι ἢ διὰ δειλίαν μή δυνατὸς εἰ ἐπαρῶναι μηδὲ συμβουλεύειν ἀζῆιου; cf. Luc. Eun. 1 (II 350): τοῦτ' ἐδὲ πλέον τοῦ συνήθους εἶναι μοι δοκεῖ, ἐφ' ὅτῳ μηδὲ κατέρχει δυνατὸς εἰ τὸν γέλωτα. This *quippe qui* use, so to speak, is very common in later Greek. I subjoin a few examples which are at hand: ὅς γε μηδὲ τῶν οὐκαιοτάτων ἀπέσχετο, Catapl. 26 (I 648); θεῶν τίνος εὐμενεῖα σώζεσθαι μοι δοκεῖτε οἷ μὴδέπω ἀπολώλατε, Anach. 33 (II 913); cf. Dio Chrys. Or. 11 (p. 188); 31 (pp. 332, 334, 348); 32 (p. 375); 34 (p. 417); 36 (p. 442); 40 (pp. 488, 497).

Examples of ὅπου μή: Phal. I 8 (II 195); Bis accus. 20 (I 815); De Peregr. Morte 24 (III 347). ἔνθα μή: De Peregr. Morte 22 (III 345); cf. also the causal relative ὅσῳ μή, Alex. 2 (II 209); Imag. 23 (II 483-4).

Especially noteworthy is the negative μή in relative clauses after a negative (*nil est quod c. con.*): οὐδὲν ἔστιν ὅτι μή πεποιήκας με, Dial. Deor. 2, 2 (I 206); οὐδὲν γάρ ἔστιν ὅτι μή αἱ Μοῖραι διατάττουσιν, Iupp. conf. 1 (II 627); cf. Dio Chrys. Or. 29 (p. 293), 34 (p. 419) and Strabo 6 (p. 286).

Relative opt. and ἄν with μή (characteristic), Lexiph. 25 (II 349); De Merc. Conduct. 20 (I 276); Eun. 8 (II 357).

5.—Participial *μή*.

The relatives with *μή*, then, may be passed over without elaborate comment. Not so the participle with *μή*, the frequent and, if you choose, illegitimate use of which is a marked peculiarity of later Greek, and survives in the modern tongue, which does not allow any other negative to be used with the participle.¹ Perhaps the easiest way of mediating the transition is through the relative equivalent of the participle, and yet, the ordinary categories for the use of *μή* with the participle will yield far more closely normal results than might be supposed at first. Equivalency of cause and condition, the adversative and the concessive, as presented from different points of view, will go far to explain cases which are considered solecistic by the hasty critic, e. g.

Conditional-causal: *μηδέπω . . . έχόντων*, Amor. 23 (II 423); *ἀγανακτήσας καὶ μή φέρων*, Alex. 45 (II 251); cf. Bis acc. 31 (II 830); Vera Hist. II 1 (II 104); Dial. Deor. 14, 2 (I 239); *μηδὲ σίτον αἰρεῖσθαι θέλοντος*, Tox. 29 (II 538); *μηδενὸς ἀνεχομένου*, Gall. II (II 718); *μηκέτ' ἐπὶ τοῦ οἰκείου σχήματος διαμένων*, Bis acc. 33 (II 833); *τὸ μὲν τῆς πατρίδος ὄνομα μήτε εἰδότες μήτε στέργοντες*, Encom. patr. 10 (III 233); *μήτε δρῶν μήτε ἀκούων*, De Merc. Cond. 18 (I 674); *πολλοὶ . . . ἐναπέθανον τῷ ἀγῶνι μή ἀξιώσαντες ἀπαγορεῦσαι*, Anach. 38 (II 919); *εὖ γε ἐποίησε μή ὄμωσε χωρήσας τοῖς θηρίοις*, Hist. conscr. 29 (II 40), cf. Dialog. Meretr. 15, 3 (III 324); *ἐλποῦμην γὰρ σὲ μή ἔχουσα*, Dialog. Meretr. 12, 4 (III 314); *μηδὲν μνησθέντος τῆς πατρίδος (=ὄς μηδὲν ἐμνήσθη)*, Hist. conscr. 14 (II 20).

The causal use of *μή* with the participle goes so far as to embrace *ἄτε*, as De Merc. Cond. 23 (I 678); Hermot. 51 (I 792); Icaromen. 13 (II 766); Cal. non temere cred. 23 (III 153) and 27 (III 157); De domo 3 (III 191); and the construction *ὡς μή* with the participle instead of *ὡς οὐ* is also to be noticed: Phal. I 14 (II 200); De domo 21 (III 203).

Concessive-adversative: *μήτε ἐρομένου τινὸς μήτε πεμφθέντος* (changing with *οὐδέ*), Alex. 50 (II 255); *μηδὲ τυχόντες*, Diss. cum Hesiodo I (III 241); *μή φοβηθεῖς*, Dial. Deor. 19, 2 (I 251); *μηδὲν σε εἰργασμένου*, Lexiph. 17 (II 343); *μή πρότερον ἐξετάσας*, Hermot. 73 (I 815); *μή μαθῶν*, Adv. indoct. 3 (III 101); *μηδὲ φέρειν*

¹ Mullach, p. 389. The predominance of *μή* there has its parallel in the use of *ὅστις* for *ὄς*.

διυθμενος, *Ibid.* 7 (III 106); μήτε Φιλίππου ἐπιόντος μήτε Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπιόντωντος, *Rhet. praec.* 10 (III 11).

Especially noteworthy is the participle with μή following an adjective, which is an analogous phenomenon to the familiar Latin combination, in which *qui* with the subjunctive is used as a parallel for an adjective characteristic. So *φυχρόν ἐστι μηδὲ ὀλίγον σπινθῆρα φυχρὸς . . . διαφυλάττων*, *Timon* 1 (I 100); *πρὸς ἄνδρα κομιδῆ ἔλευθερον . . . μηδὲν ἀνοῦντα ὀνειδίζειν*, *Pseudol.* 1 (III 162); cf. 2 (III 163); *ἢ ἄρα εὐδαιμονία . . . μήτε ἀπολέσθαι μήτε ἐπισημασθῆναι δυναμένη*, *Navig.* 44 (III 277); *καλαῖος ὑπὸ γήρωσ . . . ἐξεμπρῶσαι μὴ δυναμένος*, *Philops.* 12 (III 40).

If such participles had the article, the sensibilities of our grammarians would not suffer the same jar, and the current explanation of abstract notion would come in. But the article is not necessary to the characteristic, though certainly auxiliary. It is, indeed, customary in a characteristic. So commonly *ἄθεός* with *οὐθεός* without the article, and there may possibly, though not probably, be no *θεός* meaning in Euripides' *οὐ θεὸς εἰς οὐδὲν ἔστι* than "nothing known to naught," like the *οὐδὲ καὶ οὐδὲ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ τὸ γένος* of the *Greek Anthology*; but still we have *Soph. El.* 1000: *ἰσὺς δ' ἀπορροῖ καὶ ἰσὺς ἀπορροῖ*, and there are sporadic examples enough of *μὴ* with the anarthrous participle in standard Greek to show that the post-classical use is a growth out of the old time.

Still there is a great number of instances left which resist any such analysis and may be referred to the same process of comparison with the use of the participle in Latin. The number of these may be thought to signify itself in the history of the Greek language. For a complete discussion of all the instances of this use may be called simply circumstantial evidence of the importance of the subjunctive. It is certain that a full discussion of participles in general is a vast undertaking and must suffice. Some of the instances of this use may be referred to the special category, but others may be referred to the general category of the participles.

The following are some of the instances of this use of the participle in Greek. The first is from the *Iliad*, *Il.* 1. 100: *οὐδὲ καὶ οὐδὲ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ τὸ γένος*. The second is from the *Greek Anthology*, *Gr. Anth.* 1. 100: *οὐδὲ καὶ οὐδὲ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ τὸ γένος*. The third is from the *Greek Anthology*, *Gr. Anth.* 1. 100: *οὐδὲ καὶ οὐδὲ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ τὸ γένος*. The fourth is from the *Greek Anthology*, *Gr. Anth.* 1. 100: *οὐδὲ καὶ οὐδὲ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ τὸ γένος*. The fifth is from the *Greek Anthology*, *Gr. Anth.* 1. 100: *οὐδὲ καὶ οὐδὲ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ τὸ γένος*.

ἀπόκοιτος γιγνόμενος, Bis accus. (II 825); μηδὲ ἐλπίζων, Asin. 31 (II 601); μηδὲν τοῦ δόλου εἰδώς, Asin. 47 (II 615); ἄνθρωπος μὴ γελῶν, Paras. 51 (II 876); ὁ ταῦρος μηκέτι φυλαχθεῖς, Phal. I 13 (II 200); μηδενὸς καταναγκάσαντος, De Peregr. Morte 16 (III 341); ἀμελούμενος καὶ μηκέθ' ὁμοίως περιβλεπτος ὢν, De Peregr. Morte 20 (III 344); μηδεμιᾶς δὲ τολμώσης τὴν ψῆφον καθ' αὐτῆς ἐνεγκεῖν, Charid. 10 (III 624); παρέρχεται μηδὲν ἐνοχλήσας τοὺς ἰδόντας, Philops. 19 (III 47); μήτε μελλήσας μήτε σύμβουλον προσλαβών, Abdic. 5 (II 163); μηδὲν καλλιλογησάμενος, Tox. 35 (II 544); τράπεζα μηδὲν ἔχουσα (=ἦτις μηδὲν εἶχεν), Asin. 2 (II 569); μήτε πλευρῶν φεισάμενος μήτε μηρῶν, Asin. 2 (II 586); πρὸς μηδὲν τῶν δεινῶν ἐνδιδόντα, Dem. encom. 33 (III 515); μηδὲ τῶν ἀπορρήτων μηδὲν ἢ πέφυκεν ἔχειν ἐῶντες, Cynic. 14 (III 547); ἐκονολογεῖτο . . . τῇ Λαμπρίου ἐταίρα, μηδέπω ἐκείνου παρόντος, Dialog. Meretr. 3, 2 (III 284); μηδὲν λογισάμενος . . . μηδ' ὅτι . . . ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὸ παράπαν ἐξετάσας, Cal. non temere cred. 3 (III 129).¹

But, if in these and like cases the development of doctrine blooms out into a bold and bad heresy, is it not wiser to make the effort to understand the transition than to sneer at the language of the *Graeculi*, who may, after all, have caught many secrets of Greek expression which are still hid from our eyes?

¹ As I have elsewhere made use of parallels from Dio Chrys. I will append here a brief list illustrative of his employment of μή with the participle: Circumstantial Or. 6 (p. 93); 11 (pp. 174, 181). Adversative 11 (p. 191). *Oratio obliqua* complex 30 (p. 308); 32 (p. 376). Causal 32 (p. 377). Add Or. 30 (406); 41 (p. 498); 56 (p. 567); 61 (p. 580); 80 (p. 666). On the use of μή with the participle see further my notes on Justin Martyr, Apol. I, 5, 4 and 9, 4 and the list of references in the index.

B. L. GILDERSLEEVE.

NOTES.

THE DIONYSION AT MARATHON.

More than a year ago, the torrent which passes the present village of Marathon, having, during a freshet, carried away a portion of its bank at a point almost equidistant from Marathon, Vraná (Proballithos), and Kato-Souli (Trikorythos), brought to light an inscription, which is interesting on several accounts. It was printed at the time in several of the Athenian daily papers, and shortly afterward in an article by Mr. Sp. Lampros in the *Παρνασσός*, September, 1878, pp. 727-731. It runs thus:

Ἐπιμαρτυροῦντες τῷ Διῶ-
νυσίῳ ἀδελφοὶ
Ἰσχυρὸς καὶ Κωνσταντὸς Τεταρ-
τάτος υἱοὶ Ἰερακλεῶν
Πρωτοπλάτου Μαραθῶνας,
Βασιλεῦσιν Ἑλληνικῶν
Φιλῶσι τὸν Διῶ-
νυσίον τὸν Θεῶν.

There is also a note by the inscription:

Ἡ ἐπιμαρτυρία αὕτη ἐκτελέσθη ἐν τῷ ἔτει 1878, ὡς ἐπιμαρτυροῦνται ἐν τῇ ἐπιγραφῇ.

Ἡ ἐπιμαρτυρία αὕτη ἐκτελέσθη ἐν τῷ ἔτει 1878, ὡς ἐπιμαρτυροῦνται ἐν τῇ ἐπιγραφῇ.

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Ἡ ἐπιμαρτυρία αὕτη ἐκτελέσθη ἐν τῷ ἔτει 1878, ὡς ἐπιμαρτυροῦνται ἐν τῇ ἐπιγραφῇ.

φαίνεται ἀπίθανον ὅτι ἔνθα εὐρέθη αὐτὴ καὶ τᾶλλα περὶ ὧν εἶπον ἀνωτέρω, ἔκειτό ποτε ναὸς τοῦ Διονύσου, καὶ τοὶ οὐδεμία περὶ αὐτοῦ μαρτυρία περιεσώθη παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις συγγραφεῦσι. Καὶ φαίνεται μὲν πως ἀπαιμιμένη πρὸς ταύτην τὴν γνώμην ἡ ὑπαρξίς τάφων ἐν τῇ πλησιεστάτῃ γειτονίᾳ τοῦ λίθου, ὡς εἶπον, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀληθῆ τοῦ πράγματος σχέσιν θὰ δείξῃ ἡ σκαπάνη.

It is to correct the statement that there is no mention of the Marathonian Dionysion in any ancient author that I have written this brief note. In Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, p. 262, in a lexicon of *Δέξεις ῥητορικαί*, we find the following: "*Ἡρώς ἰατρός: ὁ Ἀριστόμαχος, ὃς ἐτάφη ἐν Μαραθῶνι παρὰ τὸ Διονύσιον καὶ τιμᾶται ὑπὸ τῶν ἰγγωρίων.*" This proves not only that there was a Dionysion at Marathon, but also that there was at least one tomb close by it. The Aristomachos referred to seems to have been the son of Iolaos and brother of Adrastos.

THOMAS DAVIDSON.

ON ILIAD B, 318-319.

τὸν μὲν ἀίζηλον θῆκεν θεός, ὃς περ ἔφηνεν
 λαῶν γὰρ μιν ἔθηκε Κρόνου παῖς ἀγκυλομήτεω.

The textual difficulties of this passage are well known. The MSS. all have *ἀρίζηλον*, except the Ambrosian, which is the oldest that has reached us on this part of the Iliad and cannot be placed later than the sixth century. Here *ἀίζηλον* is found, with *ἀρίζηλον* inserted by a later hand. Zenodotus wrote *ἀρίδηλον*, in the same sense as *ἀρίζηλον*. Aristarchus appears to have read *αἰδηλον* or *αἰζηλον*, with the meaning "unseen", and this is preferred by the Ven. Schol., and must have been in Cicero's copy, since he renders (De Div. 2, 30):

qui luci ediderat, genitor Saturnius, idem
 abdidit, et duro firmavit tegmina saxo.

Buttmann (Lexil. 10) has argued strongly for the same sense, though doubtful about the form *αἰζηλον*; while Curtius (Etym. 644) has shown that the form is analogically correct, and asserts that "we need have no hesitation about accepting it as a reading." Ameis adopts *αἰζηλον*, but attempts to prove its meaning to be the same as *ἀρίζηλον*; and he remarks as follows upon Curtius: "One

may wish some slight proof that in the character of the Homeric world of phenomena the idea 'invisible' really harmonizes with the following *λάαν γάρ μιν ἔθηκε.*" This proof appears to have lain entirely unnoticed in the corresponding passage of the Thirteenth Odyssey, where the Phaeacian galley is transformed to stone by the hand of Poseidon, as it runs into the harbor under the eyes of the people. The thought of the spectators in relation to the marvel is thus expressed (v. 168-9): *ὦ μοι, τίς δὴ νῆα θοῦν ἐπέδησ' ἐνὶ πόντῳ | οἷκαδ' ἐλαυνομένην; καὶ δὴ προῦφαίνεταιο πᾶσα.* With *τίς, ἀθωάτων* may be supplied, as δ 380, since *πεδάω* is almost exclusively used of the action of deities. This tends to show their belief that some miracle has been wrought. The succeeding words of Alcinous, especially lines 177-8, point to some noticeable change in the appearance of the galley, and there exists throughout the episode a vague intimation that the transformed vessel shall supply the place of the threatened mountain, though still retaining a semblance to its former self. Now, the last clause of 169, *καὶ δὴ προῦφαίνεταιο πᾶσα*, "even now she was all plainly visible," surely implies the same contrast as is expressed in B by *ἀίζηλον* and *ἔφηνε* "she was just now in plain sight"; at the moment of speaking she was so no longer (cf. O 251, 496). Why? Not because she has been sunk by the hand of the god beneath the surface, for that contradicts the whole tenor of the recital. It must be interpreted, then, as declaring that the poet viewed such a transformation as producing invisibility. Cicero's language plainly tells us that he found a reason for this view of the poet in the supposition that the object transformed was conceived to be covered with a coating of stone, and thus concealed from sight. This is supported in a remarkable degree by the language of Sophocles in relation to Niobe, "whom a rocky growth like clinging ivy prisoned," *τὴν κισσοῦς ὡς ἀτενῆς πετραία βλάστα δάμασεν*, Antig. 826, and *ἐν τᾶφῳ πετραίῳ*, Electra 151. Herein it may be said a certain plausibility is given to the marvel of 163. The exterior covering proceeding from the creative hand of the deity supplies the material for rooting the vessel firmly below. The illusion becomes all the stronger for plausibility.

A. C. MERRIAM.

THE WORD *WEASAND*.

An interesting discussion, begun by W. Hertzberg, and continued by Julius Zacher, relative to this word and its High-German next of kin, may be found in the *Zeitschrift für Deutsche Philologie*, X 383. The occasion for it was furnished by a false and ludicrous explanation of a passage in the Middle High-German poem of "Otto mit dem Barte," written by the famous mediaeval poet Konrad von Würzburg. There Heinrich von Kempten, after a struggle with the Emperor in which the latter's crown falls off and rolls upon the floor, seizes him by the throat, and drawing his dagger, proceeds to extort a recantation of the oath just sworn against his life. The courtiers are at first petrified with terror; then, summoning up their courage, they are about to rush forward to their master's assistance. At this point Von Kempten warns them back, threatening instant death to the Emperor if any one should be so hardy as to attempt his rescue, and adding

"ich stich im abe den weisen
mit disem mezzar veste."

Weise is explained by Konrad's editor as "orphanus, the costliest jewel in the imperial diadem, brought into Germany, so the story goes, by Duke Ernest, and absolutely unparalleled in value." According to this interpretation, the couplet above quoted would be prosaically rendered :

"With this knife I'll cut away the costliest jewel of his crown."

The absurdity of such pointless bravado is but too apparent. Hertzberg, bringing to bear no little ingenuity and learning, combats the received view, and suggests the relationship of *weisen* to the English *weasand*. This word he suspects may have something in common with *wheeze*, but he fails to demonstrate the connection. Zacher follows him, but, after exhausting his sources of information, confesses that the etymology of the word is still obscure. Recognizing a difficulty in the derivation from a problematical Anglo-Saxon *hweosan*, on account of the initial *h*, of which there is no trace in the Anglo-Saxon *wæsend*, *wasend*, he is fain to believe that *weisen* should be classed with O. H. G. *waso*, "cesses;" *wasal*, "pluvia;" *wisa*, "wiese;" but for these words again he is in want of a satisfactory etymon.

The present writer undertakes to carry on the discussion begun in the *Zeitschrift* with the hope of discovering the true etymology of the English *weasand*. Its Anglo-Saxon form is quoted by Lye, in his *Dictionarium Saxonico et Gothico-Latinum*, London, 1772, as *wæsend wasend*, with a reference to Ælfric's Glossary. In Haupt's *Zeitschrift*, IX 464, 490, we find *wasende*, "ingluyie," and *wasend*, "ingluyies" (glossed as "gula").

What relation does this unmistakable ancestor of *weasand* bear to the verb *wheeze* and others of that ilk?

Lye, followed by Benfey, in his *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* under Skr. *çvas*, and at second-hand by Fick in his *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch*, I 60, assigns to *hweosan* the meaning "wheeze, difficulter respirare," but furnishes no example of its actual use.

Kuhn, *Zeitschrift* XV 318 ff., collects a number of derivatives, related to the Skr. intensive *çaçvasti*, and appearing, after compensative lengthening of the root-vowel occasioned by loss of the reduplicating syllable, as Icel. *hvǫsa*, "fessum anhelare," and, with umlaut from derivative *ja*, as *hvǫsa*, "graviter anhelare," Swed. *hwása* "hiss" (as snakes), or "whistle" (as the wind); *hwásande*, neuter, "a whistling, roaring, hissing." Cleasby and Vigfusson, *Icelandic-English Dictionary*, also have *hvása*, "hiss."

Moreover, there is actual proof of the existence of the verb in Anglo-Saxon, not, however, as *hweosan*, which would be phonetically inconsistent with Icel. *hvǫsa* and *hvása*. In Ælfric's Homily on the Nativity of the Innocents, p. 92 of Sweet's Anglo-Saxon Reader, occurs the preterite singular *hweós*, which, compared with the Norse forms adduced above, evidently belongs to March's Fifth Conjugation (*Grammar*, § 208), with the contracted preterites in *eó*. Whether the infinitive should be set down as *hwásan* or *hwásan* admits of some doubt.

Sweet assumes the latter, but this would be the only instance of a verb in *d* with contract preterite in *eó*, excepting the form *leót*, from *lǣtan*, Sax. Chr. 852.

On the contrary, verbs with radical vowel *d*, and preterite in *eó*, (*Grimm's Third Conj.*), exist in no inconsiderable number. As we have seen, the Icelandic verb has two forms, *hvǫsa* and *hvása*, and it will not be forgotten that *weasand* is represented in Anglo-Saxon by both *wásend* and *wésend*, for there can be no doubt as to the length of the first syllable, and Leo, in his *Angelsächsisches Glossar.*, has already set the example of employing the accent over the radical vowel.

The identification of *hwásan* (*hwásan*) with *wásend* (*wásend*)—for the latter word would originally have been the present participle of the verb from which it sprang (cf. *fiend* and *friend*)—depends upon the possibility of showing that aphaeresis of initial *h*, standing for Indo-European *k*, is not unknown in the Anglo-Saxon period, for the phenomenon is regular in O. H. G., and by no means exceptional in Old Norse. Wimmer, *Altnordische Grammatik*, § 24, C. e., says in relation to this point: "*H* ist selbst in sehr alten handschriften vor *l*, *n* und *r* oft ausgelassen (*lutr*=*hlutr*; *ringr*=*hringr* u. s. w.). Diess ist regel in norwegischen handschriften."

A number of A. S. words occur in double form, i. e., both with and without initial *h*, that are excluded by the consideration that this *h* does not demonstrably correspond to the Aryan primal *k*. To the following, however, no exception can be taken on this score:

H before *l*:

Hliva (*clivus*) > *hlira* > *lira*. Cf. Fick VII 88. In Haupt, Gl. 478, occurs *spaerlirena*, "surarum;" 482, *spaerliran*, "suras;" 483, and *spaerlirum*, "et suris." *Hluttur* (Fick, VII 90, Curtius, *Grundzüge*, 151) > *luttur*. In Haupt, Gl. 418, are the forms *hlyttor*, "luculentus, splendidus," and *hluttur*, "clarus;" 468, *ahlutredes hunigteares*, "defecati nectaris;" 529, *fram hlutrum winc*, "a puro vino;" but 480, *luttres wines*, "defruti."

H before *r*:

Hring (Fick, I 52; Curt. 151) > *ring*. Haupt, Gl. 405, *ehringa*, "pupillarum;" 406, *hofringas*, "orbes;" 434, *ringum*, "annulis;" 493, *ehringum*, "orbibus, oculis;" 514, *eahringum*. "oculorum orbibus;" 519, *hringum*, "spiris, nexibus."

Hreow (Fick, I 53; Curt., 156) > *reow*. Beow. 548, *hreo wáeron ydha*; Cri. 859, *hreo ne hrycg*; but Jul. 481, *reone stredm*; An. 1336, *hi wáeron reowe*; Guth. 377, *wáeron hi reowe*.

Hruh (Fick I 53) > *ruh*. This is probably only another spelling of the last word. With *h*, Haupt, Gl. 524, *hruhe*, "hirsutus;" without *h*, Gl. 482, *ruches*, "nodosi."

So likewise *hreosendlic*; Haupt, Gl. 422, *hreosendlic*, "cassabundus, corruendus;" 459, *hreosendlice*, "cassabundum, corruendum;" but 499, *reosendlicum ræscum* (glossed as "scurum"), "ruituris imbribus."

H before *w* :

The loss of *h* in this combination is precisely that which occurs in the supposed transition from *hwásan* to *wásend*. Here we have only one example, but that of an important word, namely, *hweorf* (*hweorfan*). Cf. Fick, III 542 and Curt., 353, 464. In Haupt, Gl. 458, *weorf-nyten* (glossed as "hors"), "subjugales," Grimm, Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer, p. 467, is disposed to connect A. S. *orf*, *yrfe* with Goth. *arbi*, but does not succeed in satisfying himself, and appears never to have seen the form *weorf*. So Morris and Skeat, Specimens of Early English, Part Second, Gloss. Index, s. v. *orf*. There can be little question that *weorf* is related to *hweorfan*, in the sense of to wander, perambulate, go, as Greek *πρόβατα* to *προβαίνω*. For the verb, cf. Ælf. Metra of Boethius, 24, 44, *Gif þu wyrfst on wege*, and the alliteration in Judith, 249. This phenomenon is admitted in the case of *hweorfan* and its derivatives for both Anglo-Saxon and Old Saxon. Cf. Vetter, Zum Muspilli, p. 44; Rieger, Alt- und Angelsächsische Verskunst, p. 9, and Sievers' Heliand, line 4145, note.

So soon as it is allowed that forms with and without initial *h* did coexist in Anglo-Saxon, it is evident that a verb *wásan* < *hwásan* might have existed in Anglo-Saxon, or at least that *wásend*, (*wdsend*) is likely to have sprung from the *hwásan* (*hwdsan*) deduced above. If, then, we once more compare the Swed. *hwásende*, though the latter be used for the effect rather than the instrument, we must be convinced that this hypothesis is the correct one.

It is not improbable that the word *wesil* = windpipe, with its South German relative, *waisel*, *wázel*, may exist in the familiar phrase "To wet one's whistle." If *wesil* is only another form of *whistle*, as is rendered likely by the occurrence of an Icel. verb *hvísla*, "whisper," without formative *t*, but with initial *h*, this fact may furnish collateral evidence for the derivation of *weasand* from A. S. *hwásan*.

ALBERT S. COOK.

VARIA.

I. Among the fragments of Korinna, in Bergk's collection, is one (No. 20) which that scholar has dealt with in the most capricious way, making it almost unintelligible. It reads thus in his edition :

*κλία γέροντ' αἴσιμμένα
Ταναγρίδεσσι λευκοπέπλους·
μέγα δ' ἐμῆς γέγασε πόλις
λιγουροχωτίλης ἐνόπης.*

To obtain this text he has substituted *κλία* for *καλά*, *γέροντ'* for *γέροια*, *αἴσιμμένα* for *εἰσομμένα*, *λευκοπέπλους* (with Ahrens) for *λευκοπέπλοις*, *ἐμῆς* (with Boeckh) for *ἐμῆ*, *γέγασε* for *γέγαθε* and *ἐνόπης* (with Boeckh) for *ἐνοπῆς*. One wonders that he did not throw away the old fragment and write a new verse altogether. He might then have made it intelligible and filled it with Ahrensian forms to his heart's content. The only real difficulty in the whole passage lies in the second word, which conjecture has read variously, *γέροια*, *γέροια*, *γεροῖ*, *Γέρωι*, *γέροντ'*. Why it should have been assumed to be a noun is not plain, especially as the *δέ* in the second clause almost implies a verb in the first. The true reading seems to have been *γέροια* *αἰσομμένα*, which being falsely divided, *γέροια* *εἰσομμένα*, became unintelligible, and caused the further alterations. Dropping most of Bergk's conjectures, we may read :

*Καλά γέροια ἄεισομμένα
Ταναγρίδεσσι λευκοπέπλοις,
μέγα δ' ἐμῆ γέγαθε πόλι
λιγουροχωτίλης ἐνοπῆς.*

Here *ν* has been added to *αἰσομμένα* and *ς* dropped from *πόλις*.

Might not the youthful Korinna, at the close of an ode, have bespoken the good graces of her hearers thus?

"Honor the future sweet singer of the white-robed dames of Tanagra, and rejoice, my city, in the clear-plaintive strain."

It is worth while remarking that this passage proves the second *α* in *Τάναγρα*, usually given as long, to have been naturally short.

II. In Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, *A* 7, p. 1072, b 2 (Bekk.) is a passage which has puzzled all the editors, and which yet may be emended with such ease and certainty that one wonders that its

true form should not have struck every one. Speaking of final cause, A. says: *ὅτι δ' ἔστι τὸ οὐ ἕνεκα ἐν τοῖς ἀκινήτοις, ἢ διαίρεσις δηλοῖ. ἔστι γάρ τινι τὸ οὐ ἕνεκα, ὧν τὸ μὲν ἔστι τὸ δ' οὐκ ἔστι.* In the last clause the *ὧν* evidently has no antecedent; consequently Schwegler proposes to substitute *διττόν* for *τινι* so as to make the antecedent clause equivalent to *ἔστι γὰρ δύο γένη τοῦ οὐ ἕνεκα*, which might then be followed by *ὧν*. For this change he has the support of two passages, *De Anima*, II 2, p. 415, b 2 sq., *τὸ δ' οὐ ἕνεκα διττόν, τὸ μὲν οὐ, τὸ δὲ ψ*, and *ibid.* b 20, *διττῶς δὲ τὸ οὐ ἕνεκα, τό τε οὐ καὶ τὸ ψ*. Cf. *Physica*, II 2, p. 194, a 35. Bonitz, accordingly, approves of Schwegler's reading, although differing with him as to the interpretation of the passage. Nevertheless, the violent change of *τινι* into *διττόν* is not necessary, and the same meaning may be obtained and the sentence rendered grammatical in a much simpler way. The Laurentian MS. Ab, which Bonitz, as well as Bekker and Brandis, considers of the highest authority (vid. Preface to Bonitz's *Metaphysica*, p. xv), reads *ἔστι γάρ τινι τὸ οὐ ἕνεκα τινός ὧν, κ. τ. λ.* If after *ἕνεκα* we insert *καὶ*, which the scribe omitted, no doubt on account of the final *κα* of *ἕνεκα*, we obtain *ἔστι γάρ τινι τὸ οὐ ἕνεκα καὶ τινός, ὧν, κ. τ. λ.*, which is plain, intelligible, and good Aristotelian doctrine. The last clause, *ὧν τὸ μὲν ἔστι, τὸ δ' οὐκ ἔστι*, Bonitz completes by supplying *ἐν τοῖς ἀκινήτοις*. Abrupt and elliptical as Aristotle's Greek often is, I do not think he ever allows himself any such liberty as this. Nor do I think that by this means we obtain the sense he means to convey. The clause does not seem to me elliptical at all. Aristotle simply says: There are two kinds of final cause, the person or thing for whose sake anything is done, and the object aimed at in doing it. When a physician administers medicine, he does so for the sake of the patient (*τινί*), who *is*, and with a view to health, which *is not*, that *is*, is not *ἐνεργεία*, although it certainly is *δυνάμει*. But things that have any *δύναμις* are not *ἀκίνητα*, which is just what Aristotle means.

III. Pausanias, in his *Itinerary*, I 26, 5 (6), speaking of the Erechtheion, says: *Γραφαὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν τοίχων τοῦ γένους εἰσὶ τῶν Βουταδῶν. καὶ, διπλοῦν γάρ ἔστι τὸ οἶκημα καὶ ὕδωρ ἔστιν ἔνδον θαλάσσιον ἐν φρέατι.* So the old editions read. Siebelis, Dindorf, and Schubert, not knowing what to do with the second *καὶ* before *ὕδωρ*, simply throw it out. Michaelis, who has a wild theory with respect to the Erechtheion to support in defiance of evidence, would read *καὶ—διπλοῦν γάρ ἔστι τὸ οἶκημα—καταβάσειν εἰς τὸ κάτω οἶκημα*

καὶ ὕδωρ ἐστὶν ἔνδον ἐν φρέατι (then counting the next four lines a parenthesis) καὶ τριαίνης ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ πέτρα σχῆμα, which, without accounting for the troublesome καὶ (why should he say "Both water and the mark of the trident"), entails a new difficulty in the last ἐστίν. The more cautious Jahn assumes a lacuna after οἶκημα without attempting to fill it. Now, it seems to me, there cannot be any doubt what the missing word was. Herodotus, VIII 55, tells us: "Ἔστι ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ταύτῃ Ἐρεχθῆος τοῦ γηγενέως λεγομένου εἶναι νηὸς ἐν τῷ ἐλαίῳ τε καὶ θάλασσα ἔνι. And we know, from other sources, that the sacred olive was the most important object in the Erechtheion, as being the proof of Athena's title to the temple and the citadel. It is, therefore, almost incredible that Pausanias should have mentioned the salt-water tank and left the more important sacred olive unnoticed, so that we should be justified in inserting the word ἐλαία before the second καὶ. The sentence would then read: Γραφαὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν τοίχων τοῦ γένους εἰσὶ τῶν Βουταδῶν, καὶ ἐλαία—διπλοῦν γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ οἶκημα—καὶ ὕδωρ ἐστὶν ἔνδον θαλάσσιον ἐν φρέατι. This conjecture is confirmed by the fact that when further on (27, 2) he speaks of the olive, he alludes to it as if he had already mentioned it: Περὶ δὲ τῆς ἐλαίας οὐδὲν ἔχουσιν ἄλλο εἰπεῖν x. τ. λ. There is great hesitancy among archaeologists to admit that the olive was within the ναός; but there ought to be no doubt on the matter.

THOMAS DAVIDSON.

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

Sanskrit Grammar, including both the Classical Language and the Older Dialects, of Veda and Brahmana. By WILSON DWIGHT WHITNEY, Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology in Yale College, New Haven. For sale by E. W. Lippincott & Co., New York. Price \$3.00.

We have received from the publishers, Messrs. Breitkopf and Härtel, of Leipzig, a copy of Professor Whitney's *Sanskrit Grammar*. It is the first of a series of Indo-European grammars which the house is now issuing. This volume appears in English, and also in a German translation by Dr. Heinrich Zimmer.

The name of the author is a sufficient voucher for the character of the book. Unlike most of its predecessors, it is based upon thorough-going investigations of the actual facts and usages of the language as seen in the most important documents of its extant literature. It includes "both the Classical Language, and the Older Dialects, of Veda and Brahmana." This promise of the title-page suggests one of the most distinctive features of the work. It is an historical grammar from beginning to end. Multitudes of the facts of the classical language, as stated in the ordinary treatises, appear excessively arbitrary and artificial; but when presented as they are here, in the light of the older language, they appear reasonable and natural. Dead as the Sanskrit itself may be, this volume everywhere makes the *study of Sanskrit* now a study of *life and growth*.

The use of different sizes of type enables the beginner to select easily those portions a knowledge of which is needed at the outset. The Sanskrit words are transliterated throughout; and are given in the original characters also, where this was practicable (in the paragraphs set in the largest type and leaded).

To all students of Sanskrit, and no less to classical teachers who desire to get from that language what help they can for making their work intelligent and effective, Mr. Whitney's grammar is worthy of unqualified commendation. The lack of suitable type precludes our giving in this number such a detailed notice of the

work as it deserves; but we were unwilling to neglect this, the earliest opportunity, to call attention to it. May its appearance mark the beginning of a new epoch in linguistic studies for our native land!

C. R. L.

A Study of the Hexameter of Virgil, and a Study of the Principal Latin Rhythms other than the Hexameter. By JOSEPH W. CLOUGH. Boston, 1879.

The author attempts to show that Latin poetry was recited exclusively according to accent, and attributes to each accented syllable two *tempora* and to each unaccented syllable one *tempus*, thus admitting quantity as an element after all. And still he believes that each verse was composed *conventionally* with a certain quantitative *metrum*; that, for instance, the hexameter had to have its six feet, four of which were dactyls or spondees, the fifth usually a dactyl and the sixth a spondee (or trochee). But this *metrum* was entirely disregarded in reciting. Vergil, he says, wrote "with the fear of the quantities before his eyes," yet he neither tells us the origin of this conventional usage, nor does he inform us what the quantity of the *metrum* really was; and it is difficult to see what it could have been, inasmuch as in the "rhythm" (by which term he designates the true reading "*cantatio*, not *lectio*," of verse) the accented syllables were long and the unaccented short. Moreover, in each kind of verse there was a fixed number of accents and a fixed number of *tempora*. In the hexameter the accents were *five* and the *tempora twenty-four*. The ordinary minimum verse, having thirteen syllables, gives us $8+2 \times 5=18$ *tempora*, and the maximum, seventeen syllables, gives $12+2 \times 5=22$. The other *tempora* of the twenty-four were made up by pauses. This system compels us sometimes to make a pause at the end of every word, and sometimes to place two accents on one word, and sometimes to group several words together under one accent; and that, too, although the author himself says that Quintilian assigns the accent a fixed position, and that "we have eminent authority for the fact that each word . . . had but one accent." (This "authority" should have been named, so that we might judge for ourselves of his "eminence." It was a certain M. Tullius Cicero.) He even treats Greek verse in the same manner, *applying the Latin system of accentuation*. Of

course it would be idle to point out the utter erroneousness of such a system. Attention, however, may be directed to one point: Although he insists on *rhythm* (which he cannot define) as the great essential, it is evident that his system allows no rhythm. His scheme of "terra tremit, fugere ferae, et mortalia corda" is 202000202000000020. Even E. A. Poe's system secured rhythm, i. e., a recurrence of the stress at approximately equal intervals of time. These pamphlets of course contain numerous minor errors. One of the most striking is where he writes (Verg. Aen. VII 812) "illam omnis tectis agrisque effusa juventus," combining *omnis* and *tectis* under one accent, because "omnis, being unemphatic, leans on its noun"! The sole merit of these essays is, that they propose to do away with the too prevalent system of sacrificing the sense to the "scansion"; but it seems never to have occurred to the author that sense, quantity, ictus, and accent, can all be observed at the same time.

M. W. HUMPHREYS.

A Hand-Book to Modern Greek. By EDGAR VINCENT, Coldstream Guards, and T. G. DICKSON. With a Preface by Prof. BLACKIE. London, Macmillan & Co., 1879. 16mo, xvi 273. (Cushings & Bailey, Baltimore. \$1.25.)

When we say that this is the best work on modern Greek that has hitherto appeared in the English language, we are not giving it very high praise, or naming any test by which its merits can be appreciated. There does not indeed exist, in any language, a really good book on modern Greek, and to this general statement the present work forms no marked exception. The great demerit of them all is, that they do not emphasize or make important in practice, the fact that modern Greek is not a language, but three dialects merging into each other more or less imperceptibly. There is, first, the *χρῆμα* or vulgar Romaic, the language of the common people, the language of the Klephtic ballads, and, indeed, the only form of Greek in which poetry, properly so-called, can be written. Next, there is the *καθολομιμῆνη*, or speech of the middle classes, very fairly represented in the present volume by the extracts from the *Προλεγόμενα καὶ Στῆλαι* of Angelos Vlachos (*Βλάχος*), pp. 221-31. It is a sort of reformed Romaic, suited to the purposes of cultivated life. Lastly there is the *καθαρευουσα*, or jumble

of Romaic and ancient Greek forms and French idioms, a non-descript and artificial dialect in which most of the Greeks write, but which hardly anybody, except a few professors at the university, speaks. The present work is, for the most part, a hand-book of this last strange dialect, occasionally, indeed, taking up forms and idioms belonging to the other two, but nowhere carefully distinguishing them. This, of course, leads only to confusion. What can a person think, when he finds, e. g., *he told him*, expressed, sometimes by τὸν εἶπε, sometimes by τοῦ εἶπε, and sometimes by τῷ εἶπε? All three are, indeed, in use in Greece, but under different circumstances. The Grammar (Part I), which occupies 120 pages, is concise and not very incorrect. It is strange, however, to be told that Turkish nouns have no dative, without being told at the same time the reason, viz., that they are not used in the καθαρεύουσα, which alone has a dative. It is also surprising to a person who speaks Greek to find the acc. plur. of καφέες given as καφέδας (p. 32), a form which nobody uses. Indeed, the authors must have found, on trial, that *they* could not use it; for on page 34, last example, we read ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης ἐζήτησε δύο καφέδες, which is correct. The Grammar is full of such little inaccuracies, with here and there some glaringly large ones, as, e. g., where we are told, p. 113, that "The adjective stands before the substantive, with which it agrees, except when the two together form the Predicate" (cf. νύκτας ὀλοκλήρους, p. 240), or that "The Second Singular Imperative [of the Second Aor.] is accented on the last syllable," which is true in only five cases at most. Nobody says φυγέ, μαθέ, etc. When we are informed that "Modern Greek has retained both the First and Second Aorist (*sic*), but in no one verb are both forms in use," we can easily disprove the latter statement from the work itself, e. g., on p. 97, the Aor. of τρέχω is given as ἔθρεξα, and yet, on p. 83, we find ἐξέδραμον.

Part II, which consists of dialogues and letters, must prove very useful to the student, although the language is such as one rarely hears spoken. Part III, consisting of Passages from Ancient Greek Authors, with translations into Modern Greek, might have been omitted with advantage, and Part IV, containing Selections from Contemporary Greek Writers, made to cover its space. The Vocabulary (Part V) is rendered difficult to use from being arranged under subjects, instead of alphabetically.

In spite, however, of all these drawbacks, and very numerous misprints, this little work cannot fail to be of great use to persons

to visit Greece, or to take up the study of modern Greek. We ought to add that the authors, though evidently not profound scholars, are as evidently capable of writing a much better book than they have written. Let us hope they will do so, and soon.

THOMAS DAVIDSON.

De Accidis et Hippolyti Euripidearum Interpolationibus. Disputationis de Interpolatione Euripidea Specimen, etc. J. H. WHEELER (Diss.). Bonnae, 1879.

In this dissertation Dr. Wheeler has evinced a knowledge of his author such as few possess who for the first time undertake the fascinating but perilous exploration of the text of Euripides. It is indeed a dangerous quest; for while all are agreed that the ordinary resources of diplomatic criticism will not suffice to restore the image of the poet's art, still so much depends on the critic's conception of Euripides that many will be found to say, as Dr. Wheeler himself confesses, that the objections lie not against the interpolations but against the poet. The investigator has to encounter at every turn the inevitable circle of arguing from the poet to his work and from the work to the poet. If we reject inconsistencies, repetitions, long-winded declamations, blurs and blotches, because they are not Euripidean, we are in danger of setting up an Euripides of our own, who by means of gradual elimination will cease to bear a recognizable resemblance to the portrait by Aristophanes, and whose faults and exaggerations and distortions, is an unmistakable sign of distance from the original, and this restored Euripides will make it difficult for us to accept minor inconsistencies, briefer repetitions, and shorter speeches, until we arrive at the condition which Hermann has aptly stated in his preface to the *Phoenissae*: *Qui laudis gratia de industria suspiciones venatur, in eo quod est in laudanda perspicaciae cupiditas postremo in morbo incidit, quo quidem qui eo morbo tenetur gratum, aliis invidiosum et pene intolerabilem.* But this warning is not heeded by the old school. Euripidean criticism has, during the last few years, gone far beyond the old limit, and in the present century cannot be stopped by suspicion of their object. In Dr. Wheeler's case, the masculine energy which he brings to his subject adds a special charm to his learning and his industry, and his comparing that, in his familiarity with Euripides, he has not been misled by his ardent wishes on grounds which might

seem almost entirely subjective. True, while he is evidently an ardent admirer of Euripides, as is natural, he is not a thorough-paced encomiast, as he has shown by his strictures on the *Alkestis*, and he admits freely the weaknesses of his hero. But for all that he is intolerant of much that less fastidious critics would pass by, and can lay claim to the *animus suspicax* which Bentley demands for the guild, and in his eyes "he is more in fault who darkens the poet's good name by defending one spurious verse than he who deprives the poet of two good and genuine verses."

As a specimen of his Euripidean work, Dr. Wheeler has taken two of the earlier pieces, the *Alkestis* and the *Hippolytos*, because their build is clearer, and any interference by the interpolator with the natural development would be more evident than in the later poems. A detailed statement of the changes which Dr. Wheeler proposes, prepared for this number of the *Journal*, is necessarily omitted for want of room. Especially important is the hint which the author gives of the evidence which he has gathered that Euripidean interpolations are due in some measure to inserting trimeters in order to make up for cutting choral passages; and the use which he makes of the *Ἰππόλυτος καλυπτόμενος* in reconstructing passages of our *Hippolytos* is ingenious and interesting. Everywhere Dr. Wheeler has the courage of his opinions, and in one place he does not hesitate to pronounce a passage much admired by Valckenaer nothing but a spurious piece of patch-work; and this thorough honesty of conviction, which I have emphasized before, is much needed in the work of American philologists, to whose ranks Dr. Wheeler is a valuable accession.

B. L. G.

Selections from the Greek Lyric Poets, with an Historical Introduction and Explanatory Notes. By HENRY M. TYLER, Professor of Greek and Latin in Smith College, Northampton, Mass. Boston, Ginn & Heath, 1879.

Based on Buchholz's well-known Anthologie. With what care and knowledge the work has been done may be seen from the following samples of the commentary, culled from the first few pages. *Kallinos* I, 1 (the very first note), "*μέχρις*: The form is epic though not used in Homer." As it happens, the parallel passage cited by the commentators is *Il.* 24, 128: *τέο μέχρις ὀδυρόμενος καὶ ἀχεύων*. Homer uses the word only twice, once as above, once in the form

μῆτροι, II. 13, 143. V. 13, "ei: used by the poets, where Attic prose would use δν." To say nothing of the loose form of the note, why δν instead of ην? So just afterward, v. 17, the note has ἄν τι πάθῃ, the text ην. On Tyrtaios, 10, 25, it was surely unnecessary to call the attention of the pupils of Smith College to the antique candor of *aidota*. Solon, 4, 6 "πειθόμενοι: suggests the idea of yielding to persuasion," very much as *μεγάλην* (v. 3) suggests the idea of "great." The crown of scholarship, however, is to be found in the annotation on Minnermos, 2, 14, "Αἶθην: the use of the *feminine* form, as referring to a place, belongs to the later Greek." This discovery is Professor Tyler's own. But then he has had peculiar advantages. This extension of Comte's saying, this great revelation *l'enfer se féminise* could only have been made by a teacher of exceptional opportunities. Das Ewig-Weibliche zieht uns hinan.

B. L. G.

The FRIKIAN Language and Literature: A Historical Study. By W. T. HANNEY.

This is an excellent monograph not only on the language and literature of the Frikians but also on their history. The first part, "on the early extent of Fria," is particularly valuable because it puts in a convenient shape and place all the references to the subject in the classical and later writers. The amount of the extant literature is well surveyed and complete and accurate.

The discussion of Frikian terms and inflections is still based on the work of Nest and Holmgaard. We think the author should have gone beyond them especially in the phonology. The late discoveries have shown that the phonemics of the primitive world are not so much as it seems is not so great and striking as they at first appeared to be.

H. C. G. B.

REPORTS.

REVUE DE PHILOGIE, DE LITTÉRATURE ET D' HISTOIRE ANCIENNES. (Edited by ÉD. TOURNIER, L. HAVET AND CH. GRAUX: Paris.) 1877. Vol. I. (New Series.)¹

1. pp. 7-24. The importance of a knowledge of epigraphy in interpreting certain classic works (A letter to L. Havet from E. Desjardins). This letter discusses the fourth Silva of the First Book of Statius, and criticises translations of this work, taking that of Rinn (one of the best) as a sample, and points out various errors which would have been avoided by a thorough knowledge of the Roman *cursus honorum*, and of certain inscriptions. The article throws much light on the history of the hero of this Silva, C. Rutilius Gallicus. [The article exhibits acute critical powers and is clear and methodical. At one point, where the opinion is expressed that *gemini, geminati*, denote simultaneous *doubling* rather than *succession*, we miss an allusion to an exception in "*tergeminis honoribus*," especially as these very *honores* are the subject under discussion.]

2. pp. 189-192. Second letter to Havet from Desjardins on the same subject. Making use of an inscription (Vol. VI, p. 444, of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*), the author establishes some further details, especially in the *cursus honorum* of C. Rutilius Gallicus, showing also the date of his death to have been A. D. 92—the very year to which his death had been assigned by combination in the previous letter.

3. pp. 25-34. The Epitaph of the Athenians slain at Chaeronea, cited in the *De Corona* § 289 (By Henri Weil). A defence of the authenticity of the Epitaph, showing that the passage formerly attributed to Gaetulicus, but shown by Kaibel to be much earlier (and hence believed to be the genuine Epitaph), cannot be the true Epitaph of the Athenians; and producing strong arguments in defence of the one cited in Demosthenes, which the author amends as follows: v. 1, he changes *ἐνεκα* to *μὲν ἐκάς*; v. 3, *ἀρετῆς* to *ἀρεως*; v. 5, *ζυγὸν αὐχένι θέντες* to *ζυγὸν αὐχένα δόντες*; v. 10, *ἐν βιωτῇ* . . . *φυγεῖν* to *αἰχμητῆν φυγῶν*. [If the MSS. gave the form to which Weil reduces the Epitaph no one would doubt its authenticity; but the changes are unpleasantly numerous and a little violent.]

4. pp. 35-39. Attic Orthography according to Inscriptions (By Paul Foucart). a) *Υῖός* and *γυός*, according to the grammarian Theognostus, were spelled *ύός*, *γύός*, at Athens. For *ύός* his statement is verified by numerous inscriptions, the forms found being *ύός*, *ύού*, *ύόν*; *ύεις*, *ύών*, *ύεις*. The Inscriptions run from B. C. 409 down to the Roman conquest, when *υῖός* begins to appear. b) *θάλασσα* vs. *θάλαττα*: the latter (-ττ-) is the only form found in (seven) inscriptions, B. C. 425-324. So *τέτταρες*, *τετταράκοντα*. c) *Ἦν* and *ἄν*

¹In the case of the *Revue de Philologie*, as in the case of other journals of recent establishment, it has been thought best to begin with the beginning for the sake of completeness.—ED.

(for *ἐάν*) are never found in Attic inscriptions. *d*) So *ληπουργία* or *ληπουργία* (not *λειτ-*) in (three) inscriptions before our era (supported also by authority of grammarians). *e*) *Κωλαρέται* should be *κωλακρέται* (Corp. Inscr. Att. 20, 37, 45, 93, 285). *f*) No inscription gives *ἐρρηγορέιν*, one of late date gives *ἀρρηγορέιν*, while the common form is *ἐρρηγορέιν*. *g*) *Φλέασι*, not *Φλιάσι*, is found. *h*) Thuc. v. 18; *Σκώλος*, correct *Στώλος*; *Σιγγαίσις*, corr. *Σιγγίσις* or *Σαγίσις*. *Σράγιρος* and *Σταγιρος* not found in inscriptions, but only *Σταγυρίται*.

5. pp. 40-54 and 284-261. *Emendationes ad T. Livium* (By A. Harant). Some forty conjectures, many of which are quite convincing.

6. pp. 55-85. Coricius, Eulogy of Aratius and Stephanus; published for the first time from the MS. (N-101) in the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid (By Ch. Graux). Aratius, a distinguished subordinate of Belisarius, was, at the time of the oration, Dux Palaestinae, while Stephanus was civil governor (*consularis*) of Palestine. The oration throws some light on certain obscure portions of history, and presents some facts entirely new; but the allusions are for the most part vague, the oration being addressed to Aratius and Stephanus personally (at Gaza) and all others present being presumed to know the facts to which allusion is made. (The editor, Ch. Graux, has added valuable critical notes, and gives an interesting discussion of what is meant by *διαλέξεις*.)

7. p. 85. Restoration of a passage of Epicurus (By J. Lachelier). The passage, cited by Diogenes Laertius, 10, 142, is to be read: . . . *ἔτι τε τὸ μὴ κατακτείνε τὸν ἄλλου κτλ.* On p. 200 Lachelier again briefly discusses the same passage.

8. pp. 86-90. Observations on certain passages of Cicero de Officiis (By Ch. Thurot). Discusses Cicero's Latin equivalents for the Stoic *σωφροσύνη*, and its subdivisions, *εὐδαιμόνεια* (*εὐδαιμία*), *κελευστική* (*προμαχία*), *αἰδέως* (*reverentia*), etc., etc. Cicero himself confesses (35, 120) that the Greek words are *difficiles ad Latinae verba*.

9. pp. 91-100 (fine print). Obituary notice of F. Ritschl, with an account of his life and labors (By E. Benoist).

10. pp. 101-165. Critical study of the Letters of Seneca to Lucilius (By Emile Chatelet). Discussion of the MSS. of the first thirteen books (p, P, and Paris. b); criticism of previous collations. Discussion of some fifty passages, with various conjectures. Complete collation of P (Paris, Bibl. Nat. No. 8540) and partial collations of P and Paris. A. Then follow observations on the errors of P, such as one consonant for two and vice versa, *l* added or omitted, *ae* for *e*, *u* for *t*, *a* for *i*, *a* for *e*, *a* for *ae*, *a* for *ae*, *e* for *a*, *a* for *e*, *e* for *i*, *e* for *o*, *o* for *i*, *e* for *ae*, *o* for *ae*, *i* for *e*, *i* for *ae*, *i* for *ae*, *u* for *e*, *u* for *i*, *u* for *o*, *u* added, *u* added or omitted. The letter *e* appears to have been dropped about loose, sometimes falling between words, as *stare e* *stare*, sometimes in the middle of words, as *stare e* *stare*. Further, *e* is used for *ae*, *g* for *c*, *c* for *g*, *g* for *c*, *c* for *t*, *t* for *c*, *t* for *u*, *u* for *t*, *t* for *u*, *u* for *t*. Then we have substitution of words that bear a resemblance, as *quod* for *quod*, *quod* for *quod*, and finally assimilation *a*) of a word to one preceding it, as *quod* for *quod*, *quod* for *quod*, frequently of a word to one following it, as *quod* for *quod*, *quod* for *quod*. [The author's surprise at this last is without good cause.] All the examples of these errors are printed in columns. The author discusses further, arbitrary corrections by copyists and closes with a note on two Vatican MSS. 2207 and 1454).

11. pp. 165-7. *Varia* (By L. Havet). Discussion (with conjectures) of passages of Statius, Commodianus, Luctatii Placidi *glossae*, Apuleius, Pacuvius. [Some of the conjectures are quite satisfying.]

12. pp. 168-181. On the Authenticity of the Law of Euagoras cited in Demosthenes against Meidias § 10 (By Paul Foucart). The authenticity of such pieces is not to be discussed in a general way, but each must be examined to itself; whereby we find that some are mere inventions, some are modifications, and some, exact quotations. The passage in question, if genuine, is one of importance because of the light it sheds on some of the Athenian Festivals. The arguments of Westermann, who pronounces the Law spurious, are taken up in detail and ably confuted. The most important point is to show that the Dionysia of the Piraeus was not a Festival *κατ' ἀγροίς* (as Westermann maintains), but was a city Festival; and this the author does by sound arguments based on inscriptions. The words *καὶ οἱ παῖδες καὶ ὁ κῶμος* receive a striking explanation.

13. pp. 182-188. Scholia on Thucydides (Published by L. Duchesne; furnished by Ἰω. Σακελλίων). Taken from a MS. of Πατμος of the tenth century. These Scholia are of some value; for instance, in Thuc. vi 74: *ἀπελθόντες ἐς Νάξον καὶ Θράκας* (*sic*, Bekker), *στανῶματα περὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ποιησάμενοι αὐτοῦ δεξιμάζον*, the words *καὶ Θράκας* make nonsense; and yet no principle of criticism justifies their suppression. Now the MS. of Patmos gives *ὄρα καὶ* for *Θράκας* and explains *ὄρα* as "fortified places, now called *ὄρια*," which word (*ὄριον*) Hesychius defines *τείχισμα, φραγμὸν*. It is evident that ΟΡΑΚΑΙ (*ὄρα* being a *ἄπαξ ἱρημένον*, was mistaken for ΘΡΑΚΑΣ.

14. pp. 193-204. Critical Notes (By various authors). *a*) By Henri Weil: Conjectures on Eur. Tro. 477 sq., 587 sq., 531 sq., 1187, 383 sq. Herod. VII 161: for *οἶκ ὄνειδος* read *οἶκ ἀεικίς*. Dion Chrysost., Vol. II, p. 433 (Reiske): for *παχείαις* read *παγχρίσους*. Ausonius, Epist. X 47: for *non Poena* read *non troica*. *b*) By J. Lachelier: Sextus Empiricus, p. 246, 17 (Bekker): for *οἶκ εἶχε δὲ αὐτὴν* read *οἶκ εἶκε δὲ αὐτῇ*. *c*) By Max Bonnet: Stobaeus, Florilegium, 40, 7: the quotation (assigned to Democritus) broken up and changed into two iambic trimeters, and assigned to Euripides. Hor. Epist. I 17, 31: for *chlamydem* read *chlanidem*. *d*) By Éd. Tournier: Conjectures on Herod. I 89; 108; II 141; III 14 (bis); 79; VII 101. Babrius v. 15-16: read *οἶμον Αἰδάπων αἰθούς φράσαντος*. Epicurus (Diog. Laert., X 132): read *διδάσκουσα* or *διδάσσοσά γ'* instead of *διδάσκουσαι*. Aesch. Pers., 189: for *μαθῶν* read *μολῶν*. *e*) By H. Dulac: Lucian, Dial. Deor. XXI 2, read *αὐτῷ τῷ κεραννῷ [καὶ βροντῇ]*.

15. pp. 204-205. Quos ego (By Ch. Thurot). These words (as is shown by examples from Cicero) are equivalent to "Illos quidem ego" (i. e., the rel. followed by *ego* implies a concession which introduces an objection).

16. pp. 206-8. Palaeographic Notes (By Ch. Graux). *a*) Xen. Mem., I Prooem. 3, 7: *πολλοῖς* (vulg. *πολλοῖς*) *δειπνίζουσιν* found in MS. No. 1302, Paris. This is one of the best MSS.: imperfectly collated by Dübner. *b*) Montfaucon, Palaeogr. Graec. pp. 43 and 257, mistakes for *Διόδωρος* a sort of monogram of Ἰωάννης διώρθωσα or διώρθωσεν, in MS. No. 2179, Paris. *c*) Some points with regard to the age of *bombycini*. The Greek MS. No. 990, Paris, is not a *bombycinus* but a *membranaceus*; while Gr. MS. 154 is of the thirteenth century (not as old as has been supposed). *d*) Note on the Escorialensis Φ-III-8 of Philostratus, Apollon.

Tyan. Collation of three passages, showing the proper place of this MS. among the others (of this work). *e*) In the monastery of San Lorenzo del Escorial, among other relics, is a MS. "that once belonged to St. John Chrysostom." It has these words written on it *prima manu*: κτήμα τοῦ ἀγίου Ἰωάννου Χρυσοστόμου! It is a book of Evangelists, written in uncial letters in the eighth or ninth century, with accents and musical notes; but the question is, how John Chrysostom came to be canonized before his death.

17. p. 208. A fragment of Hyperides: πάντων ἀπαυδεντότατον τὸ λουδορεῖν (cited by Dion. Antioch.).

18. pp. 209-247. Choriclus, Apology of the Mimes, published for the first time from the MS. (N—101) of the Bibl. Nacional de Madrid (By Ch. Graux). This oration gives some new details in regard to the history of the Theatre in the times of Justinian, as well as some fragments, partly new, of various authors. Valuable critical notes are added. [The oration is ingenious enough, but in places ridiculous, as where, having called attention to the fact that the gods on various occasions assumed the forms of men, etc., he asks indignantly: *δειὸν οὐκ ἐμμοιμένῳ, τίνα τρόπον ἀνθρώποις ἐγκλημα γίνεται μίμησις;*]

19. p. 247. Parody in Aristophanes (By Éd. Tournier). Calls attention to the excellent work of W. H. van de Sande Bakhuyzen, *De parodia in comoediis Aristophanis*, and asks whether *Wasps*, 1031 seq., is not a parody on the description of *Seylla* in the *Odyssey*.

20. pp. 248-253. Correction of Hor. Od. III 14, 12 (By E. Quicherat), *nam vitum expertae male ominatis* into *male inominatis*. Some MSS. give *nomi-natis*, which points to the rare word *inominatis*, found only in one other place, and that, too, in *Horace* (Epod. 16, 38): *inominati perprimat cubilia*.

21. p. 253. A brief Note (by Éd. Tournier) showing that *πλεῖων* in some passages means "in addition," "besides"; as Thuc. I 36. In Soph. Phil., 576, and Oed. Col. 36, it *must* be so interpreted.

22. p. 261. Note (by Tournier) on Plutarch, *De exsil.*, pp. 600-601: putting *ἡμὲν βελτιοῦ ἐν Ἀθηναίσι*, and changing *βελτίονα* into *καλλίονα*.

23. pp. 262-3. Notes on Greek grammar (By Ch. Graux). *a*) Nouns in *-εις* had nom. pl. *ης* till about 380. The word *ΧΑΑΚΙΔΕΕΣ* in a decree of 446-5 is to be read *Χαακιδῆς* and not *Χαακιδῆες*. *b*) Fem. Dual: the author removes some obstacles to the view that the fem. dual sometimes had a form distinct from the men.

24. pp. 264 ff. The gods of Epicurus (By J. Lachelier). A discussion of the physical nature of the gods, based on the *De Natura Deorum*. The atomic theory plays an important part in the discussion.

25. pp. 267-288. Notes on various ancient authors (By several persons). General discussion of passages in Aeschylus, Demosthenes, Euripides, Herodotus, Theophrastus, Antipater (Anth. Pal.), Longus, Caesar, Pliny (Nat. Hist.), Lucian, and Attolus (observations on the MSS. of Optatianus); Vegetius. [Most of the notices are interesting and important.]

THE REVUE DES ÉTUDES APPENDÉ to the REVUE DE PHILOLOGIE and exceedingly valuable, given in the most condensed form, the substance of all the notices and articles in Reviews, Transactions of Societies, etc., published in America, Belgium, Denmark, Egypt, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece,

Holland, Italy, Luxembourg, Norway, Russia, Spain, Switzerland, Turkey, and the United States. For each country there is an *editor-general*, who employs others to assist him when necessary; and M. CHARLES GRAUX is *editor-in-chief*.

REVUE DE PHILOLOGIE. Vol. II, 1878.

1. pp. 1-10. Relations of Linguistic Science to Philology (Letter to Éd. Tournier from Michel Bréal). The author denies that these two branches of knowledge are entirely distinct, and in order to show how much Philology owes to Linguistic Science, he mentions some of the absurd etymologies proposed by scholars before the new science removed the *πρώτον ψεύδος*, and employs other strong arguments.

2. pp. 11-14. Choriciana (Letter to Ch. Graux from Th. Gomperz). Discusses a dozen passages in the works of Choricus published by Graux in the *Revue de Philologie* (1877), making several conjectures. One point may be mentioned. In the *Apology of the Mimes*, XVIII 2, we read: *φασὶ τὸν εὐρηκότα τῶν ὑπὲρ ἧς ἀγωνίζομαι τέχνην, ἐξ οὐ πάντα φησὶν ἀπαγγέλλειν ὁ προσηγορίᾳ μὲν δεύτερος τὴν τάξιν δὲ πρῶτος, ἐκείνων (Philemon) δὴ λέγουσι καὶ τὸν παῖδα τὸν Διοπεΐθου (Menander) ἡλικιώτας τ' ἀμφω κτέ.* Graux had invited Philologists to explain the clause *ἐξ οὐ . . . πρῶτος*. Gomperz suggests as the most plausible explanation, that *δευτερος* refers to *Secundus*, author of four extant Epigrams, who was probably a contemporary of Choricus. [This interpretation, I may say, occurred to me also the first time I read the sentence.]

To this article Graux adds, among other things, a note from Prof. Ussing: According to Choricus (*Apol. Mim.*, IX 3), Smicrines, the Miser of Menander, feared *μή τι τῶν ἐνδον ὁ καπνὸς οἰχοῖτο φέρων*, which is exactly what is said of the Miser of Plautus (*Aulularia*, v. 300):

Quin divom atque hominum clamat continuo fidem,
Suam rem perisse seque eradicarier
De suo tigillo fumus si qua exit foras.

Tigillum here is *not* the log on the fire, but the beam on which hams, etc., were hung to be smoked.

3. pp. 15-18. Appius Claudius and Spurius Carvilius (By L. Havet). Discusses the expulsion of Z from the old Latin Alphabet by Appius Claudius, and the substitution for it of G, invented by Carvilius. The two events must have been nearly or quite simultaneous, and it may be that C., born about B. C. 310, was a protégé of Appius.

4. pp. 19-57. *Novae Lectiones Euripideae* (By H. van Herwerden). Nearly two hundred conjectures.

5. pp. 58-61. L. Duvius Avitus (By R. Mowat). The author shows from inscriptions found at Pompeii that the name was *Duvius*, and not *Dubius* nor *Vibius*—shapes under which it appears in MSS. of Pliny and Tacitus.

6. p. 61. Note (by Éd. Tournier) replying to a criticism of Cobet on Choricus, *Aratius VII*, 2, <ἄν> *γυνή καὶ παιδίων*, and showing that the true reading is *ἄνῃ καὶ παιδίων*.

7. pp. 62-64. *Hor. Od. I* 2, 39-40 (By E. Benoist). *Mauri peditis*. B. opposes the "emendation" of *Mauri* into *Marsi*, and the interpretation of

peditis as "a horseman dismounted"; and defends the common reading and natural interpretation, showing that they are not inconsistent with historical facts. Possibly *peditis* is used to suggest that the enemy (*hostem*) is mounted.

8. p. 64. (By λ .) A passage of Arnobius (I 59) proves that the circumflex and the acute were pronounced differently.

9. pp. 65-77. An Unedited Letter of Harpocration to an Emperor. Published from MS. N—110. Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid (By Ch. Graux). This MS. contains the hermetic collection known as the *Kyparidiēs*. This Harpocration is probably the H. who was the friend of Libanius, and may have been identical with Valerius H. whose name appears at the head of the Lexicon of the Ten Orators. The letter contains evidence that it was written after the decline of the magic art, and yet the writer is evidently an advocate of magic; hence the inference that the emperor addressed was Julian the Apostate, as there was no other emperor of that period to whom one would have dared to send such a letter. These points are carefully discussed by Graux in an introduction, and the letter itself is accompanied by very valuable notes, critical and exegetical. Especially interesting are the notes (40 and 81) on *lecanomancy* and *ακτινοβολία*. The letter is incomplete and would appear to have been sent along with a copy of King Necepsos's Book of Fourteen Remedies. It is not uninteresting, and it is difficult to determine whether the writer was a charlatan or a dupe. Having studied successfully in Asia, he goes to Alexandria and learns the healing art; but on attempting to put into practice the remedies and astrological appliances of Necepsos, he makes a signal failure. Wandering about in despair, and "praying without ceasing" for divine aid, he finally meets with a priest in Diospolis (Thebes), who still understands lecanomancy, and grants him an interview with Asclepius himself in real presence. The god commences a lecture on astrological pharmaceuticals—and the MS. breaks off, but not in time to save the lecturer, god as he is, from two stupid blunders (Harpocration, however, does not see them).

10. pp. 78-83. Variations taken from a MS. of Justin of the twelfth century (By Al. Harant). The MS. in question is in the library of Laon, and seems to be one of the most important MSS. of Justin. In the article before us about thirty passages are discussed by means of new variations furnished by this MS. The date (1139) and the copyist's name are recorded on it thus:

Alrici studeo liber est hic script' in anno
Tredeties deno milleno ter quoq; terno.

11. pp. 84-92. Critical Observations (By H. Weil). *a*) On the Ionian prose-writers: emendations of certain fragments of Pherecydes of Syros, Hecataeus, Heraclitus, and the *π.πὶ ἀρχαίων ἱερτικῶς* of Hippocrates. *b*) On Thucyd.: emendation and discussion of III 22, 3; 39, 4; 39, 8; 42, 5; 44, 1; 65, 3; 67, 7; 82, 8; I 76, 2; VI 38, 4. Most of these emendations commend themselves.

12. pp. 93-96. Three passages of Ennius (By L. Havet). Emendations of I 34 Vahlen (Cic. de Divin. I 20, 40); VII 10 Vahlen (A. Gell. XII 4); XII 1 Vahlen (Priscian, V 3, 17 and VI 7, 40).

13. pp. 97-143. New researches in Stichometry (By Ch. Graux). This is a very elaborate article. *a*) The author shows that stichometry was not

confined to the Alexandrians, and that the *στίχος* in prose was a fixed quantity, having been originally determined, in all probability, by the length of a Homeric line. He gives a table, extending through 13 pp., containing the number of *στίχοι* reported in ancient MSS. for Herodotus, Thucydides, Isocrates, Demosthenes, the Old and New Testaments, Eusebius, St. Gregory and Euthalius, with the sources from which the numbers were taken, and the value of the *στίχοι* in letters, determined by estimating the number of letters and dividing by the number of *στίχοι*. (They all fall between 34 and 38 notes. The Homeric verse averages about 37.) The table is accompanied by notes of great value. *δ*) There was no relation between measurement by *στίχοι*, and the division "per cola et commata" employed in certain MSS. of Demosthenes, Cicero, and the Bible. This point is elaborately discussed and fully established. *ε*) The numeration of the *στίχοι*, or lines, was of service in making reference to books which had the numbers at intervals on the margin, and especially in determining the pay of copyists. An edict of Diocletian (A. D. 301) *de pretiis rerum venalium*, fixed the pay of scribes at so much *per hundred lines*, which would have been perfectly idle, had not the *line* been a fixed quantity. Of course it was not necessary to make the actual lines of the same length as the normal *στίχος*. The number for each work was already known. For new works it is to be supposed that a MS. was written with uniform pages and the number of *στίχοι* determined by partial counting and computation. The *πίνακες* (catalogues) of the great Alexandrian libraries, prepared by Callimachus (about the middle of the third century) indicated the number of *στίχοι* for each work. The publishing of these catalogues, instead of spreading the custom of indicating the size of works in *στίχοι*, did much to put an end to it, by rendering it unnecessary.

14. p. 143. Note (by Γ) pronouncing a certain inscription of two words (published as "ancient" by the *Ἀθήνηαιον*, VI 4) to be at most 400 years, and at least three *months* old.

15. pp. 144-175. Journey of Horace to Brundisium (By E. Desjardins). The author modifies some views expressed in his *Voyage d'Horace à Brindes*, published in 1855. This article gives the results of a careful study of the entire route, describing cities, scenery, etc., as they were seen by Horace. A map specially prepared for the purpose accompanies the article. Some light is thrown upon a few passages, as vv. 25-6. The immortal Aufidius Luscus, "praetor" of Fundi, was really no praetor at all (as is clearly shown by inscriptions), but was *aedilis iuridicundo*; but his functions were similar to those of praetor in the city, and his title was rather cumbersome for verse, and then some humor or sarcasm is felt in the lofty title of praetor. The name of the *oppidulum* "quod versu dicere non est," was probably *Asculum Apulum*, and not *Equus Tuticus*, as some suppose, for this was off the route. "Asculum" could be put into a hexameter, but only by means of an undesirable elision. A modern commentator [who? H.] thinks the difficulty was that Horace was too modest to write the last two syllables of the name!¹ At verses 82-85 he could have written them without blushing seriously. The interview between Antonius

¹ As if the difference of quantity did not sufficiently mark the kind of termination and prevent a *κακίμφοτον*! Quod si recipias: nihil loqui tutum est, Quint. VIII 3, 47.—B. L. G.

... did not take place at Brundisium, as was expected, but at ...
 ... Two brief Notes. a) In Justin, VII 3, 4, "Adhibitis in convivium ...
 ... H. W. changes *suum filius* into *concupinis* to suit Herod.
 ... *καὶ τὰς κορυθίας γυναικας*. b) E. T. emends Steph.
 ... *Αεγία*.

... Claudian, Epigr. 2 (By Max Bonnet). Place vv. 15-18
 ...

... Aesch. Prom., 43, *ἀσος γὰρ οὐδὲν τ' ὄνδ' ε' ἄρρησιθαι*, Éd. Tour-

... Some remarks on the officers called *Praefecti* during the
 ... Roman Republic (By J. N. Madvig). These were at first
 ... (στρατοῦ), who commanded a number of cohorts, each cohort
 ... a native officer of the allies. Their command not being a fixed
 ... various duties were assigned to them, such as commanding
 ... etc. The governors sent out to provinces took praefects with
 ... the office was a sinecure. When all the Italians
 ... there would have been no *raison d' être* for praefects, had
 ... been thus already extended; but now they were called
 ... The praefects of Caesar in Gaul were purely military officers.
 ... inexperienced in war, and commanded Gallic cavalry, etc.,
 ... provinces had nothing to do; and they could even remain
 ... as *abentes rēpublicae causa*, which exempted them from
 ... as those of *index* were onerous and otherwise unpleasant,
 ... much sought office. With this light we can restore Cic.

... *mandatum scias me curasse, quot ante ait Pompejus*
 ... *vacationes iudiciariam causam.*" Read:

... The nomination expressed by *deferre* here was
 ... to excuse from judiciary service. Hence, in Cic. ad Att. V
 ... *ad quae mihi mandas: in praefectis excusatio iis quos voles*
 ... instead of *excusatio iis*. This *deferre* was really *deferre*
 ... that being the place where such lists were received and filed (i. e.,
 ... Many proofs of this are given by the author.

... Cic. ad Att. II 14, says: "basilicam habeo, non villam, fre-
 ... *basilicam*" which is followed in the modern editions by "at quam
 ... *basilicam*" But *partem* here is a conjecture of S.
 ... We should read: "at quam partem basilicae?
 ... (i. e., the most crowded and turbulent part).

... *hiatus* in Homer.]

... *Historicorum in Codice Athoo*
 ... Discussion and emendation of about thirty passages
 ... and Aristodemus.

... Hensl. 1 37 (by Éd. T.), and of a frag. of Ennius
 ... (by T.).

... *Emenda-*
 ... in Hom. II., fourteen in Od., five in Hymns and

... These corrections deserve careful attention.

24. pp. 204-214. Observations on Hor., Book I, Odes 1, 3, 12, 20 (By Gaston Boissier). Opposes the arbitrary method of Peerlkamp and his imitators. Defends the authenticity of the first two and last two verses of Ode 1, of *trahuntque siccas machinae carinas* in Ode 3, of the disputed verses in Ode 12 and of the whole of Ode 20.

25. p. 214. Emendatiuncula (By Éd. Tournier). Soph. Antig. 124-5: put *roios*—*Ἀρεος* in parenthesis without pause before or after it.

26. pp. 215-218. New information concerning three Greek writers (By P. Foucart). a) Polemon the Periegete, son of Miliesios (and not of Euegetes, as Suidas says), was made *πρόξενος* at Delphi. b) Hegesianax of Alexandria in the Troad, son of Diogenes, made *πρόξενος* at Delphi. c) Philip, son of Aristides, of Pergamus. An inscription (published in the *Παλιγγενεσία*, July 18, 1874) on the base of a statue erected to his honor at Epidaurus, contains: a) a dedication in two elegiac distichs, in the Doric dialect, and b) a dozen lines of the Introduction to a History written by him, in the Ionic dialect. But for this inscription we should not have known of his existence. The indications are that the inscription and its subject belong to the end of the third century B. C.

27. pp. 218-237. Supplement to the *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum* (By Ch. Graux). The MS. Σ-I-20 of the Escorial contains 1600 articles, each being composed of a proverb accompanied by explanations. Graux discusses the MS. and gives ninety-four articles, containing: a) variations useful in establishing the correct reading, and b) proverbs, or explanations of proverbs, partly or entirely new. Important critical notes are added.

28. pp. 238-240. On the date of the *Dictys* of Septimius (By L. Havet). Brief history of this hoax, with discussion of the views of different scholars. The appellation of *consularis* instead of *proconsul* given to Rutilius Rufus in the work places it after A. D. 350. A not very definite posterior limit is fixed by the fact that Syrianus of Alexandria cites the work in his commentary on the Rhetoric of Hermogenes (A. D. 400 or later).

29. p. 240. On Hor. Od. III 23, 16-20 (By Walz). The *condition* lies in *innamnis* (innocent), and *non sumptuosa* must be taken together as a single idea, *inexpensive* (a *sumptuosa hostia* would be a self-contradiction, *hostia* denoting an insignificant offering), and construed as *means* by which the hand is made *blandior* (agreeable to the Penates).

REVUE DE PHILOGIE. Vol. III. 1879.

I. pp. 1-13. Studies on Demosthenes. The Olynthian and Euboean Wars (By Henri Weil). Discussion of the question: In what year occurred the second of the four campaigns of the Athenians in Euboea? Diodorus does not mention it; Plutarch confounds it with another campaign. Demosthenes mentions it several times in the *Contra Midiam*, and at § 191 we learn that a part of the knights who served in Euboea were transported to Olynthus. But Dion. Hal. seems to place the battle of Tamynae two years *before* the date of the Olynthian war as given by Philochorus. The rest of this article is devoted chiefly to reconciling the statements of Dion. Hal. and Philochorus, which is accomplished by amending Dionysius and putting *Θουδημον* and *not Θελδον* in a lacuna in C. I. A. 2, 105.

2. p. 13. Palaeographic note (By T.). At the end of the Oration against Philip's Letter in MS. F. of Demosthenes, read *Διόρθωται ἀπὸ δύο Ἀττικῶν* and not *Διόρθωται ἀπὸ δύο Ἀττικῶν* as Voemel writes it. In the MS. it is *Αττικῶ* with contraction mark after *κ*. But *ω* above the line stands for *ων* as often as for *ως*, a fact not stated in works on Palaeography. So *ο=ον* in certain MSS.; instances of *α, ε, η, υ=ας, εν, ες, ης, υν*, which are rare.

3. pp. 14-15. Apropos of a verse of Juvenal (VII 104) (By Gaston Boissier). *Quis dabit historico quantum daret acta legenti?* The *acta* were not necessarily official proceedings (cf. Cic. ad Fam. II 15, with *ibid.* VIII 7), but included private transactions and even rumors and gossip. The *acta legentes* were those who composed the journals containing these *acta*. Hence: "Who will pay a historian as much as he would pay a reporter?"

4. p. 15. Note on Xen. Cyropaed. VIII 1, 20, and Procopius, Gothic War, I 14 (By X.).

5. pp. 16-18. Note on a MS. of the library of Schlestadt (By A. Giry). This MS. (No. 1153 *bis*), which has never been collated, contains: *a*) A collection of recipes and directions with regard to arts and measurements, mostly of the middle ages, but partly dating from the late Roman empire. The most important, entitled *ΣΥΜΕΤΡΙΑ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΥ* (*sic*), gives a passage of Vitruvius, and is followed by some pen sketches of capitals, bases, entablatures, volutes, etc. *b*) The six books of Vitruvius, well worth examining. *c*) An abridgment of Vitruvius by M. Cetus (or Cetius) Faventinus. *d*) Further recipes, etc., which are found also in the *Cod. Leidensis*, etc.

6. pp. 19-25. On the meaning of the exclamation *malum!* (By Constant Martha.) The definitions in the Dictionaries are all wrong. "*Malum!*" is applied only to *folly*, of whatever degree, from ordinary ineptitude up to downright madness. The author enumerates all the known examples, showing that such is its use in each instance. In the more serious authors, orators and philosophers, the expression is always immediately followed by *amentia*, *dementia*, or something signifying folly or madness, with one exception, where the sentence is addressed to a prince; and in all writers, though the feeling of the speaker may be anger, disgust, etc., still the *cause* of the feeling is always folly of some sort, in word or deed; and the sentence is always interrogative. The origin is discussed: probably a superstitious deprecation. [Could it originally have been *Di malum avertant*, the *malum=dementiam*? The author makes no attempt to translate it into French; but the English "in the name of common sense" seems to be its exact equivalent.]

7. pp. 26-27. On Catullus (By E. Benoist). *a*) LV 20:

Quos cunctos mihi, Cameri, dicares.

Some read *iunctos*; but the true reading, *vinctos*, is established from MSS. (cf. Hom. Od. V, 17-26). *b*) XXII 7-9. All the MSS. give *membrane*, all the editions *membrana*. We should read thus:

Novi umbilici, lora rubra, membranae,
Derecta plumbo et pumice omnia aequata.

Membranae denotes the cover, and it was the lines on the pages that were *derecta plumbo* and *aequata*.

8. pp. 28-31. Certain passages of *Iph. Taur.* (By Éd. Tournier). Twenty-nine conjectures, and rejection of two passages (958-960 and 1455-1457).

9. p. 32. On a new Frag. of Aeschylus (By H. W.). Found by Wilamowitz-Moellendorf in the Cod. Marcianus 423 of the Scholia of Aristides. H. W. proposes some emendations.

10. pp. 33-63. The cult of the *Divi* and the cult of Rome and Augustus (By E. Desjardins). The author sums up the results of this elaborate investigation under five heads: *a*) The cult of emperors and members of the imperial family, *Divi* and *Divae*, had Rome for its centre. They were all honored together in the college of the *Sodales Augustales*, and each individually by *flamines* who bore the names of *flamen Divi Augusti*, *Divi Claudii*, etc. *b*) This last cult, prevalent in the cities of Italy, and in Narbonne, was less common in other provinces, and very rare in Africa; and in Spain alone this cult and that of Rome and Augustus, without being associated, were in the hands of the same *flamens*. *c*) The political cult of Rome and Augustus (two divinities combined into one—the Genius of the Roman People) dates back to the year 29, and was established by Augustus in honor of Rome and Caesar, and was spread through all the provinces, where it flourished for three centuries. This cult, though at first *imposed*, was afterward adopted with readiness by the natives and non-citizens, who alone were called by the Senate and Emperor to the priesthood of this universal religion, which was essentially Roman through the object of worship, and essentially native through the exclusive choice of priests who were strangers, in origin at least, to the Roman citizenship. *d*) For three centuries this cult was of two sorts, *provincial* and *municipal*: provincial, with a *concilium* composed of *legati* of each of the cities of the province, electing a *flamen* and a *sacerdos Romae et Augusti*; municipal with a *flamen Augusti*, elected by the *ordo decurionum*, generally called *perpetuus*, although his active functions were annual. *e*) From the beginning of the fourth century the *sacerdotes* and *flamines* of the provinces and cities, representing henceforth another thing, continued, though Christianity was established, the former called *sacerdotales*, and the latter *flamines perpetui*, representing the pagan and Christian aristocracy of the cities, and to this last category belong the thirty-six *flamines* of the *Ordo of Thamugas* (discussed in the earlier part of the article).

It is worthy of note that in some instances baptized Christians, as Constantine the Great, received the apotheosis.

11. p. 64. On Sidonius Apollinaris (By É. Chatelain). *a*) Carm. 9, 296: "In castris hedera ter aureatus" is a conjecture, the MSS. giving *ter laureatus*, which the metre forbids. Read *hederate, laureatus*. (For the vocative, see Carm. 23, 67). *b*) Carm. 11, 56: "Cujus fax, arcus, corytus pendeat at ille": remove false quantity in *corytus* by writing *pendet*.

12. pp. 65-67. A passage of the *Georgics* (By O. Nigoles). In *Georg. I*, 221-222:

Ante tibi Eoae Atlantides abscondantur,
Gnosiaque ardentis decedat stella coronae,

Vergil designates the morning setting of the Pleiades and the heliac setting of Corona Borealis. The former occurred (popularly speaking) in the last days of October and the first of November. The other should have occurred, according to this passage, about the same time. It has been supposed that

in this passage Vergil made a mistake, and that he should have said the *rising* and not the setting of the Crown. •The argument is this: The heliac rising of the Crown occurred (according to Pliny and others (!)) at the first of October; the heliac setting always occurs earlier than the heliac rising; therefore the heliac setting must have occurred before the month of October. The major premiss is true of constellations south of the ecliptic, but for those north of it, like the Crown, the very converse is true; that is, the heliac rising precedes the heliac setting. [The demonstration given by the author is hardly necessary, as any one who is at all acquainted with the apparent motion of the heavenly bodies can see the truth of the proposition at once, when his attention is called to it.] Nor is there any need of *authorities*. The heliac setting of the Crown in the lat. of Rome takes place at the middle of December, which is (because of the precession of the equinoxes) twenty-seven days later than its occurrence in the days of Vergil. Of course the popular notion of heliac rising and setting allowed a broad margin.

13. pp. 68-78. *Homericæ* (By H. van Herwerden). Discussion (with emendations) of thirteen passages of the *Iliad*, six of the *Odyssey*, and two of the *Hymns*.

14. p. 78. *Emendatiuncula* (By É. T.). *a*) *Aesch. Pers.* 284: read στενώ for στενω. *b*) *Herod. I 132*: for . . . κρέα. Διαθέντος read . . . κρεάδια. Θέντος . . . *c*) *Eurip. Herc. Fur.* 1251, τσαῖτα replies to πολλὰ of preceding verse. Change οἰκονν into οἰκοῖν.

15. pp. 79-90. *Miscellaneous criticisms* (By L. Havet). I. On an Oration of Cato. A frag. of his *Origines* quoted by Fronto, containing a quotation from Cato's *De Sumptu suo*, which in its turn quotes briefly from his *Sponsio*. By printing the different parts in different type, the whole frag. is rendered (for the first time?) intelligible. II. On the *Medea* and the *Andromache* of Ennius. Three passages elucidated or emended. III. An old enigma in Varro, cited by Aulus Gellius (XII, 6) in three senarii. Objections to Bart's restoration. Read, with slight change of MS.:

Semel minusne, an bis minu' ? Non sit sat. Scio :
Vtrumque eorum. Vt quondam audiui dicier
Ioui ipsi regi noluit concedere.

The word is *terminus*. IV. On the prefaces of the *Dictys* of Septimius (7 pp.). There are two prefaces to this work: one, a *letter* to Q. Aradius Rufus, the other, a *prologue*. It is shown almost to absolute demonstration, that the work was published three times. At the second publication, the sixth Book was added, and the letter served as a preface to this Book alone. The third time (hoping to suppress the letter entirely) the author prefixed the prologue to the entire work, explaining difficulties more fully to the suspicious, and even contradicting the letter in some particulars. But some copyist in the course of time found the letter and added it on the blank space before the prologue. Hence, some MSS. have it, and some have not. If this theory is true, it will be found that all the MSS. which contain the letter belong to the same family—a point not yet examined. V. *Diploma pedestre*. In an inscription near Carthage occurs this verse (!): *Diploma circaui totam regione pedestrem*, where *regione* is *acc.* and *pedestrem* is *abl.*, agreeing with *Diploma* (1st Dec.)!

The author pronounced -e and -em alike, and failed to discriminate properly in writing. VI. *Aegritudo Perdicæ*, V 174: read *cetera dicat*.

16. pp. 91-151. Philo Byzantinus. Fortifications (By A. de Rochas and Ch. Graux). [The following is Graux's own summary of this elaborate article.] 1) Preliminary notice, containing *a*) the biography of this engineer (second century B. C.); *b*) an examination of what is left us of his *Μηχανικὴ σύνταξις*, whether in the original text, or under the form of a summary in Greek, or in Latin translation made from the Arabic, with indication of the editions, translations, and works relating to the author, and a review of what is known of the lost portions, with an attempt at a partial restitution of the order in which the different books of this great work succeeded each other; *c*) the classification of twenty-nine MSS. of Book IV and of the so-called Book V, which are traced back to three MSS. of the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries, and the determination of the relation between the only edition of the so-called Book V, and the MSS.; *d*) examples, *a*) of improvements of the text suggested by the new basis of criticism, and *β*) of conjectures proposed in certain cases where the testimony of the MSS. agrees; *e*) the plan followed in the publication; *f*) invitation of the attention of philologists to this important text, which is in a bad condition. 2) Text of Philo from p. 79 to p. 86 of the *Veteres Mathematici*, with *apparatus criticus* intended to be complete, French translation opposite the text, and exegetical notes with five cuts. Among these notes are some technical observations on cements (*γύψος*), *κλίνη* (unity of rectangular surface), the *ἐλέπολις* of Demetrius Poliorcetes, the dimensions and range of the *ταλαντιαῖος πετροβόλος*, etc.; lexicographical notes on *γύψος* (sometimes *lime*), *μηχάνημα* (a tower of wooden frame-work), *πετροβόλοι*, *λιθοβόλοι*, *καταπάλται*, *ὄξυβαλεῖς* (denoting sometimes machines, and sometimes the projectiles hurled by them), *βέλη* (also with double meaning), *ἀμφίπλευρος*, *ὄρθιος*, *ἐφιξις*, *τειχοποιία* and *πυρραποιία*, *δίοδος* and *πάροδος*, *βελότασις* (place prepared for a machine), *ἐπεξέρχουσαι*, *βάρη* (*πύργοι βαρεῖς*), *ἐπάλξεις*, *ἐπάλξιον*, *θυρίδες* and *προμαχώνες*, *ἐμβολεύς* (*ξύλωνος*), *ὑπορύττειν* and *διорύττειν*, *δοκίδες* (*χελώνος ὀρυκτρῖς*), *στοαί*, *ἀμφίβολος*, etc. In the preliminary notice and the exegetical notes, various conjectures on Athenæus Mathematicus and Diodorus Siculus; also on Hero Alexandrinus (Belop. 10), Plutarch (Demetr. 21, 1), Josephus (War V 4, 3), Polyænus (VII 9), Athenæus (XIII p. 538, B), etc. [This work contains much valuable information and must have required immense labor.]

17. pp. 152-153. *Varia* (By P. Thomas). I. On the Hortensius of Cicero. New proofs that this work had ceased to exist in the middle ages. II. Manilius, Astron. V 322-323: for *suadetque* read *gaudetque*. III. Ter. Heaut. v. 1017-1020: omit what comes between *Id quod* and *tui similis est probe*.

18. pp. 154-160. Observations on the text of Sidonius Apollinaris (By É. Chatelain). The author, having examined all the editions and classified the MSS., gives *a*) twelve corrections after all the MSS., and *b*) thirteen corrections after one or more MSS.

19. p. 160. Priscian I 9, 52 (By L. Havet). Instead of "*austrum pro ostrum*" (where *o* is short), read "*austium pro ostium*."

20. The *Revue des Revues* for 1878 and 1879 contains abstracts of many periodicals not reviewed in 1877, and more countries are represented.

M. W. HUMPHREYS.

ANGLIA. Zeitschrift für englische Philologie. Herausgegeben von R. P. WÜLCKER und M. TRAUTMANN. I Band. Halle, 1878.¹

The Prospectus prefixed to the first volume of the Anglia informs us that in the last decade, especially since the establishment of chairs for English in the universities, the study of English has greatly increased in Germany, and as the Jahrbuch für romanische und englische sprache und literatur had ceased to appear, it was thought that this branch of philology was strong enough to have a journal of its own; hence the foundation of the Anglia, the first part of which, edited by Prof. R. P. Wülcker, of Leipzig, contains essays in the whole field of the English language and literature, from the seventh century to the present, not excluding the dialects; also texts not yet edited or not easily accessible, if not too lengthy, and collations of valuable works. The second part, edited by Dr. M. Trautmann, Privat-Dozent at Leipzig, contains criticisms of all new publications relating to English philology, and at the close of each year a bibliography of the preceding year. Each volume consists of three numbers, which appear at intervals during the year, and two complete volumes have so far appeared. A summary of the contents of the first volume will be given in the present paper, and these summaries will be continued from time to time.

I. The first number opens with The last published essay of the lamented Anglo-Saxon scholar, C. W. M. Grein, who died June 15, 1877. This is a paper entitled Ist die bezeichnung "angelsächsische sprache" wirklich unberechtigt? Urein vices passages from Kemble's Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici, containing titles of kings, from Alfred to Edward the Confessor, in which the terms *Angulwinnum, Angulbarum*, and their variations occur forty-four times, and in some passages *Angul Saxum* are distinguished from *Northumbrians*, whence Grein concludes that we are justified in using the term *Anglo-Saxon* speech in distinction from the later language, and from the language spoken north of the Humber. Wülcker refers in a note to the well-known essay of Freeman, in the appendix to the first volume of his History of the Norman Conquest, and to an article by Prof. Leysbury, in the New Englander for January 1874 under the heading of *Freeman*.

I find a reference to the text of the Poema Morale, after MS. D., which MS. has been hitherto known only from extracts in Hickes' Thesaurus, a comparison of both MSS. will doubtless determine their relations, and a discussion of the age of the poem, which J. Grimm assigns to about 1170, as given in the K. M. is also to be found in a note that all the numerous versions of the Morale are from the same source, late tenth or early eleventh-century version.

A note on the text of the Anglo-Saxon Tale in Valentin Schumann's *Handbuch der englischen Sprache*. He thinks Schumann could not have been the author of the text, as they were here had a common origin. A note on the text of the Anglo-Saxon Tale in the *Handbuch* of Masaccio of Bologna, the text of which is of the thirteenth century as stated by

The text of the Anglo-Saxon Tale in the *Handbuch* of Masaccio of Bologna, the text of which is of the thirteenth century as stated by

Hippisley, Chapters on Early English Literature, London, 1837, on the authority of The British Bibliographer, by Brydges, London, 1810-14. This fact had eluded the vigilance of Tyrwhitt.

H. Düntzer discusses Two essays on Marlowe's Faust, in the Jahrbuch für romanische und englische literatur, one by Schmid on the relation of Marlowe's play to the German and to the English Faustbook; the other by Albers on later additions to the play. Düntzer finds that Marlowe used the English Faustbook translated from the German edition of 1588. He also cites certain passages supposed to be added by a later hand.

C. Horstmann gives in full The texts of the Legends of Celestinus and Susanna, and comments at length on each. The MS. of the Celestinus is of the fifteenth century, but the poem is more than a century older than the MS. It is in the East-Midland dialect, though not pure, for it betrays peculiarities of the copyist. After examining with true German thoroughness the language and the rime, Horstmann concludes that the poem is one of the older productions of Old English literature, and probably has the same author as the Gregorius. It belongs to the same dialect and period with Havelok, Gregorius, and the Song of Alexius. Alliteration is seldom met with, and the metre has not yet been found in any other legend.¹ The Susanna shows such a mixture of Northern, Midland and Southern forms that it is difficult to determine the original dialect, but it must have been the Northern. Its complete rhythm and metre, rime and alliteration, make it probable that it was intended for singing; the melody follows almost of itself. Dr. Morris assigns this poem to the author of Sir Gawayne, about 1360, and calls the dialect "West-Midland," but Horstmann thinks it belongs much further north.

W. Sattler contributes a Series of examples illustrating the use of prepositions in modern English, and—I, *to expect from* and *to expect of*. He lays down canons, some of which can scarcely be sustained, but we have not space to go into an examination of them. His "numerous examples" are undoubtedly "welcome," but to the deductions from them we might take exception, for in good modern English usage it is often immaterial whether we use *from* or *of* after *expect*, and the distinctions drawn are sometimes rather fine spun. A thorough familiarity with the modern spoken language is necessary for such generalizations.

M. Trautmann follows with a very full and thorough article on the poet Huchown and his works. He cites the passage from Wyntown's Chronicle of Scotland, referring to Huchown, and the opinions of Chalmers, Laing, Sir Frederic Madden, Dr. Richard Morris, Panton, and Donaldson, with respect to his works. Trautmann subjects the nine poems sometimes attributed to Huchown to a careful examination, linguistic and metrical, and finds that four poems, Gawayn and the Grene Knyght, The Pearl, Cleanness, and Patience, are from the same author; the Morte Arthure is not by the author of these, nor is the Troy Book, and these two are by different authors; Golagros and Gawane is by a different author still, and so is the Anturs of Arther at the Tarnewathelan; but finally, the Susanna must have been written by the same author as the Morte Arthure. The next section goes to prove that this writer was the real Huchown, and the last section that Wyntown's Huchown and Sir Hugh of Eglintoun, mentioned by Dunbar, were one and the same person, who "flourished about

¹ See, however, III following.

the middle of the fourteenth century," in Scotland, as suggested by Chalmers.

The first part of this number concludes with a Collation of the Poetical Solomon and Saturn with the MS., by H. Sweet. Kemble's text was used in this collation, and Sweet finds many corrections necessary. "The majority of the spellings altered by Kemble are good Early West-Saxonisms, and two passages unintelligible in Kemble's and Grein's texts are now made perfectly clear by reference to the MS."

The second part contains Notices, by F. A. Leo, of Karl Elze's *Shakespeare Halle*, 1876, and of von Friesen's pamphlet, *Dr. Karl Elze's William Shakespeare*, Leipzig, 1876, in which von Friesen defends Shakespeare against the suspicion that he is "no good Christian," and contends against the designation "humanist;" but, says Leo, "dem humanisten Elze ist er der humanist, dem gläubigen christen Friesen der gläubige christ. Und so möge es bleiben, so lange Shakespeare bleibt, denn: 'liest doch nur jeder aus dem buch sich heraus'." There follows a review, by W. Wagner, of Ward's *History of English Dramatic Literature to the Death of Queen Anne*, London, 1875, and one by R. Wulker of Arnold's *Beowulf*, London, 1876. The tenor of Wulker's review may be gathered from the following judgment, which he undertakes to establish, and which, we must confess, is but too well founded: "Durch Arnold's werk ist die angelsächsische philologie auch um keinen schritt weiter gebracht worden; im gegentheil bekennt sich darin an vielen stellen ein offener rückschritt gegen die einzelansgabe Beowulfs durch Grein und die von Heyne." Most of Wulker's article is occupied with a criticism of Arnold's Introduction, in which he takes exception to Arnold's description of the MS., its deficient bibliography, his arguments for the date and origin of the *Beowulf*, especially to the slight grounds adduced for assigning it to the same period with the *Guthlac*, and to the hypothesis, "original" with Arnold, of the way in which the materials for the poem came to England. As to the "textual" Arnold confounds author and copyist, and discusses the subject too hastily. Wulker adds some remarks on the omission in the MS. of the numbers for Cantos XXXI and XXX, a small matter in our opinion, some of his criticisms of Arnold, while in the main just, have reference to *misprints*, and the whole one is very reprehensible. In regard to most of Arnold's notes Wulker is very right in saying that one who does not know his terms "made not the least improvement in the lecture *Beowulf*." He concludes with objections to some of Arnold's remarks, chiefly a value of the ending *u* as long as *uu*, which runs in the sense given to *gruon*, which means *to fill, to fill*, according to Wulker, and not simply *to grow* as usual. The passage cited from *Christus in Illustration* is *u* as *uu*, does not seem to us to be sound. Wulker is also right, finally, in saying that Arnold's *u* is not to be taken as the single instance of *uu* in the MS. He writes, too, some German notices, and one who will make a list of the *Beowulf* copies, and try to investigate them. We cannot now give the sense of the *Beowulf* text, though we have to return to it hereafter, but should like to say that we have compared every line of Grein's text (1876) with the MSS. of A. N. P. Thome, Arnold, and Heyne (1876) in the *Beowulf* and *Guthlac* MSS. of the British Museum, and have found several passages in which Grein's text differs from the MSS.

der A. S. Poesie (1857). When we get the fac-simile of the MS., soon to be published by the Early English Text Society under the editorial supervision of Prof. Zupitza, of Berlin, we shall be in a better position to make an edition of Beowulf, and such an one as college and university students need, with critical and explanatory notes and glossary, and without translation, after the example of the editions of Grein and Heyne already referred to, which, for students of German, will answer all purposes. Some passages, doubtless, will always remain dark, for we have not the means for their elucidation; all we can do is to take the best conjecture accessible and make the most of it.

II. In the second number J. Zupitza gives the Texts of one English [Anglo-Saxon] and two Latin bee-spells, and goes into a criticism of text and translation of the former, which had been misunderstood except by Cockayne in his *Leechdoms, Wortcunning, and Starcraft of Early England*, I 384 (1864), Kemble and Rieger having referred the word *sigerulf* to the *waelcyrian*, and Ten Brink having followed them; J. Grimm did not so do, but failed to give explanation or translation, his text being corrupt. Zupitza gives also a short fragment of an English Chronicle of the years 1113 and 1114 (Cott. Dom. A. IX), which had escaped the notice of the editors of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

K. Regel follows with an extended article on *Spruch und Bild im Layamon*. We would remark, by the way, that Rieger's first sentence consists of twenty-three lines and his second of sixteen, the two comprising one large octavo page. Barring this characteristically German style, the article is a very full and thorough comparison of Layamon's *Brut* with Wace's *Brut* and Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*, showing the dependence, and still more the independence, of Layamon in respect to his use of proverbs and metaphors. Want of space will not permit us to specify, but Regel's conclusion is fully justified that Layamon is not only "in überwiegendem Masse" independent of Geoffrey and Wace, but exhibits such creative power that he appears as an unusually gifted poet.

C. S. Weiser investigates Pope's influence on Byron's youthful poems. Of modern poets Byron imitated, says Weiser, Shakespeare, Moore, and Pope; the first least of all, for Byron had no dramatic talent; the second chiefly in his lyrical poems; but Pope's influence reigned not only in his poetry, but in his thoughts and feelings. Weiser traces this influence in the *Hints from Horace* *Curse of Minerva*, and *Hours of Idleness* chiefly, and, as regards form and rime, in *English Bards* and *Scotch Reviewers* and the *Waltz*. He next examines Pope's influence on the metre and rime of each of these poems, and concludes with citations from Byron's letters, showing his high opinion of Pope, thus justifying the assertion that Pope's influence on Byron's earlier poems was greater than that of any other poet.

W. Sattler continues his *Examples of the use of prepositions in modern English* with—II, *a visit to*, and—III, *welcome to*. The remarks on the examples show, as it seems to us, rather a book-knowledge of the language than a practical acquaintance with it. Note Anm. 1, p. 281, and Anm. 2, p. 285.

J. Zupitza contributes three Latin-English Proverbs, i. e. Anglo-Saxon—for in Zupitza's usage the term "English" covers anything from Caedmon down—and the Nicene Creed in an English copy of the twelfth century.

the middle of the fourteenth century," in Scotland, as suggested by Chalmers.

The first part of this number concludes with a Collation of the Poetical Salomon and Saturn with the MS., by H. Sweet. Kemble's text was used in this collation, and Sweet finds many corrections necessary. "The majority of the spellings altered by Kemble are good Early West-Saxonisms, and two passages unintelligible in Kemble's and Grein's texts are now made perfectly clear by reference to the MS."

The second part contains Notices, by F. A. Leo, of Karl Elze's Shakespeare Halle, 1876, and of von Friesen's pamphlet, Dr. Karl Elze's William Shakespeare; Leipzig, 1876, in which von Friesen defends Shakespeare against the suspicion that he is "no good Christian," and contends against the designation "humanist;" but, says Leo, "dem humanisten Elze ist er der humanist, dem gläubigen christen Friesen der gläubige christ. Und so möge es bleiben, so lange Shakespeare bleibt, denn: 'liest doch nur jeder aus dem buch sich heraus.'" There follows a review, by W. Wagner, of Ward's History of English Dramatic Literature to the Death of Queen Anne, London, 1875, and one by R. Wülcker of Arnold's Beowulf, London, 1876. The tenor of Wülcker's review may be gathered from the following judgment, which he undertakes to establish, and which, we must confess, is but too well founded: "Durch Arnold's werk ist die angelsächsische philologie auch um keinen schritt weiter gebracht worden; im gegentheile bekundet sich darin an vielen stellen ein offener rückschritt gegen die einzelausgabe Beowulfs durch Grein und die von Heyne." Most of Wülcker's article is occupied with a criticism of Arnold's Introduction, in which he takes exception to Arnold's description of the MS., his deficient bibliography, his arguments for the date and origin of the Beowulf, especially to the slight grounds adduced for assigning it to the same period with the Guthlac, and to the hypothesis, "original" with Arnold, of the way in which the materials for the poem came to England. As to the "*liedertheorie*," Arnold confounds author and copyist, and dismisses the subject too hastily. Wülcker adds some remarks on the omission in the MS. of the numbers for Cantos XXIX and XXX, a small matter, in our opinion; some of his criticisms of Arnold, while in the main just, have reference to *kleinigkeiten*, and the whole tone is very depreciatory. In regard to most of Arnold's notes Wülcker is very right in saying that one who does not know his forms "mache sich überhaupt noch nicht an die lektüre Beowulfs." He concludes with criticisms of some of Arnold's remarks, chiefly of value for the rendering of v. 169 et seqq., which turns on the sense given to *gifstol*, which means *the hall Heorot*, according to Wülcker, and not simply *the throne* therein. The passage cited from Orosius in illustration of v. 69 et seqq., does not seem to us to the point. Wülcker is also right, finally, in charging Arnold with a failure to make use of the single editions of Grein and Heyne, the two latest and best German editions, and one who will make an edition of Beowulf cannot afford to disregard them. We cannot now go into the subject of Beowulf criticism, though we hope to return to it hereafter, but suffice it to say that we have carefully collated every line of Grein's text (1867) with the editions of Kemble, Thorpe, Arnold, and Heyne (1873), and we think it manifest that Arnold's text is printed from Thorpe's with some changes to correspond to Grein's text in the Bibliothek

der A. S. Poesie (1857). When we get the promise of the MS. over to be published by the Early English Text Society in the coming year, the revision of Prof. Zupitza, of Berlin, we shall be in a better position to make an edition of Beowulf, and such an one as a large and important critical need, with critical and explanatory notes and glosses, and without translation, after the example of the edition of Owen and Jones already referred to, which, for students of German will show all that is to be done. Passages, doubtless, will always remain that we have to the means for their elucidation; all we can do is to make the best advantage allowable and make the most of it.

II. In the second number J. Zupitza gives the Text of the English [Anglo-Saxon] and two Latin bee-speaks, and gives him a translation of text and translation of the former, which had been misinterpreted even by Malone in his Leechdoms, Wortcunning, and Secraft in Early England (1844), Kemble and Rieger having referred the work again to the *Waldwurm* and Ten Brink having followed them; J. Grimm did not do so, but when he gave explanation or translation, his text being correct. Grimm gives also a short fragment of an English Chronicle of the year 1000 and that of the year A. D. 1010, which had escaped the notice of the editors of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

K. Regel follows with an extended notice in Spanish and Latin in Layamon, We would remark, by the way, that Regel's first sentence consists of twenty-three lines and his second of sixteen, the two comprising one large narrow page. Barring this characteristically German style the article is a very full and thorough comparison of Layamon's *Beowulf* with Wace's *Beowulf* and Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britannie* showing the independence and still more the independence, of Layamon in respect to his use of images and metaphors. Want of space will not permit us to specify but Regel's omission is fully justified that Layamon is not only "in *Ungewöhnlicher Weise*" independent of Geoffrey and Wace, but that his own creative power that he appears as an unusually gifted poet.

C. S. Weiser investigates Pope's influence on Byron's *Waldwurm* poems. Of modern poets Byron imitated, says Weiser Schiller, Goethe, Moore and Pope, the first least of all, for Byron had no dramatic talent, the second chiefly in his lyrical poems; but Pope's influence ranged not only in his poetry but in his thoughts and feelings. Weiser traces this influence in the *Hours from Horace*, *Curse of Minerva*, and *Hours of Illness* chiefly and, as regards form and rhyme, in English Bards and Scotch Reviewers and the *Waldwurm*. He next examines Pope's influence on the metre and rhyme of each of these poems and concludes with citations from Byron's *Waldwurm*, showing his right opinion of Pope, thus justifying the assertion that Pope's influence on Byron's earlier poems was greater than that of any other poet.

W. Sattler continues his Examples of the use of prepositions in modern English with—II, *a visit to*, and—III, *welcome to*. The remarks on the examples show, as it seems to us, rather a book-knowledge of the language than a practical acquaintance with it. Note Ann. 1. p. 28; and Ann. 2. p. 216.

J. Zupitza contributes three Latin-English Proverbs, *1. e. Anglo-Latin*—Six in Zupitza's usage the term "English" covers anything from Chaucer down and the Nicene Creed in an English copy of the twelfth century.

C. Horstmann follows with another of his valuable contributions, and this time the full Text of the *Canticum de Creatione*, an early English poem of 1200 lines, written, as we learn from the poem itself, in 1375, and from its mixture of Southern and Midland forms leading to the conclusion that it belongs to a locality where these dialects were in contact, and that at that period the fusion had already begun which resulted in the formation of a common literary language. Horstmann gives here, as before, a careful analysis of the language of the poem and a summary of its contents.

A. Holder furnishes Collations to Anglo-Saxon works, and—I, the variations of two Cottonian MSS. of an A. S. treatise, *De rebus in Oriente mirabilibus*, printed for the first time by Cockayne in his *Narratiunculae anglice conscriptae*, London, 1861.

K. Elze supplies Notes and conjectures to modern English poets, being comments on certain passages from Shakespeare, Fletcher, Marlowe, and Milton (*Tem.*, M. of V. (2); J. C. (3); T. N. K., Ed. II, and P. L.).

The first part of this number concludes with an appreciative obituary notice of Grein, by R. Wülcker, containing a few biographical details and a list of Grein's works. Wülcker says: "Durch seine textausgabe der angelsächsischen poesie wurde überhaupt erst ein studium des Angelsächsischen, und damit der entwicklung der englischen sprache in Deutschland möglich. Sein glossar ist ein werk von solchem fleisse und solcher gründlichkeit, dass wir deutsche stolz darauf sein können." Others besides Germans may be permitted to be proud of Grein's services to Anglo-Saxon philology and to concur heartily in the following eulogy: "Stets wird uns Deutschen Grein's werk der grund bleiben, auf welchem wir weiter bauen, und stets werden billig denkende forschere, auch wenn sie weit vorangeschritten sind, des mannes in liebe und verehrung gedenken, welcher unter ungünstigen äussern verhältnissen mit grösster selbstverleugnung, mit einem fleisse, welcher auch nicht durch schwere krankheit gebrochen werden konnte, uns den weg gewiesen hat und die bahn geebnet, auf welcher wir nur weiter gehen können, und, wo in zukunft das studium des Englischen blüht in Deutschland, England und Amerika, wird Grein's name nicht vergessen sein."

In the book notices, W. Wagner concludes his review of Ward's *History of English Dramatic Literature*.

Dr. D. Asher notices J. Schümman's *See und seefahrt nebst dem metaphorischen gebrauch dieser begriffe in Shakespeare's dramen*.

R. Wülcker criticises Kölbing's *Englische Studien*, I bd., 1 heft. Heilbronn, 1877. We must repeat a remark, heretofore made, that this criticism is very depreciatory in its tone and rests in great part on small matters. It naturally led to a reply from Kölbing, and to this a rejoinder from Wülcker is prefixed to *Anglia* II band, 2 und 3 heft, so that we have the editors of two German periodicals devoted to the same object at loggerheads with each other, which cannot advance the cause of English philology. Kölbing's *Englische Studien*, like the *Anglia*, is intended to supply in part the discontinued *Jahrbuch für romanische und englische literatur*, and it is a credit to German scholars that they can sustain so well two periodicals of such merit in this field. Professor Skeat has expressed the opinion (in a private letter) that no such journal could be sustained in England, and we in America

venture to claim only a small corner in the American Journal of Philology. It is to be hoped, then, that for the sake of scholars abroad, who will take no interest in such personalities, harmony may reign between the editors of these periodicals, both of which are of great value to our science.

The book notices close with one by M. Trautmann of Sweet's Anglo-Saxon Reader, Oxford, 1876, and his opinion is summed up by designating it "ein empfehlenswertes buch." After describing the arrangement of the book and giving its table of contents, Trautmann takes exception to some of Sweet's views as to Anglo-Saxon sounds. Sweet says: "*s* is always *sharp*," Trautmann, "only *sonant s* can interchange with *r*." Trautmann then goes into a very full and strictly logical argument to show that A. S. *ea*, *eo*, *ed* *ed*, both the so-called breakings and the diphthongs, also the ablant *ed*, which he still further distinguishes (designating these sounds as *ea*¹, *ea*², *eo*¹, *eo*², *eo*³), should *not* be accented, as usually, on the *second* vowel, but on the *first*, and therefore *ea*² and *eo*², *eo*³, should no longer be written *ed* and *ed*. Trautmann's views, though not original with him, are well sustained and seem to us convincing. We should be glad to hear from Mr. Sweet further on the subject, for he is our chief English authority in Anglo-Saxon phonology. Wülcker has evidently been convinced, for the Prospectus of his new edition of Grein's Bibliothek, states that the forms *ea*, *eo* will hereafter be used. Trautmann gives Sweet's arrangement of the declensions and conjugations, and says: Sweet's *behandlung der declination und conjugation ist nicht so gelehrt wie z. b. die in F. A. March's angelsächsischer grammatik, aber sie ist unendlich viel übersichtlicher und praktischer.* To this last statement we beg leave to take exception. We have been using March's A. S. Reader for several years in teaching, and we consider the arrangement of the declensions by stem-vowels (also adopted by Heyne and Koch) as easy to remember as that by plural endings and less cumbersome; and the same may be said for the arrangement of the conjugations as compared with Sweet's—only we should prefer a subdivision of the *first*, the *a*-conjugation, as is made by Heyne and Koch—while the advantage of having a concise and scientific view of the conjugations, and a means of comparing the Anglo-Saxon with the other Teutonic dialects, which is itself a *practical* advantage, vastly counterbalances any supposed ease in learning a less scientific arrangement. Sweet's Reader is undoubtedly a well-prepared and useful book, excepting some misprints, which it is hoped the new edition has corrected; it can safely be recommended to all students of Anglo-Saxon.

III. In the third number C. Horstmann supplies an addition to Celestinus, a so-called Song to our Lady, in the same metre with the Legend of Pope Celestinus, which is found in the Göttingen MS. of the Cursor Mundi, and is written in the Northern dialect.

J. Zupitza communicates the Contents of two MSS. of Middle-English Legends, not mentioned by Horstmann in his Altenglische Legenden, one from the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, the other from the Bodleian. The former is of the end of the fourteenth century, the latter, of the beginning of the fifteenth. Zupitza cautions his "jüngere fachgenossen" to let the Legends alone, as Horstmann's "great" edition for the E. E. T. S. will soon appear. We have already seen that Zupitza uses the term "English"

for Anglo-Saxon and for twelfth-century English; here he uses the expression, "Middle-English." It were much to be hoped that scholars would agree upon certain definite designations for the periods of English, and thus avoid the confusion of calling Anglo-Saxon merely "English" and the language of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries "Middle English." We shall not quarrel with any one for calling Anglo-Saxon "Old English," for so it is, but we should like to know definitely what stage of the language is under discussion. Zupitza, in remarks on Morris' Old English Miscellany, also gives the text of a poem in that collection, with the "nicht ganz passenden titel Long Life," from another MS. than the two used by Morris, and seeks to establish the relations between these MSS.

F. Rosenthal follows with a very full discussion of the alliterating English long-line in the fourteenth century. He uses eight poems in this investigation: Alisaunder, William of Palerne, Joseph of Arimathe, Piers the Plowman, Sir Gawain, Pierce the Ploughman's Crede, Richard the Redeles, and the Crowned King. After describing the editions of these poems, Rosenthal notes the rhythmical characteristics of the verse, and then treats at length the alliteration, coming to the conclusion that the licenses which seldom occurred in Anglo-Saxon had increased very much in the fourteenth century, and specially noticeable was the repetition of the alliterating letters. The article closes with a comparative table illustrating the use of alliteration in the three texts of Piers Plowman.

A. Brandl communicates a letter, now in the Zurich Library, dated April 30, 1725, of the Saxon Court-poet König to Bodmer, in which mention is made of the first German translation of Milton's Paradise Lost, that by Th. Haake, died 1690, which is now lost.

J. Zupitza furnishes fifty *Verbesserungen und Erklärungen* to the following works: Thorpe's Apollonius (q. l. Ettmüller's A. S. Lexicon (2), Skeat's Havellok (10), Lumby's Floris (7), Chaucer's Prologue (7), Furnivall's Arthur (1), Peacock's Myr's Instructions (5), and Wright's Generydes (11). Lack of space forbids comment, which some of these remarks invite.

R. P. Walcker has a lengthy essay on the poet Cynewulf, chiefly devoted to controverting the views of Dietrich as to Cynewulf's origin and works. Walcker gives a "romantic" life of Cynewulf after Dietrich's Marburg Program with some additions from Grez and Rieger, and then discusses the four points: Cynewulf was a Northumbrian, was bishop of Lindisfarne 737-780, has some connection with the Raskell Cross, and wrote other works than the Riddles, *Christ II*, and *Helena*. He expounds very summarily of the views of Wright, Thorne, and Kemble that he may have been the same person as *Kenn*, an *Abbot of Eborac*, about 820; and shows that Dietrich in his *Program* (1860) adopted Lez's view that Cynewulf was a Northumbrian, who lived about 800. He contrasts in the first three above-mentioned sections Walcker's own views at length, sometimes with Dietrich's own arguments, and concludes especially that Cynewulf was not *Kenn*, but in the *Cross* some verses of which are inscribed on the Raskell Cross. He finally states that Cynewulf wrote with positive certainty the above-mentioned works, and in the eighth

century, was a West-Saxon, and probably a scholar of Aldhelm, which view had been previously advanced by Grimm.

A. Holder continues his *Collations of Anglo-Saxon Works with—II, Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem*, first published by Cockayne in his *Narratiunculæ anglice conscriptæ*.

B. Ten Brink begins his *Beiträge zur Englischen Lautlehre with—I, Introduction—Old English g (3)—hēng and heht; and—II, ēl and ðl in Middle-English*. In the Introduction he concurs with Freeman, Sweet and Zupitza in the designation of the periods of English, so that Old-English=Anglo-Saxon, and with Scherer, as against Sweet, in the opinion that in short *ea, eo, e* as well as in the diphthongs *ea, eo, e* forms the preponderating element, as already stated in his essay, "Zum englischen vocalismus" (*Zeitschrift für d. Alt. XIX, 211*). He treats Old-English *g* as of two kinds, *neither* being a proper medial mute, but both palatal-spirants, the first, denoted as *g¹* (=German *j*) as being used before *clear (hellen)* vowels, the second, *g²* (=Netherlandish *g*), before *dull (dunkehn)* vowels. He argues further that *e* is long in *hēng*, but short in *heht*. In the second section Ten Brink discusses at length the two sounds *ēl* and *ðl* in Chaucer—1, in Germanic, and—2, in Romanic and Greco-Latin words. He divides the Germanic words into three classes, according to their origin, and finds, by a careful study of Chaucer's rimes, that words of the first class do not rime with those of the third, but those of the second rime with either first or third, perfectly with the former; this shows that words of the second class often have two forms, one with *ēl* and the other with *ðl*. Ten Brink hopes "dass die behandlung das *e*-lauts ein wichtiges kriterium abgeben wird für die grenzbestimmung der dialekte, sowie für die bestimmung der herkunft mittellenglischer gedichte." We can give but a very superficial idea of the thorough treatment of the matters discussed in this article, and must refer phonetists to the article itself. Too little attention has been paid by English grammarians to the study of English sounds, but under the leadership of Ellis, Sweet, and German scholars, a change is taking place.

R. Wülcker contributes a short obituary notice of Ludwig Ettmüller, with a list of his numerous works, which have given him "eine bedeutende stellung in der entwicklungsgeschichte der englischen philologie, so dass wie ihn zu den 'altvätern' dieser noch jungen wissenschaft in Deutschland rechnen dürfen." Wülcker also gives information about Grein's Works. He will continue the *Bibliothek der A. S. Prosa*, and will publish a new edition of the *Poesie* after a collation of the MSS., a new edition of the *Beowulf*, and also of Grein's translation of *Beowulf*.

The book notices open with one by G. Baist, of Hofmann and Vollmöller's edition of *Der Münchener Brut Gottfried von Monmouth in französischen versen des XII, jhd.*, Halle, 1877.

There follows a short notice, by Dr. K. Sachs, of Kölbing's edition of the first volume of Fiedler's *Wissenschaftliche Grammatik der englischen Sprache*, Leipzig, 1877. The first edition of this volume appeared in 1859; meantime the author died, and the second volume (the *Syntax*) was prepared by Sachs (1861). He was obliged to decline the request to prepare a second edition of the first volume, and this was undertaken by Kölbing. Sachs notes the

changes made in this edition, and recommends it to all who wish to make a scientific study of English.

N. Delius reviews at some length Koppel's *Textkritische Studien über Shakespeare's Richard III und King Lear*, Dresden, 1877.

E. Sievers subjects Zupitza's edition of Cynewulf's *Elene*, Berlin, 1877, to a very careful examination and criticism. Sievers welcomes the book as an evidence that greater attention is being paid to Anglo-Saxon poetry, and thinks it high time, for the *Beowulf* has heretofore occupied scholars exclusively, without their having yet given us a "readable edition" (!) of that poem. He notices differences in Zupitza's text from that of Grimm and of Grein, and thinks the *ea, eo*, of the former no improvement on *ed, ed*, of the latter, for both give rise to misconceptions, which can be avoided only by using combined types which would permit the circumflex to be placed over both vowels together. He objects too to Zupitza's use of *j* for *i* before vowels, and of *g* for *3*, for the letter *g* represents in A. S. "also" the guttural or palatal spirant, and he combats Zupitza's views on this point. He thinks the edition shows a real advance in the marking of quantities, but still takes exception to some words, as to whose quantity he differs from Zupitza. Moreover, Zupitza writes *wedx* as analogous to *scebb*, a breaking then—as others think—but Sievers says no such form as **wox* ever occurs: *wexan* is therefore a reduplicating verb, and to be consistent Zupitza should write *wlox*. The grammarians are not at one on this point, but most of them put *wexan* in the same class with *sceppan* (March's IV). Sievers criticises some of the words in the glossary, but praises the definitions and the exact references. He commends, on the whole, the representation of the text itself, but suggests some emendations, and finally differs from the editor in respect to his use of punctuation. Notwithstanding these minor criticisms, scholars everywhere will be grateful to Zupitza for such a cheap and handy edition of one of the most noted A. S. poems.

M. Trautmann closes the number and volume with a notice of some school-books for instruction in English, by H. Plate, R. Degenhardt, W. Gesenius, and I. Schmidt, and makes some remarks on a better method for instruction in the phonology of the modern languages, in which he finds all grammars totally unsatisfactory. His remarks conclude with an autograph table of the arrangement of the "vowels, consonants, and middle-sounds," according to his method.

The second volume of the *Anglia* will be noticed in a future number of the *Journal of Philology*.

JAMES M. GARNETT.

REVUE ARCHÉOLOGIQUE.

Juillet, 1879.

I. C. Henry, Sur l'origine de quelques notations mathématiques (Suite).

II. E. Revillout, Le Roman de Setna (Suite).

III. Maurice Albert, Sur une villa de Tusculum. In the region of Tusculum, so frequently explored, Albert discovered this villa, not by accident but observation. So excellent a building site as a large platform on a piece of rising ground could hardly have been neglected in this populous region. He searched and found. Exploration, however, was prevented by modern occupation. He discovered—1) A marble disc—one of the already known medallions, which, sculptured on both sides, were used as decoration, being *a*) hung from the ceiling, or *b*) pivoted on a standard between the columns of a portico. Gerhard was wrong in considering them votive shields. Their true use is shown in paintings of Herculaneum. This mode of decoration is peculiar to villas of the first century of the Empire. 2) A tomb close to the wall of the house. This situation of graves close to the house is not uncommon in this region. Under a funereal lamp was an as, the fee of Charon, and by the side of the lamp a tooth, a common thing in graves. The lamp was undecorated, and this plainness is a mark of funereal lamps of the first century of the Empire. 3) In the sarcophagus of a grave not far from the villa was a marble pillow with two hollows in it for the head and neck.

IV. Ferdinand Bompis, Drachme inédite frappé edans l'Étrurie. The woodcut shows on one side a hippocampus and dolphins, on the other is Cerberus. The place of finding is unknown. Bompis' interpretation is that *a*) Hippocampus and dolphins are an allusion to the maritime position of the city which issued the coin, *b*) Cerberus alludes to a cult of infernal deities in the city. The type of Cerberus on coins is extremely rare, only three other cases being known to Bompis. In two cases there was a sanctuary of infernal deities near the city, and in the third some such relation is conjectured. 1. Coin from Elea in Epirus near Acheron and Cocytus. Here was a Plutonium, according to Pouqueville. 2. From Cumae near Lake Avernus. At Cumae, according to Scymnus of Chios (v. 235–240) was a Cerberium. Strabo speaks of a Nekyomanteion in ancient times. 3. At Smyrna was found a Cyzicene. V. Barclay Head thinks it was struck in Cimmerium of the Cimmerian Bosphorus because *a*) it was in constant trade with Cyzicus, whence probably the denomination *b*) the ancient name of Cimmerium was Cerberium, whence, probably, the Cerberus. From these considerations Bompis conjectures that near the city in which our piece was coined was the shrine of a chthonic deity.

Is there an Etruscan city whose coins bear similar emblems of the gloomy side of mythology? Such are some of the coins commonly attributed to Populonia. 1. *Chimaera* (horned lion, tail tipped by dragon's head, no goat's head on the back). 2. The *Gorgoneion* on several coins, symbol of either *a*) death, which would suit our purpose, *b*) the moon (which would not illustrate our coin) in allusion to the city's name, which in its Etruscan form is PVPLVNA. 3. *Sphinx* on several coins. 4. *Cuttlefish* on several, which Bompis takes to be *a*) the Lernean Hydra, *b*) at the same time an allusion to the position of the city on the sea. These terrible beings of mythology correspond to the Cerberus

on one side of our coin. The maritime situation of Populonia agrees with the hippocampus and dolphin on the other. Pliny (3, 8) says Populonia was the only maritime city of the Etruscans, but this does not help us to fix the home of our coin, for Strabo (5, 2, 8) names many other Etruscan towns on the coast.

V. E. Müller, Cure-oreille d'or byzantin portant une inscription grecque. It is twelve centimeters long. The inscription in six lines on six faces begins with a Greek cross, which is found in all Byzantine inscriptions, even those which, like ours, are not of Christian contents.

✠ Ὑγιέν | οἰσα χρ | ῶ, κυρᾶ. Κ | αλῶν κε | ρῶν ἀπο | λαύσης (no ε subscr.).
Salva utere, domina. Felicibus temporibus fruaris.

The Abbé Martigny (Dict. des antiq. chrét., 1865, p. 467) cites among objects found in Christian graves, wigs, toothpicks and earpicks. In regard to earpicks he is wrong, the object referred to on a plate from Boldetti being an earring. χρῶ and Latin *utere* are common on jewels offered as presents. *ύγιατε* is in several funeral inscriptions, but no other jewel is known to Müller as having it. *καλῶν καιρῶν ἀπολαύσης* is a wish not found on any other remains of this kind. *ἀπολαύσης* in the future¹ (*sic*) is justified by *καιρῶν* which contains a future notion. *ε* for *αι* in *ύγιενοῦσα* and *κερῶν* is an ancient and abundantly attested change in spelling following a change in pronunciation. Thus on a lamp is ΑΠΤΕΑΙ-ΠΙΓΑΘΩ which has been wrongly read by Rayet *ἀπτεᾶ ὑπ'* or *ἐπ'* *ἀγαθῶ*, rightly by Le Blant *ἀπτε ἐπ' ἀγαθῶ*. What is its age? We may assign it to the tenth century A. D., because the shapes of the letters are exactly like those on coins of Constantine Monomachus and his successors.

VI. P. de Cessac, Découverte d'un cimetière des premiers siècles de notre ère. Planches—XV. Disque en marbre. XVI. Monnaies Étrusques.

Αοῦτ, 1879.

I. F. Bompis, Remarques critiques sur les monnaies à revers lisse attribuées à Populonia. Bompis combats two opinions widely received among numismatists, and maintains:

1. That gold and silver coins are not from Populonia only. The thesis that Populonia was the only town of central Italy to strike coins of gold and silver, the others using only copper, Bompis disproves by adducing two gold and five silver coins with inscriptions which have not been and cannot be read Populonia.

Note.—On one coin is a wheel. Its form is very rare and is not found among any Greek people, but only on Etruscan and Thraco-Macedonian coins. In this Bompis sees proof of a common origin of the two races, Herodotus seeming to say that the Tyrrhenians of Crestona were of one origin with Etruscan Pelasgians (I 57, 94). [Compare Cortona in Etruria]. According to Strabo Caere was founded by Pelasgians from Thessaly. Now Thessaly is not far from Thrace.

2. That coins with plain reverse are not from Populonia only. Coins with plain reverse are peculiar to Etruria. The opinion long and widely held by

¹Aor. subj. used in late Greek as an optative. See Sophocles Lex. Introd. p. 46 2.—B. L. G.

numismatists that these coins were struck by Populonia alone among Etruscan cities is attacked by Bompois. He bases his objection on the great variety of types, so numerous that they could hardly have been the mintage of one city. He adduces coins bearing human heads, Hermes' head, Silenus' head, Gorgon, chimera, cuttlefish (which he calls hydra), hippocampus, a sea monster, lion heads, wild boar, hare, dog, owl, and wheel.

II. Auguste Castan, L'Épitaphe de la prêtresse gallo-romaine Geminia Titulla. Geminia. Titulla | Arauniensis. Mater | Sacrorum. Hic | Adquiescit — D.(ecimus) Jul.(ius) P(ublili) L(ibertus) Auctus Con(jugi) Pi | issimae. Et Aurae | Severi. Quem. Pro. F(ilio) | Obser(vavit.) "Here lies Geminia Titulla of Orange, Mother of the Holy Services. Dec. Jul. Auctus, freedman of Publius, to his faithful and beloved wife and to Aura (wife) of Severus whom he had adopted." Found at Besançon (anc. Vesontio). Date probably third century A. D. The most important element is the priestess' title of *mater sacrorum*, known, so far as Castan is aware, only in one other instance, an inscription from Bordeaux. From this Bordeaux inscription and two others near Besançon, Castan is inclined to regard the title as peculiar to Gaul and to the worship of Mercury, the greatest god in Gaul. On the other hand it may belong to the Taurobolic worship (of Mithras and the Mother of the Gods united), the pontiffs of which bore the title *pater sacrorum*.

III. Ed. Garnier, L'hôtel de Soubise.

IV. Eug. Muntz, Notes sur les Mosaiques chrétiennes de l'Italie (Suite). Planches—XVII—XVIII. Monnaies Étrusques. XIX. Objets trouvés dans les tumuli de Lunkofen.

Septembre, 1879.

I. J. Quicherat, Une tombe plate dans l'église de Sainte-Praxède à Rome.

II. A. S. Murray, La frise orientale du Parthénon. The frieze of the Parthenon shows a procession.¹ On the west wall is the preparation. Thence proceed eastward two lines on the north and south walls. On the east wall, the heads of the two lines having turned the corners, advance toward one another. In the centre of the eastern frieze are five standing figures, two officiants and three acolytes. On the right of this sacerdotal group are six larger figures seated, supposed to be gods, facing the procession that advances from the south. On the other side of this sacerdotal group are six other seated figures of gods facing the procession that advances from the north. The theory of Murray is as follows: These are not two separate parts of one ceremonial, they are one procession marching two abreast. The sculptor wished to direct the action upon one point. He accordingly divided the procession into two parallel lines on the north and south walls on either side of the spectator. On the east wall, which faces the spectator, perspective, which preserves reality, is denied the sculptor. The scene he had in his mind for the eastern wall was—the head of the procession halted in front of the spectator, further on the sacerdotal group, and in the distance the twelve gods facing the procession and the spectator. The sculptor has put the sacerdotal group in the centre of the frieze, half of the gods on one side of it, half on the other, and one file on each side, each six gods turned sideways toward a file.

¹ See Müller Denkmäler der alten Kunst, I 23.—A. D. S.

III. F. Bompis, Remarques critiques sur les monnaies à revers lisse attribuées à Populonia (Suite). 1. Etruscan monetary units. Bompis combats the opinion of the Duc de Luynes that the Etruscan coins followed the old Euboean drachma of 3975 grammes. This has been disproved at length by Vazquez Quipo (Rev. Numism., 1850, p. 180 ff.). There were, says Bompis, two contemporary units in Etruria. The first and oldest was derived from the Attic, which, in the time of Kleisthenes, was about 4300 gr. The second, as proved by Mommsen (Hist. de la Monn. rom. I 218 ff.), was the Persian, the unit of which was the silver stater of 5440 gr. The existence of two units of these values is proved by Bompis by means of the weights of many coins. 2. XX, X, V (or Λ), IIA do not denote values in drachmae. Mommsen's opinion is that the above figures on Etruscan coins denote multiples of drachmae, each being the double of the next following—2 dr., 1 dr., $\frac{1}{2}$ dr., $\frac{1}{4}$ dr. Bompis shows that whatever they mean they do not denote values. He cites a large number of coins which, though of the same weight, differ in their choice of the above figures.

IV. H. Thédenat, Sur un cachet d'oculiste découvert à Reims. One of the many Roman oculists' stamps or seals with inscriptions containing prescriptions of certain physicians for certain diseases of the eye. The inscriptions of our stamp are on the four edges. 1. M(arci) Cl(audii) Martini di'acho.(les) ad. leu(coma) Diacho(les): salve of gall (*διὰ χολῆς*). Leu(coma): white spot on the cornea. 2. M(arci) Filoniani penicil(lum) le(ne) a(d) l(ippitudines). Penicillum: sponge. 3. M(arci) Cl(audii) Martini authem(erum) lene. Authemerum: probably, cure within twenty-four hours. 4. M(arci) Cl(audii) M. . . .

V. F. von Pulsky, Monuments de la domination celtique en Hongire. Planches—XX. Tombe plate. XXI. Figures de la frise orientale du Parthénon.

A. D. SAVAGE.

HERMES. Zeitschrift für classische Philologie, unter Mitwirkung von A. KIRCHHOFF, TH. MOMMSEN, J. VAHLEN, herausgegeben von EMIL HUEBNER. Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1879. Vol. XIV.

No. 1. In this number there is a paper by J. G. Droysen On the time of the Nemean festival. The conclusion is that it took place once in two years, summer and winter alternately, but no distinct result seems attainable from the meagre and late evidence that we possess.

Theodore Mommsen discusses the Roman Guards. The *praetoria cohors* was first instituted by the younger Scipio in the war against Sertorius and Numantia. It was not, then, a foundation of Roman imperialism. Under the empire there were nine cohorts of 1000 men each, whose pay was double that of the common legionaries. The four *cohortes urbanae* constituted a separate troop from the praetorians. Mommsen gives a noteworthy Inscription (C. I. L. VI 2725), recording the career of a soldier who passed from service in a legion to the praetorian guards, and afterward passed twenty-three years among the *evocati* as *architectus armamentarii imperatoris* under Domitian, Neroa and Trojan.

Mommsen gives another and purely linguistic paper in this number, discussing the question how Greek φ, "the sweetest of the Greek letters," was represented in Roman writing. 1) The old way was by simple ϕ, just as *t* and *c* were given of θ and χ. 2) from 250 B. C. on by ϕh, except that the less cultured often continued to write their ϕ. 3) by *f* under Severus and afterward, noticeable especially in the Latin writing of Greek proper nouns. Coins and first-class official documents generally retain the ϕh, but after the middle of the fourth century A. D., this too begins to change, emperors calling themselves *triumfactores*, *Filippus*, etc., when *f* seems to have become the rule of orthography. In conclusion, Mommsen very properly warns scholars against drawing inferences as to laws and rules from the errors and blunders of individual inscriptions.

Ernest Curtius contributes a paper on Sparta and Olympia. He reasserts his views on the relation of Sparta to the sanctuary at Olympia, which have been recently opposed by Busolt, and points out the *political* significance of the alliance. Sparta, being the first of the Peloponnesian communities to acknowledge the Olympian sanctuary, ever after used the moral influence thus acquired for the sustenance and increase of her own political leadership in the Peloponnesus and beyond it. The relation of Delphi to Olympia is also discussed.

J. Olshausen of Berlin, who has done much toward tracing the linguistic influence of the Orient on the Occident in ancient times, has a minor paper on στίραξ, *storax*, tracing the Syrian *resin*, cultivated also in Crete, Boeotia, etc., to the name of the Syrian goddess Astarte אַרְטַסְתָּ

No. 2. Parerga, by Von Wilamowitz of Greifswald. This is a long series of conjectural emendations of Greek texts, largely from the lyrical writers, from Alcman and Xenophanes down to Callimachus; also from the tragic writers and Aristophanes. Some of these emendations are striking and a few seem plausible, such as Anacreon (fr. 18 Bergk), *χείρεσσιν μαγάδην ἔχων*, and Pindar Nem. 9, 28, *τακτάν* for *ταύταν*.

Von Wilamowitz also has a paper on Phaedon of Elis. This is an attempt to suggest the contents of the lost dialogue entitled Simon, by Phaedon the Socratic. W. draws hints from the twelfth of the Pseudo-Socratic letters, that true virtue could very well take a middle position between those of Antisthenes and Aristippus.

Von Wilamowitz has a third paper on the Galliambi of Callimachus and Catullus. W. suggests that the Galliambus was first extensively used by the Greek poets of the beginning of the third century B. C., and most skilfully by Callimachus of Cyrene; and that Catullus' poem on Attis is not so much a translation as an imitation of the Callimachean Galliambi.

J. Vahlen of Berlin, the successor of Haupt, contributes a paper on Plato Philebus 25, D. E.: *συμμίγνυ δὲ γε οἷς αὐτὴν τὸ μετὰ ταῦτα κ.τ.λ.*, his interpretation being occupied especially about *καταφανῆς κάκελη γενήσεται*. Throughout he opposes any change of the received text, and, in opposition to Badham, denies the necessity of any emendation. Vahlen's remarks on the *impersonal* use of *δράσει* will interest Greek grammarians generally (cf. p. 210 sq.).

C. A. Lehmann of Berlin, gives a number of emendations of passages in Ciceronian orations.

H. Fiedke writes on the relation between the caesura and the accent in the hexameter of Nonnus.

H. Schrader of Hamburg, *Porphyrius bei Eustathius zur Boeotia*, discusses what Eustathius derived from the Homeric books of the Neoplatonist Porphyrius, and through what channels; he also attempts to identify other notes in the Homeric Scholia as Porphyrian, where the name of P. is not given.

J. Draheim of Berlin, *De Arte Ovidii*, discusses a peculiar metrical habit of Ovid in his practice of elision.

Robinson Ellis of England, *Emendationes Inscriptionum*, refers to the collection of epigrams recently published by Kaibel.

A. Jordan of Wernigerode, in an article, *Zur Kritik der spaeteren Platoniker*, discusses some of the MSS. containing commentaries of later Platonists, and points to a Vienna MS. (*Philos. Graec. No. 314*), as the leading one in value.

H. Jordan of Koenigsberg, the noted classical scholar and archaeologist, under the comprehensive title of *Vermischte Bemerkungen*, presents four distinct minor papers. 1) An emendation of Frontinus (*de aquis*). 2) A discussion of Horace, *Ode IV 8, Donarem pateras*. Here he makes a spirited and suggestive defence of the received reading, esp. of v. 13, *non incisa notis marmora publicis*. 3) Discusses two Pompeian wall-paintings of trifles, containing rather faint inscriptions (an address of a letter, and distichs). J. attempts a restoration. Corrupt forms in the conversational Latin of the period may be of interest to the general scholar: *cuscus=quisquis, periat=pereat, valiat=voleat*. 4) A critical paper discussing Simonides of Amorgos, the satirical poem on women, by J., assumes several interpolations, of which he makes out the principal one to be from vs. 94 to the end.

H. Haupt of Würzburg, being engaged in a comprehensive study of the Byzantine historians, contributes the third and last of a series of papers concerning the extracts of Planudes, supposed by some to be derived from Dio Cassius.

In the remainder of this number are minor notes, of which we give some of the titles: On Ketrporis of Thrace, by Dittenberger of Halle. A misunderstood expression of Heraclitus, by E. Petersen of Dorpat. The Priapus-elegy of Tibullus, by the Editor. On Pausanias, an archaeological communication, by C. Robert of Berlin. On Stobaeus' Florilegium, by P. Thomas of Ghent, etc., etc.

No. 3. Johannes Schmidt of Romę, On the *Evocati*, a contribution to Roman antiquities. The *Evocati* (*οἱ ἀνάκλητοι*) were a special select grade in the non-commissioned Roman military, being found as a distinct feature principally from Augustus into the third century A. D. They were picked men invited to further service after having completed their *stipendia*. They seem to have been mostly of the praetorians. Schmidt has made extensive use of the inscriptions of the imperial era.

R. Hirzel of Leipzig, *Democritus' Schrift περὶ εὐθυμίας*, a very extensive paper (pp. 354-407). Hirzel traces the influence of Democritus' treatise, *π. εὐθ.*, in Seneca *de tranquillitate animi*, and finds further hints about its contents in the Pseudo-Hippocratean correspondence, and in the polemic against Democritus which he claims to find in Plutarch *περὶ εὐθυμίας*. He holds it probable that at the time of Cicero, of Horace, of Juvenal and of Clement of Alexandria, it was the only ethical treatise of Democritus which was read and preserved in its integrity. He attempts to assign to the treatise *περὶ εὐθυμίας* many other Democritean fragments which are preserved under other titles in extant

collections (Mullach). The well-known traditions of Democritus as the "laughing philosopher," and of the stupidity of the Abderites, he traces to the indirect influence of this same treatise.

Benedict Niese of Marburg, writes on Thukydides bei Stephanus, producing several corrections of the MS. from Stephanus of Byzantium: 'Αφροδιτία for 'Αφροδισία (IV 56), Κνωουρίας for Κνωσουρίας (ibid.), Μεταπίους for Μεσοπίους (III 121), and the insertion of και 'Αμφίλοχοι after δ ποτε 'Ακαρνάνες (III 105). In all these passages the tradition of Thucydides in Stephanus seems really to be superior to that of the Thucydidean MSS.

H. Haupt continues his discussions of the fragments of Dio Cassius.

C. A. Lehmann of Berlin, in his *Questiones Tullianae*, continues his critical remarks on Ciceronian passages.

M. Niemeyer of Berlin, Zu Plautus, offers critical remarks on *Asinaria* 105 [adding *tuus*], *Captivi* 463, *Capt.* 21, 22, *Asin.* 280, *Mercator* 312, *Miles* 1162, *Stichus* 313 foll.

Fr. Novati of Pisa, reports on a list of Aristophanic plays contained in the MS. at Milan (Cod. Ambrosianus). The number given is forty-four. The pieces given in the list as having had two editions are *Διολοσίκων*, *Θεσμοφοριάζουσαι*, *Νεφέλαι*, *Πλούτος*. Various corrections of Suidas' article on Aristophanes result from the list in this MS.

E. G. SIHLER.

ATHENAION.¹ The Athenaiion, edited by PROFS. KUMANUDIS and KASTORCHIS, is one of the best and most solid periodicals published in Europe. It is now in its eighth year, and in spite of the limited number of its subscribers, increases in interest and value. Besides numerous articles on philological subjects, it contains excellently digested accounts of all new excavations and discoveries. From recent numbers, I glean the following notes of recent excavations in Greece:

1. The Rock-Tombs at Nauplia. In two passages of his *Geography*, Strabo makes mention of caves in the neighborhood of Nauplia (*hod.* Navplion). Judging from his words, they must have been of considerable dimensions: *ἔφεγξ δὲ τῇ Ναυπλίᾳ τὰ σπήλαια καὶ οἱ ἐν αὐτοῖς λαβύρινθοι, Κυκλώπεια δ' ὀνομάζουσιν*, H, 6, p. 369 *ad init.*; *καὶ ἰσως τὰ σπήλαια τὰ περὶ τὴν Ναυπλίαν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐταῖς ἔργα τούτων* (i. e. τῶν Κυκλώπων) *ἐπώνυμά ἐστιν*, p. 373 *ad init.*

In August, 1878, Prof. Kastorchis of Athens, being on a visit to Nauplia, took occasion carefully to excavate and examine certain small caves, which have long been known to exist in the neighborhood. He found them nine in number and situated on the N. E. slope of the fortress hill, Palamidi, close by the suburb Pronoia. It seems to have been taken for granted by archaeologists that these are the *σπήλαια* mentioned by Strabo; but inasmuch as they do not at all correspond to his description, it has been supposed that he wrote from hearsay and was thus inaccurate. Though this is quite possible, it would hardly be safe, with our present knowledge, to affirm that there did not exist in

¹ *Ἀθῆναιον*, σίγγραμμα περιοδικὸν κατὰ διμηνίαν ἐκδιδόμενον συμπράξει πολλῶν λογίων. *Ἀθῆνῃσιν*, ἐκ τοῦ τυπογραφείου Ἑρμοῦ.

Strabo's time, or even that there do not exist now, caves of much larger dimensions than those found, and capable of containing labyrinths, whatever that term may mean.¹ All that we can say is, that the ancients were acquainted with caves in the neighborhood of Nauplia, and that caves are still to be found there. Those examined by Prof. Kastorchis were, with one exception, turned toward the north, and resembled in form the so-called treasuries at Mykænae, or still more the tombs discovered at Spata (Σφηττός?) in the Mesogaia, some three years ago. They were, however, much smaller than either, and had all been previously opened and robbed of their contents. Toward the end of September two other tombs were found in the same neighborhood, one of them apparently untouched. In this were found four skeletons, one large vase and eleven small ones, six human images closely resembling those found by Dr. Schliemann at Tiryns and Mykænae (vid. Mykænae, plates A, B, C), one image of an ox, and three sea-shells. There is nothing to show that the bodies in these tombs had ever been subjected to the action of fire. The tombs themselves are of various sizes and shapes, but none of them, apparently, are more than ten feet square or seven high. Some are square, some nearly round, some have the ceiling and doorway arched, others have two sides of the ceiling meeting at an angle and the top of the doorway horizontal. There can be little doubt a very large number of tombs still remain untouched on the slope of Palamidi, and that when these are thoroughly investigated by the Greek Archaeological Society, which has undertaken regular excavations, fresh light will be thrown upon the question of an early Egyptian settlement in the Argolid. Pausanias (IV 35, 2), as is known, tells us: ἦσαν δὲ οἱ Ναυπλιεῖς, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, Αἰγύπτιοι τὰ παλαιότερα· παραγενόμενοι δὲ ὁμοῦ Δαναῶ νανσίν εἰς τὴν Ἀργολίδα ὕστερον γενεαῖς τρισὶν ὑπὸ Ναυπλίου τοῦ Ἀμμωνῆος κατοικήθησαν ἐν Ναυπλίῳ.

2. The Rock-Tomb at Acharnæ. During the months of April, May and June last, an arched rock-tomb, very similar to those at Spata, and discovered some six years ago close by Menidhi (the ancient Acharnæ), was excavated by the German Archaeological School of Athens, of which Dr. Ulrich Köhler is the head. In it were found a large number of articles in gold, silver, bronze, ivory, stone, glass, terra-cotta, etc., having an unmistakable kinship with those found at Mykænae and Spata. There was discovered neither iron, coin, nor inscription, and, what is very remarkable, not a single image in clay. This seems to furnish a decisive proof of what was previously suspected, viz: that the treasures found in the tombs of Mykænae belong to a different people from that which owned the rude clay images found in the earth above them, and that Greece in early times had a Middle Dark Age.

3. The Dipylon Gate in Athens. The Greek Archaeological Society, in spite of the many difficulties thrown in its way, has for months been pursuing

¹ There is especial difficulty in identifying the caves described by the ancients. Pausanias describes one in the neighborhood of Marathon thus (I 32, 7): ὀλίγον δὲ ἀπωτέρω τῶν πεδίων Πανός ἐστιν ὄρος καὶ σπήλαιον θέας ἀξίων ἔσοδος μὲν ἐς αὐτὸ στενὴ, παρελθοῖσι δὲ εἰσὶν οἴκοι καὶ λουτρά καὶ τὸ καλούμενον Πανός αἰπόλιον, πέτραι τὰ πολλὰ αἰζὶν εἰκασμέναι." Lolling (Mittheil. des deutschen Archaeol. Inst. in Athen., Vol. I, p. 72, sqq.), makes these words apply to a cave on a hill near Ninioi (Οἰνόη). I examined this cave with great care, and find it impossible to believe that it ever contained οἴκοι or λουτρά. It has three εἰσοδοί, all equally στενά. Possibly the cave of Pan has not yet been discovered.

excavations near the Dipylon to the east of the Hagia Trias, and has succeeded in laying bare a considerable portion of the ancient city wall, in an excellent state of preservation, sixteen layers high, and lacking, apparently, nothing but the embrasures. It forms a right angle, of which one side runs to the north and the other to the west. A portion also of the outer wall of the fosse was found, and remains of houses outside of it.

4. Eleusis and Delphi. The same society, having bought up a large number of the houses that at present occupy the sites of Eleusis and Delphi, are preparing to buy the remainder, and then to commence excavations in both places. The inhabitants are glad of the opportunity thus offered them of parting advantageously with their property, and removing elsewhere. The beautiful, large basin into which the fountain of Kastalia flows, has recently been cleared of the stones and mud that encumbered it, and is found to be almost uninjured, in spite of the frequent earthquakes.

5. The Lion of Chaironeia. This noble work of ancient sculpture, far superior to the famous Thorwaldsen lion at Lucerne, has for many years lain in fragments close to its pedestal. The Greek Archaeological Society is now taking measures to put the colossal fragments together and restore the monument of Greece's downfall to its original position.

THOMAS DAVIDSON.

NEUE JAHRBÜCHER FÜR PHILOLOGIE U. PÆDAGOGIK, herausgegeben v. FLECKEISEN u. MASIUS, 1879.

No. 7. H. Müller-Strübing of London, Concerning the battle of Marathon. This paper, the writer says, was suggested to him by Wecklein's Ueber die Tradition der Perserkriege, Munich Academy, 1876. He corrects or criticises the Herodotean and Plutarchean tradition in several points, maintaining especially: 1) That it was not the tribe *Aeantis* which had the position on the right wing, but the *Oemeis*, Miltiades' own, although the latter, as commander-in-chief, had a position in the centre. 2) He disbelieves the narrative that the Athenian army marched back to the city on the day of the battle. This view is based on physical and topographical considerations.

Ch. Herwig of Elberfeld, Concerning the question of *responsio* in Aeschylus, Agamemnon 1331-1343. The writer arranges thus: *a* (1331-1334), *β* (1335-37), *β'* (1338-1340), and *α'* (1341-43), the fourth and last *σίσημα* being interrupted by the cry of Agamemnon from the palace. To make things tally, he inserts in vs. 1343, *καί; καί τὰδ' ἀκούων.*

Fr. Kern of Stettin, discusses a number of passages in Sophocles' Antigone. He suggests a lacuna of one verse between 23 and 24, explains and defends *ὀρθῶς φιλῆ* in 99, recommends some alteration of *παντὸς ἀνδρὸς* in 175, as *παντὶ τὰνδρὸς;* proposes a slight change in 743: *οὐ γὰρ δίκαι', ἂ σ' ἐξαμαρτάνωνθ' ὄρω,* and takes umbrage at *πᾶσ'* in 776. His last suggestion is *ἐπ' ἐσχάτων* v. 853, for *ἐπ' ἐσχάτων.*

A. Dederich of Emmerich, presents a number of emendations in Livy XXI, twenty in all. This paper deserves the careful reading of all students of Livy. The author is an old teacher of long experience, recently retired. His command

of the critical material seems very complete, and he frequently points out in a very instructive manner the genesis of corruptions. The space destined for these reports forbids an elaborate discussion of Dederich's readings. Still, as many teachers read Livy XXI with classes, it may be serviceable to note at least the passages discussed: c. 3, In Hasdrubalis locum—*sequēbatur*; c. 5, non petisse Saguntinos, etc., where D. reads *isogentilis quoque* instead of *isogentiaque*; c. 7, oriundi a Zacyntho . . . Rutilorum qui *quondam* generis; c. 8, oppidani ad omnia—non sufficiebant, he inserts *postquam* before *multum ferarum*. In c. 10 he reads *Hanno equi: per deos, foederum arbitros ac testis, iratione suadentis, . . . monuisse; praedixisse se, etc.*; c. 17, duas legiones Romanas et decem milia sociorum . . . Gallia provincia *non tum* (instead of *eodem*) versa in Punicum bellum habuit. In this passage he makes great use of Polybius. c. 22, tuendae maritimae orae; c. 25, nec, dum *parum per in* patencia loca ducebatur agmen apparuit hostis; c. 28, at *tum* elephantum. In c. 31 Dederich defends the received reading: quod ea senatus principumque sententia *fuērat*; c. 33, *partibus deversis e* rupibus (instead of *perversis rupibus*); c. 36, iumenta secabant *cum tabidem* (or *tabem*) *tum* infamam . . . ingredientia nivem, cf. Polyb. III 55; c. 38, Taurini *Hannibalis* proxima gens erat in Italiam degresso (instead of *Galliae*); c. 40, ac nihil magis vereor *ne cum utrumque*, vos cum pugnaveritis, Alpes vicisse Hannibalem videantur. c. 41, neque regressus ad navis *<salis tutus>* erat; c. 43, dextra laevaue duo maria claudunt et nullam . . . *navem habetis, vobis* circa Padus, etc. (instead of *habentibus*); c. 48, iamque in loca altiora *eaque tumulis* impeditoria equiti (or *equis*); c. 49, extemplo a praetore et circa civitates missi legati tribunique, qui suos . . . intenderent, ante omnia Lilybaeum *instueri* iussi, *ad* paratum belli edicto proposito, ut . . . deferrent et . . . ne quis . . . facere et; perque omnem oram qui ex speculis prospicerent adventantem hostium classem, dimissi; c. 52, maior tamen quam hostium Romanorum fama victoriae fuit; c. 59, pugna raro magis ulla *aeque* aut utriusque partis *<pari>* pernicis clarior.

There is another critical Latin paper by R. Unger, *Emendations to the Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, pp. 493-512.

No. 8. R. Meister of Leipzig, Concerning the Chronology of Boeotian Vocalism, mostly drawn from inscriptions in Ionic characters, from the beginning of the fourth century to the beginning of Roman sway in Greece, about 150 B. C. According to Meister, the retention of original α or υ , or of υ side by side with (later) \omicron indicates the fourth century; υ for α belongs to the third; a mixture of common forms with Boeotian points to 200-150 B. C.

H. Stadtmüller of Heidelberg, and I. Kvicala of Prague, contribute criticisms of passages in Euripides, generally involving real difficulties; St. on fragm. 803, v. 4; Hippol. 638; Hercul. fur. 1151, fragm. 340; Alcest. 1134 and 827. Kvicala on Heracl. 133; Hercul. fur. 617; Ion 382 (defending the current reading); Bacchae 860; Phoenix 845 sq.

W. Herbst of Halle, discusses critically seven passages in Thucydides, mostly such as have engaged critics a great deal before, and as such these passages may be here cited: 1, 25, 4, *περιφρονούντες δὲ αὐτοὺς κ.τ.έ*; 1, 51, 1, *οὐχ ὄσας ἔδρων ἄλλα <καί> πλείους*; 1, 70, 1, *καὶ ἅμα <ἡμεῖς> εἶπερ τινεῖ*; 2, 13, 1, *ἐπὶ κακῷ γε τῆς πόλεως γένοιτο <τοῦτο>*; 2, 15, 4, *τὰ γὰρ ἰερά . . .* The most important is 2, 35, 1, *καὶ μὴ ἐν ἐνὶ ἀνδρὶ . . . πιστευθῆναι*. H. strikes out

πιστευθῆναι. This is plausible, and Herbst mentions that it had previously occurred to Van Herwerden without his knowledge. 2, 44, 1, οἷς ἐνευδαίμωνῆσαι . . . ἐνεμετρήθη.

W. Gebhardi of Meseritz, Zum ersten Buche von Vergilius Aeneis, pp. 561–578. 1) vs. 653 sqq., he now reads:

praeterea sceptrum Priami colloque monile
maxima natarum Ilione quod gesserat olim
bacatum et duplicem gemmis auroque coronam.

a change ably set forth and well defended. 2) vs. 395, the simile of the swans. 3) vs. 534, with a general discussion of incomplete lines in Vergil, he suggests a period after *hic cursus fuit*. 4) vs. 188, he brackets *fidus quae tela gerebat Achates*. 5) vs. 455 sqq., Aeneas beholding the pictures of Trojan scenes; Gebhardi insists that these verses are in a hopeless muddle. 6) An archaeological excursus on the pictures themselves, in which he insists that we must not think of sculptures as, for instance, Weidner does. 7) Purely exegetical on vs. 495. 8) Minor alterations: vs. 747, ingeminant *plausum*, vs. 729, *qua* Belus; 721, *pervertere*; 707, *limina* instead of *limina*; vs. 646, *caro* instead of *cari*. The famous line, 574, he now reads thus: *Tros Tyriusve, mihi nullo discrimine agetur*, "whether it be a Trojan or Tyrian, my action will not be determined thereby." 9) Specimens of improvement in punctuation.

In the *Noctes Scholasticae* of this number there is a very suggestive and readable discourse on methods and aims of classical study at the German universities and on the professional preparation for classical teaching.

E. G. S.

MNEMOSYNE, Vol. VII, Part II.—This number contains papers by Cobet, Badham, Francken, Van Herwerden, and Cornelissen. Besides giving three emendations for passages of Diodorus Siculus and two for Aulus Gellius, Cobet has an article of sixty-six pages on Cicero's Philippics. Forty-one of these are taken up with emendations and illustrations of the text, while the remainder of the article is devoted to a criticism of the trustworthiness of Cicero in regard to his statement of facts. It may be well to give some characteristic specimens of Cobet's textual criticisms:

Phil. II 3, 6. *Cum omnes impuritates impudica in domo susciperes vino lustrisque confectus*. Sic scribitur ex auctoritate Codicis Vaticani et Nonii Marcelli, quum sana ratio *prudica* postulet. Namque *prudica in domo* est in domo, quae Cn. Pompeii fuerat, *impudica in domo* est in domo TUA, in qua quum quotidie omnes impuritates susciperentur quam fatuum est addere *impudicam* illam domum fuisse. Comparandus es locus Philipp. II 25, 69 *quid enim umquam domus illa (Pompeii) viderat nisi pudicum, quid nisi ex optimo more et sanctissima disciplina?*

On Phil. II 9, 21, *tu illum (Antonius Clodium) in foro spectante populo Romano gladio insecutus es*, he repudiates the reading *spectante*, though taken by Halm ex *optimo codice* (Vaticano) saying "utrum quoque loco *spectare* an *inspectare* verum sit non pendet a libris sed a verborum intelligentia," and then goes on

to show that whereas *spectare* is applied to the being present at games and shows, *inspectare* is used by Cicero only in the ablative of the present participle, in such expressions as *inspectante me, nobis inspectantibus*. The word in the sentences quoted above should be therefore *inspectante* in the sense of *in conspectu populi, ante oculos populi*, "habetque coniunctam notionem impudentiae cuiusdam et audaciae," and to confirm this he quotes (and happily does not merely refer to) several passages.

In Phil. II 14, 35, where the editions read *ad aedem Opis*, he insists on the omission of *aedem*, maintaining that in such cases the accusative or ablative is always to be omitted after *ad, ante, a, pone*, whereas "*in et pro* hanc ellipsin non admittunt aut non requirunt."

In Phil. II 18, 44, he desires to insert *is* after *Clodio* in the words "intimus erat in tribunatu Clodio, qui sua erga me beneficia commemorat," explaining the sense required by φίλτατος ἦν τῷ Κλωδίῳ ὁ τὰς ἑαυτοῦ περὶ ἐμὲ εὐεργεσίας διηγοῖ μένος.

On III 11, 27, "O C. Caesar, adolescentem appello, quam tu salutem rei publicae attulisti," he remarks: "quae tandem est sententia verborum *adolescentem appello? Cur adolescentem eum vocat? an ne cum patre confunderetur? absurdum hoc quidem est. Quid igitur dixerat? nempe O Cai Caesar, ABSENTEM appello; ut in Phil. I 13, 31. Tu aulem, M. Antoni, absentem appello, unum illum diem—non omnibus autepois?"*

In Phil. V 4, 10, he insists on writing *coloniis* for *colonis*, remarking, "ineptum est in talibus aliquid libris credere. In Vaticano locis innumerabilibus I et II, IS et ITS confusa videbis. Utra sit ubique lectio potior et vera nostri iudicii est."

On Phil. V 12, 31, where Halm has, in deference to the Vatican MS., omitted *afferemus*, while it is required by the sense, Cobet remarks: "non quodlibet vocabulum per ellipsin recte omittitur, sed ea tantum quae legentibus vel audientibus certa statim in mentem venire debent: *tam bonus gladiator rudem tam cito.*"

Phil. VII 6, 16, is emended in accordance with a passage in Suetonius, Caes. 41, in which reference Cobet is anticipated by Nipperdey, Philol. III, p. 145.

Phil. VIII 6, 19, he emends *quotidie aliquid iracundiae remittebat*, saying "postulat Latine loquentium consuetudo ut rescribatur: *quotidie aliquid DE iracundia remittebat.*" citing several passages to show that in such cases *de* or *ex* is always used.

On Phil. X 3, 6, *legiones abducis a Bruto. Rursus igitur vis nudatum illorum atque solum a re publica relegatum videri*, he remarks, "quid sibi vult *videri*? Quid est? an *δοκεῖν*? an *existimari*? Nihil minus. Qui Brutum oderant eum copiis nudatum esse, non *videri* volebant. Emendata una literula legendum: *vis nudatum videri* et ea re oculos pascere."

In Phil. X 7, 15, *qui C. Caesaris RES actas everti—volunt* he corrects *Caesaris ACTA*, saying "res *gestae* usitate dicitur *res actae* non item.—RES post *Caesaris* ex dittographia natum est, deinde ACTA ad RES accommodatum in ACTAS est conversum.

In Phil. X 8, 16, he desires to insert *non* before *acrius*, which seems unnecessary if its usual ironical force be allowed to the parenthetical *credo*.

But Cobet's passing remarks on the text of these orations are by no means confined to conjectural emendations of more or less probability. He anticipates

on occasion the purpose of the latter part of his article, by calling attention to the watchfulness with which Cicero's statements of fact must be scrutinized. As an example, he quotes from Phil. III 7, 17, Cicero's protests against the enormity of Antony's charging Q. Cicero the younger with a contemplated assassination of his father and uncle: *in eum adolescentem hoc scribere audent, quem ego et frater meus propter eius suavissimos atque optimos mores praestantissimumque ingenium certatim amamus omnibusque horis oculis, auribus, complexu tenemus.* And says, "haec omnia Cicero temporis causa mentitur; nam satis constat Quintum filium nequissimum nebulonem propter eius perditissimos et pessimos mores patri, patruo, et avunculo, Attico, odiosum admodum et invisum fuisse." And he then quotes a number of passages from the letters to Atticus by which this latter judgment is confirmed. The single letter (ad Att. XVI 5, 2), in which he speaks pleasantly of Quintus was a mere blind, "nihil in his veri est, nihil ex animi sententia dictum. Cicero qui nihil suis impudenter rogantibus negare poterat, in hac re astutus fuit et *δελιοὺς ἀνὴρ.*" In another letter he tells Atticus that he has written before at the request of his brother and nephew. "EAE NE TE MOVERINT." Cobet refers the credit of this discovery of Cicero's duplicity to Tunstall in his letter to Middleton. And in several other illustrations he adduces he has been forestalled by others. For example, on Phil. XII 2, 5, and XIII 1, 1 and 21, 49, he makes quotations, Greek and Latin, which are already in the notes.

The latter part of the article (pp. 154-179) is devoted to establishing that Cicero's statements as to Antony's atrocities and to the deference which Octavianus paid to the Senate, and other matters, are wholly untrustworthy. He says: "Multa Cicero odio incensus et inflammatus ira dixit, non nunquam de magnis maiora loquitur, interdum nimium tribuit auguriis suis rerum futurarum et quae eventura esse certo credebat vera et certa esse putavit: est etiam ubi temporis causa (plane et Latine dicam) mentitus est," and says further on that in his narrative Cicero followed his own rule, de Orat. II § 241 *si habeas vere quod narrare possis, tamen est mendaciunculis adspargendum.* To discredit Cicero's statements he relies mainly on Appian, and especially on a speech of Piso which is recorded by him; but he avails himself also of Cicero's own language in the letters to Brutus, of which he promises at some future time to establish the genuineness and authenticity. After quoting one patriotic passage from Phil. X 10, 20, he says, "verba haec sunt rebus contraria; illa *(sentina) P(opuli) Q(uondam) R(omani)* erat ad serviendum parata."

The next article is by Prof. Badham of Sidney, containing miscellaneous criticisms on the text of Plato's Philebus, Demosthenes, de Corona, Thucydides, lib. I and Euripides, Medea. A single specimen may be given. Dem. de Cor. § 147 *εἰ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἰδίας ἐνεκ' ἐχθρας ἢ τοὺς θετταλοὺς ἢ τοὺς θηβαίους συμπεῖθαι βαδίζειν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, οὐδένα ἠγεῖτο προσέξειν αὐτῷ τὸν νοῖν, εἰ δὲ τὰς ἐκείνων κοινὰς προφάσεις λαβὼν ἠγεμὼν αἰρεθῆ ῥῶον ἠλπίζε τὰ μὲν παρακροῖσθαι τὰ δὲ πείσειν.* Haec non modo in grammaticam peccant (*εἰ συμπεῖθαι ἠγεῖτο—εἰ αἰρεθῆ ἠλπίζε*) sed plane falsa sunt et rei naturae contraria. Quid enim? nonne hanc ipsam ob causam fallaciis utebatur ut dux crearetur? Quod ut semel assecutus est deposita simulatione vi agere coepit. Quae vero sunt illa κοινὰ προφάσεις Thessalorum Thebanorumque? Si voluissent Atheniensibus bellum inferre nullius προφάσεως indigebant. Philippo contra necesse erat προφάσεις λαβεῖν

quibus hos in societatem adduceret. Quas ergo? nempe τὰ κοινὰ Thessalorum et Thebanorum. Scribendum igitur τὰ δ' ἐκείνων κοινὰ προφάσεις λαβὼν (vel εἰ δὲ τὰκείνων κοινὰ π. λάβοι) ῥῶν ἠλπίζε τὰ μὲν παρακροῖσθαι τὰ δὲ πείσειν.

A paper then follows by C. M. Francken on the Epidicus of Plautus. The first part of it is devoted to the discovery of additional evidence of the *duplex recensio* of the play as already demonstrated by Reinhardt and Goetz. This is one of his arguments. In 276 Periphanes is urged to feign a love for the music girl. Nothing comes of this; but in 415 it is said that she was induced to come to his house willingly because she supposed that she was to take part in the performances at a sacrifice. The latter is clearly a better motive. Therefore, vv. 276-280, belong to a first edition.

Again, in 314 Epidicus speaks of having received an order from Periphanes to hire a music girl to assist at a sacrifice. In 417, Apoecides, talking to Periphanes, mentions this as if it were "rem commenticiam." Therefore, 314 belongs to the prior recension.

In 500 the music girl tells Apoecides and Periphanes that she was hired to perform at a sacrifice. Here is no deception. But in 317 and 371 Epidicus tells Stratippocles that he will procure the girl to delude the old man. This discrepancy is to be accounted for by the same consideration. From 385 all goes on consistently; therefore we may infer that the former portion must belong to the unrevised edition.

After this discussion Francken proceeds to criticise various lines in the play and emend them. For instance, v. 65, which in B. J. read: *THESP. Deperit. EPID. Detegetur corium de tergo meo*, he suggests: *Deperit. De tergo corium detegebitur meo.*

In 490, which Goetz gives: *nam pró fidicina haec εἴρω suppositást tibi*, Francken does not know whether it is intended to make allusion to the sacrifice of Iphigenia, and says: "eiusmodi reminiscéntias in Plauto non temere admittendas." He thinks the letters of the MSS. suggest: *nam pro fidicina vera haec suppositast tibi.*

The next paper contains emendations of certain of Lucian's writings by Van Herwerden.

In *Somnium*, 4, he desires various changes, particularly proposing *ἀνακτησαμένης δὲ με τῆς μητρὸς* for *ἀγανακτησαμένης*. In c. 13 he would read *χιτωνίσκον τινὰ* instead of *χιτωνίον τι*, on the ground that we see from *Lexiph.* 35 that Lucian recognized the latter as being *γυναικὸς ἐσθῆς*. In the same passage he proposes *κάγκοπτας* for *καὶ κοπτας*, because the former was the word for "chisel" used in c. 3. In c. 18, he prefers τὰ ἦττω of Reitz to τὴν ἦττω of Jacobitz (though he would prefer to read τὰ χεῖρω), thus keeping *φύσιν* as object of *διαφθεῖρων*.

In *Nigrin*, c. 24, *πῶς γὰρ οἶε τὴν ψυχὴν διατεθεῖσθαι μοι*, he proposes *διατίθεσθαι*, not only "quod illa forma non solet Lucian. cum faece Graeculorum uti pro *διακείσθαι*," but also because the present is more proper. In c. 37, *τὸ βέλος—μένει τε καὶ πολὺ τοῦ φαρμάκου ἀφίσιν*, he proposes *ἐμμένει* and *ἐνήσιν*, comparing *Xen. Mem.* I 3, 12, *ἐνήσει γάρ τι τὰ φαλάγγια κατὰ τὸ δῆγμα*.

In *Iudicium Vocalium* 2, where Σ complains of the neglect into which he is falling, and says that it is nearly come to this, that *ἐν ἰσῷ κείσθαι τοῦ ψόφου*, he proposes *τῷ ψόφῳ*, referring to *Plat. Theaet.* 174 e, *τό τε σῆγμα τῶν ἀφώνων ἐστὶ ψόφος τις μόνου*.

Similar criticisms are made on the Timon, Prometheus, Halcyon, and the Dialogi Deorum, Mortuorum, and Marini.

The last article is by J. J. Cornelissen, proposing emendations on Tibullus. The most probable of them seems to be this: II 5, 81, Et succensa sacris crepitet bene laurea flammis, Omine quo felix et sacer annus eat, where he proposes *satur* for *sacer*.

On I 10, 15, Sed patrii servate Lares: aluistis et idem, Cursarem vestros cum tener ante pedes, his comment is: ridicule poeta se ipsum, tenellum infantem, cursantem facit ante Larium pedes. Ni autem fallor, scripsit *curarer*!

C. D. MORRIS.

ROMANIA.—The following report aims at giving a brief summary of the more important articles contained in Nos. 30 and 31 of the Romania for 1879. Limited space would not allow anything more than a rough statement of the conclusions arrived at by the writers, nor has it been found practicable to discuss or criticise these conclusions except in a few instances.

No. 30 begins with an article by H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, entitled Des rapports de la versification du vieil irlandais avec la versification romane. After a brief examination of some of the most common types of Irish verse, the writer concludes that the facts obtained up to the present time contain nothing of sufficient importance to establish the supposed relations of Irish versification with the Romance. It is possible, he admits, that the versification of the prehistoric Irish may have followed the laws of that of the Gauls; but there is nothing to show that the laws of the former were identical with those of the old Irish versification. The revolution which, in modifying the language, destroyed the measure of the prehistoric verse, may have created a new system of versification. The laws of the old Irish verse, then, teach us nothing definite with reference to that of the prehistoric Irish. We cannot prove and are not justified in assuming, that the prehistoric Irish had either the quatrain, the verse of seven syllables, assonance or alliteration. We have no reason, therefore, to attribute to the Gauls the laws of versification of the old Irish. The Gauls must have possessed these laws themselves, in order to transmit them to the Provençal and French; but this is not proved. Moreover, if the Gauls had transmitted them to the Provençal and French, the latter would have observed them, which is not the case. The quatrain is not the fundamental principle of Provençal and French versification; alliteration is not one of its ornaments; nor has the verse of seven syllables the same importance in Provençal and French as in Irish. The writer further maintains that he finds nothing in the popular (*vulgaire*) versification of the Romans (in which it is thought the Provençal and French had its origin), that may be considered in his opinion as the type of the Irish quatrain.

L'imparfait du subjonctif en -es (provençal) by Paul Meyer. The imperfect of the subjunctive in Provençal has two terminations, -es and -is: *am-es* and *part-is*, which in certain provinces are lengthened to *amessa* and *partissa*. The author confines his examination to the former of these endings (*es*), and proceeds to show that, though identical in spelling, these verbal terminations are

quite different in sound, some having the narrow *e* (*e estroit*), others the wide *e* (*e large*). The proof of this is to be found in the fact that certain of these endings nearly always rime with words known to contain the narrow *e* (*és*), while others rime with words having the wide *e* (*èr*). Faidit, in his table of rimes, gives the following words under the rubric of *es large*: *pes, confes, ades* and *pres*. From various poems of the troubadours, Meyer collects imperfect subjunctives that rime with these words, such as *chantes, mandes, celes, ames, tornes, nasques, trobes, adjudes*, etc. He then gives a number in the same tense from the Flamenca, as, for instance, *agues, conogues, degues, pogues*, which rime with each other or with words whose *e* is known to be narrow, either by their etymology or by the authority of Faidit. In this way we may account for those passages in this poem, where four consecutive lines end in *-es*. In such cases the rime is only apparent; the one couplet contains the wide *e*-rime, the other the narrow *e*; e. g., verses 6146-9. This distinction between *-és* and *-èr* being thus established, it remains to ascertain the cause of this difference. The *-és* is produced only by verbs in *-er* and *-re*; the *-èr* by a few in *-er* and *-re*, and always by verbs in *-ar*. Question is, to find the principle common to verbs in *-er* and to the few in *-er* and *-re*, which have *-èr* in the imperfect of the subjunctive. It is this: they all have the preterit in *-it*. The rule may be stated, then, thus: all verbs which form the third pers. sing. of the preterit in *-it*, give *-èr* in the imperfect subjunctive. On the other hand, in verbs whose preterit does not end in *-it*, the force of the Latin termination *-issem* remains intact and gives *-és*. This rule seems to be so exact, that in those verbs of the second and third conjugations, which have two preterits (one in *-it*), there are two imperfect subjunctives, one in *-èr*, the other in *-és*. Thus *respondre* makes *respondèr* and *respon* and *respondés* and *resposés*. These distinctions are very generally observed in the rimes. It is only by negligent rimers after the thirteenth century and by foreigners, who wrote in the *langue d'oc*, that *-és* and *-èr* are confounded and made to rime with each other.

La vie de Saint Alexi en vers octosyllabiques, ed. by G. Paris. Under this heading Gaston Paris published an old French poem, the date of whose composition, to judge from the versification, would fall somewhere near the latter part of the twelfth century. This poem was printed as early as 1856 in the *Mémoires de l'Académie de Caen*, but as this impression is now difficult of access, students of early French philology will be very thankful for the present reprint. Of the language of the poem, which consists of 364 lines, there is nothing very new to say. The author sometimes uses an *s* to nominatives, where none existed in Latin. Of more importance than this is the use of the subjunctive case to that of the preterit. Neither the subject of the poem nor the extent of the manuscript on which it is based is of any degree of certainty. The manuscript is now in the hands of the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, but the latter, in view of the fact that the original is in the hands of the philologist, will show:

<p> Mais ne s'entend pas de dire Et ne s'entend pas de dire Et ne s'entend pas de dire Et ne s'entend pas de dire Et ne s'entend pas de dire Et ne s'entend pas de dire Et ne s'entend pas de dire Et ne s'entend pas de dire Et ne s'entend pas de dire Et ne s'entend pas de dire </p>	<p> Et ne s'entend pas de dire Et ne s'entend pas de dire Et ne s'entend pas de dire Et ne s'entend pas de dire Et ne s'entend pas de dire Et ne s'entend pas de dire Et ne s'entend pas de dire Et ne s'entend pas de dire Et ne s'entend pas de dire Et ne s'entend pas de dire </p>
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Traité catalans de grammaire et de poétique is a continuation, by Paul Meyer, of various ancient treatises on grammar and the poetic art, which he began to publish in Vol. VI of the Romania for 1877. He then gave Las reglas de trobar of Raimon Vidal and Doctrina de compondre dictats. The present number contains the third of these treatises, which has as its title Doctrina de cort [d'acort]. It is a metrical version of the Razos de trobar of R. Vidal, and is the work of a Pisan, Terramagnino by name. As might be expected, it possesses but little interest or value as a grammatical treatise. The beginning of the Proema is somewhat amusing as applied to the subject to be treated :

En lo nom de Dieu qu'es subiranz,
Paire e fill e esperitz sanz,
E guidanz de totz pecadors.

Unfortunately his deity did not prove a *guidans* to him ; for numerous sins are to be found in his pages. He does not always understand his model : is incapable of improving on him ; and where he departs from him, it is always to fall into error. The Pisan's chief originality lies in the examples cited by him from the troubadours in illustration of his rules. His definitions of the parts of speech are usually quaint, but at times quite pointed ; as in line 81, where, after stating that *emperayre*, *reys* and *baron* are substantives, he continues :

E totas autras qui en ver
Mostron substansa qui vezer
Se pot o qui vezer nos pot.

Strophes au Saint Esprit, etc. The manuscript here published for the first time, by Michel Cohendy and Antoine Thomas, belongs to the archives of the department of Puy-de-Dôme, and contains: 1) Des strophes en l'honneur du Saint Esprit; 2) Les statuts versifiés d'une confrérie du Saint Esprit; and 3) Une petite prière à la Vierge. The whole consists of 435 verses, in the Auvergnat dialect, as the editors assert. At the end, the copyist adds eight verses in French, stating that he completed his task on the 6th of July "l'an de grace mil cinq centz et sept" (1507). The work itself is of a much earlier date. Numerous forms would seem to indicate that its composition is to be placed somewhere in the thirteenth, possibly in the twelfth century. The Strophes au Saint Esprit are forty-two in number, of six verses each, and rime as follows: *a, a, a, b, a, b*; *b* is always a rime in *-it*, while *a*, with one exception, is always a paroxytone rime, e. g.:

Qui mal faict et lou ben sella,
Aquel s'art com ly chandela.
3 Tant sec l'arania la tella

Tro c'a lo corps consumit
Et lo sec tand no sen s'ela
6 Damnal corps et l'esperit.

The "statuts" are in riming couplets, while the "prière" rimes: *a, a, a, a, a, b, b, b, b, b*. The editors are very positive that the dialect is Auvergnat, and for this reason, because the manuscript was found at Saint-Julien de Coppel, near Billom, and because of the constant use of *ch* representing Latin *c* before *a*, the nominative feminine article *h* and *ly* and the notation *gh* for the soft sound of *g* (*=dj*) before *a* and *o*. To settle the dialect of a piece on such flimsy grounds is surely a most unscientific proceeding. A number of words in these pieces

are not contained in Raynouard's *Lexique*. *Atassa*, *acala*, *gauchat*, *ansara*, *agenda*, *jangot* are obscure as to their meaning; but the following are clear enough: *agualla*, inf. *agualar*—*égaliser* (Rayn. *agular*); *aünit*, inf. *aünir*—*réunir* (Rayn. *aünar*); *durmida*, fem. part.—sleep; *hostala*, inf. *hostalar*, to receive hospitality; and *revelhos* (*revel*), rebellious, obstinate.

Henry Carnoy gives a number of interesting *Contes*, *petites légendes*, *croyances populaires*, *coutumes*, *formulettes*, *jeux d'enfants*, which he collected at Warloy-Baillon (Somme) and Maily. These are in a certain sense a continuation of the series of similar stories, etc., which he began to contribute to the *Melusine* before it suspended.

Etymologies. J. Ulrich proposes a new class of participles formed on the model of *comestus* from *comère* (*comedere*). In this way he would derive *amonestar* (Sp. and Prov.) from *monestus* (*monère*) and *carestia* from *carestus* (*carère*). (For the latter A. Tobler thinks the Gr. *ἀχαριστία* would suffice.) Ulrich further offers *disvadere* as the origin of *desver*, which, he says, may have first been modified by *du sens* (*desver du sens*), then have dropped the adjunct, and finally added the reflexive *se*. G. Paris, however, thinks this derivation questionable. Tobler had formerly proposed to explain *sancier* and *essancier* by *exemptiare*. As this would lead us to expect a form *essencier* and not *essancier*, Paris assumes a verb *sanitiare* from *sanitia* for *sanitas*. There is nothing to support this conjecture of Mr. Paris. No such post-classic form as *sanitia* is found; moreover, *sanitia* would not have given the substantive *santé*, but *sanesse*, which does not occur.

No. 31. The libraries of Cambridge, England, have not, up to the present time, furnished any material for the history of the French language and literature, although they contain numerous French manuscripts on a variety of subjects, dating from the twelfth century. *Chansons de geste*, poems of adventure, didactic poems, lives of saints and chronicles may all be found here in abundance; while the aid rendered to the student seeking information is said to be of the most cordial kind. Owing to the lack of suitable catalogues of these manuscripts, the search is somewhat difficult and discouraging; and this may account for the fact of Romance scholars having hitherto neglected Cambridge for Oxford, where the facilities are most ample. Mr. Paul Meyer, during the last eight years, has made frequent visits to Cambridge for the purpose of copying and bringing to light some of these treasures. It was his original intention to print the results of his labors in the *Archives des Missions*, but his matter having become too voluminous for the space allowed by the *Archives*, he has concluded to publish it in the *Romania*, No. 31 of which begins with the manuscripts of St. John's College Library. In selecting the works to be printed he has been guided by the wish to give only such as would throw some light on the history and development of the language. A prefatory note describing the manuscript and its place of deposit is affixed to each piece. There are represented four manuscripts (B. 9, F. 30, G. 5 and I. 11), which contain the following poems: [La Bonté des femmes]; Chrestien, Vie de S. Guillaume d'Angleterre; Description de la terre d'Outremer; Mirabilia Romae; Poésie en forme de pastourelle du 14 e. siècle; La petite philosophie; Pierre de Peckham; Les quinze signes; Le roman de la rose; La somme le Roi; Vie de Sainte Paule en prose; Wace, la Conception; and William de Waddington.

Mr. Gaston Paris gives a lengthy analysis and study of the Roman du châtelain de Couci. He aims to establish the name of the author of this Roman, which has not been heretofore made out. The poet himself states that his name is contained in a certain passage of twenty lines. Mr. Paris thinks this is an acrostic; and by shifting the initial letters about to suit his own fancy, he builds up the following most outlandish looking name: Jakemon (or Jakeme) Sakesep. No one will, of course, accept this, owing to the juggling process by which it is arrived at. Mr. Paris, however, in accordance with his usual dogmatism, is so certain that he is right that he continually refers to the poet by this name in the succeeding part of his article, which is occupied with an examination of the sources and historical basis of the Roman. It may be remarked that this article is to appear in the twenty-ninth volume of the *Histoire littéraire de la France*, now in press.

Chute de l médiale dans quelques pays de langue d'oc. The falling out of medial *l*, so common in Portuguese, has been, for a long time, thought to be peculiar to that language and unique in the Romance languages; and this phenomenon was sought to be explained by local influence, either Basque or Iberian. In the *Romania* for 1877 (p. 396), Mr. Cornu called attention to a number of words, in the language of the Vallée de Bagnes, in which *l* between two vowels had been dropped. Mr. O. Nigoles has been studying this subject with reference to the langue d'oc, and he finds that, in some of its dialects, the disappearance of the medial *l* is quite common, at least in the language as spoken at the present day. Two classes of facts are noticed by him, which he states as follows: 1) *l* vocalisée est absorbée, dans le corps des mots, par le voisinage de *u*, venant soit de *ü*, *ū*, soit de *ö*, *ø*; 2) elle disparaît entre deux voyelles et à la fin des mots, mais pour une autre cause et en suivant une marche différente: la disparition de la liquide a été précédée du changement de *l* en *r*.

Before entering upon the special theme, he gives the general treatment of the letter under discussion. It is this: *l* initial remains intact; single *l* in the interior of words becomes *u* (*alam*, *auo*); when final, it is vocalized (*aprilém*, *obriou*), as also before labials, gutturals and *m*, *n* (*albam*, *auo*: *calcare*, *kouka*; *palmam*, *paumo*; *alenam*, *auno*); but before dentals and *r*, *s*, *x*, vocalization is rare (*altare*, *olla*); in this latter position it is so strong as to assimilate the following *d* (*excaldare*, *esholla*); it becomes *n* by assimilation in *in altum*—*nalt*—*nant*, and in *nos alteros*—*nantres*; *l* mouillée, however, is preserved but as a single *l* (*callosum*, *kotus*), likewise in diminutives in *-ellus*, *-ella*. Passing on from this general fate of the *l*, which I have but partially and briefly indicated, Nigoles comes to the discussion of the cases, where this letter disappears entirely. This discussion occupies thirteen pages, and, though exceedingly interesting, it cannot be given even in brief. A few instances must suffice. Preceded or followed by *u*, *l* disappears: *bodula*, *buo* (see Diez Etym. Wört. II c. *borne*); *talonem*, *tolu*, *tou*. This disappearance of *l* is probably due to its fusion with the *u*; so that it is hardly right for Nigoles to say that the treatment of *l* in *talonem*, *tolu*, *touu*, *tou*, is essentially different from *albam*, *auo*. The *u* in *tou* may as well be the vocalized *l* as the other *u*. The majority of the instances cited by him seem to be susceptible of this explanation; e. g., atonic *ö*, *ø* becoming *u* in *in-solare* and *solatam*, we should have *csuua*, *csua* and *sulado*, *suwado*, *suado*. It may further be remarked that this falling out of the *l* is by no

means constant: *calorem, kolur* and *kour*; *colorem, kulur*; *mulam, mulo*, etc. This study of Nigoles has been confined to the canton Saint-Amans-des-Cots and a part of Sainte-Geneviève.

Le Sacrifice d'Abraham, mystère engadinois, will be found of much interest to those who have not met specimens of this dialect before.

Of the new etymologies, those by Wedgwood may be noted as most plausible. *Agacer* from O. H. G. *hwassi*, M. H. G. *wasse*, an edge; hence to urge, to egg (A. S. *egg*—edge). M. H. G. *wetsen* conveys the same sense: "Sus begunde in *wetsen* unde reizen uf de töt;" and Eng. *whet* is used in the same metaphorical way: "When she to murder *whets* the timorous thane." In Rabelais, *esguasser les dens* seems to point directly to some such derivation as *wasse*. In support of the derivation of *blaireau* from *bladarius*, a corn-dealer, he offers a passage from Herrick to show that the popular belief of the seventeenth century regarded the *badger* as a hoarder of grain: "Some thin chippings the mice filcht from the bin of the *gray* farmer."

Guignon, ill-luck, is commonly taken from *guigner*, to look askew. A more satisfactory origin may be found in O. E. *wanion*, chiefly used in the expression, *with a wanion!* synonymous with the Irish curse, *bad luck to you!*

In the Eng. argot of thieves, to stand in the pillory was to "peep through the nut-cracker," to play bo-peep. Catalan *espillera*, a loophole, may explain Prov. *espillori* and Fr. *pilori*, from *specula* through *specularium*.

Sentinelle, he thinks, first meant the beat or path of the guard, being a double diminutive from O. Fr. *sente*, a path. A passage cited by Littré seems to give it this fundamental meaning: "qui se fasche quand on l'appelle à la *sentinelle*," etc. Also *lever* or *relever de sentinelle* may mean to relieve by taking from the beat. This derivation would explain the feminine gender of the word. He connects *sombrer* with O. N. *sumbla*, to overwhelm, Eng. to *swamp*, and Sw. dialect *sumppa*, to drown.

SAMUEL GARNER.

LIST OF PERIODICALS.

Among the serial publications on philology already at the command of this Journal are the following :

Ἀθήναιον. Athens.

Alemannia. Bonn.

Anglia. Halle.

Archaeologische Zeitung. Berlin.

Archiv für das Studium der neuer. Sprachen und Lit. Braunschweig.

Archiv für Literaturgeschichte. Leipzig.

Ballad Society Publications.

Beiträge zur gesch. d. deutschen Spr. und Lit. Halle.

Beiträge zur Kunde der indöger. Sprachen. (Bezenberger.) Göttingen.

Beiträge zur vergleichenden Sprachforschung. (Kuhn.) Berlin.

Berlin. Königliche Akad. der Wissensch.

Philologische und historische Abhandlungen.

Bollettino italiano degli studii orientali. Firenze.

Bollettino archeologico. Firenze.

Chaucer Society Publications.

Deutsche morgenländische Gesellschaft: Abhandlungen. Leipzig.
Zeitschrift. Leipzig.

Early English Text Society Publications. London.

English Dialect Society Publications. London.

Englische Studien. (Kölbing.) Heilbronn.

Germania. (Bartsch.) Wien.

Giornale di filologia romanza. Roma.

Göttingische gelehrte. Anzeigen.

Hermes. Berlin.

Indian Antiquary.

Indische Studien. (Weber.) Berlin.

Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare Gesellschaft. Leipzig.

Jahrbücher für classische Philologie. (Fleckeisen.) Leipzig.

Jahresber. u. d. Fortsch. d. class. Alterthumswiss. (Bursian.) Berlin.

Journal asiatique. Paris.

Journal of Philology. London.

Journal of the American Oriental Society. New Haven.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. London.

Leipziger Studien.

Mnemosyne. Lugduni Batavorum et Lipsiae.

Munich. Königliche Akademie der Wissenschaften ;

Abhandlungen der philosoph. philolog. Classe.

Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie. Leipzig.

New Shakspeare Society Publications.

- Palaeographical Society Publications.
 Paris: Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres. Comptes rendus. Mémoires.
Παπρασός. Athens.
- Philological Society: Proceedings. London.
 Transactions. London.
- Philologischer Anzeiger. Göttingen.
 Philologus. Göttingen.
 Revue critique. Paris.
- Revue de linguistique et de philologie comparée. Paris.
 Revue historique de l'ancienne langue française. (Favre.)
 Rheinisches Museum für Philologie. Frankfurt.
 Rivista di filologia. Torino.
- Romania. Paris.
- Romanische Studien. London and Strassburg.
- Spenser Society Publications.
- St. Petersburg. Académie impériale des sciences:
 Bulletin de la classe historico-philolog.
 Mélanges gréco-romains.
 Mémoires: Sciences polit. hist. et philol.
- Trübner's American and oriental literary record. London.
- Vienna. K. K. Akademie der Wissenschaften:
 Denkschriften u. Sitzungsberichte. Philos. histor. classe.
 Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Leipzig.
 Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie. Halle.
 Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum. (Müllenhoff u. Steinmeyer.) Berlin.
 Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie. Halle.
 Zeitschrift für die österreichischen Gymnasien. Wien.
 Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung. (Kuhn.) Berlin.
 Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft. Berlin.

While it will not be practicable to report on all these publications at length, abstracts of some and notes on others will appear in each issue of the Journal. Some of the most important for our purposes are already provided for, but help is needed in this direction. Rev. Dr. C. H. Toy of New York has kindly undertaken a portion of the Oriental work, and the postponement of his reports is due to the delay in procuring a good font of types for transliteration.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

AMERICAN.

- Clough (J. W.), A Study of the Hexameter of Virgil. pp. 34. Boston. 35 cts.
- Clough (J. W.), A Study of the principal Latin Rhythms other than the Hexameter. pp. 56. Boston. 35 cts.
- Goodwin (W. W), Elementary Greek Grammar. Second ed. pp. xxx—393. *Ginn & Heath*. Boston. \$1.70.
- Hewett (W. T.) Frisian Language and Literature: A Historical Study. 12mo, sd., pp. 60. Ithaca, New York. 75 cts.
- Lewis (Charlton T.) and Short (Charles), A Latin Dictionary, founded on Andrew's Edition of Freund's Latin Dictionary. Revised and enlarged, and in great part re-written. Roy. 8vo, pp. 2020. *Harpers*. \$8.50.
- Symonds (J. Addington), Studies of the Greek Poets. American ed. (revised, re-arranged and enlarged). 2 v. 488; pp. 419. *Harpers*. \$3.50.
- Taylor (Bayard), Studies in German Literature. With an introduction by George H. Boker. Post 8vo, pp. 418. *Low*. New York. \$2.25.
- Webb (A. C.), Manual of Etymology. 12mo, pp. 320. Philadelphia. \$1.25.
- Whiting (Jas. H.), Catalogue of Spanish Library and of Portuguese Books bequeathed by G. Ticknor to the Boston Public Library. Roy. 8vo, pp. xvi—476. Boston.
- Whitney (William Dwight), A Sanskrit Grammar, including both the Classical Language and the Older Dialects of Veda and Brahmana. 8vo, pp. 500. *B. Westermann & Co.* New York. \$3.70.
- Year-Book of Education for 1879. Second Annual Supplement to the Cyclopaedia of Education. 4to, pp. vi—566. New York. \$2.00.

BRITISH.

- The following books are published in London unless otherwise indicated.
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Brugsch Bey, Henry, Dictionnaire géographique de l'ancienne Egypte. 14—17. livr. Fol. (XVI. u. S. 1053—1420.) Leipzig, 1880. baar n. 112.

Buchholtz, Herm., oskisches Perfectum in lateinischer Inschrift. gr. 8. (7 S.) Berlin, 1878, *Dümmeler's Verl.* baar n. 20.

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AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY.

Vol. I.

No. 2.

I. ETYMOLOGICAL AND GRAMMATICAL NOTES.

1.—*Τηλουρός.*

Τηλουρός occurs twice in Aeschylus' Prometheus, and twice in Euripides, besides once in Apollonius Rhodius.¹ Its actual meaning is simply 'far,' 'remote': *εις τηλουρόν ἰκομεν πέδον*, 'into a distant land' (Prom. 1); *τηλουρόν δὲ γῆν ἦξεις*, 'thou shalt come to a far country' (809); *τηλουρά γάρ ναίουσ' ἀφ' ἡμῶν πεδία*, 'though she dwells in plains distant from us' (Andr. 890); *τηλουρός οὐσα δωμάτων*, 'while I was far from the palace' (Orest. 1325); this last is the only passage which does not imply a very great distance. The current etymology of the word is 'far-bounded,' 'having distant boundaries.' Hesychius, *τηλουρόν· πόρρω ἀφωρισμένην*; Etymol. Magn., *τηλουρός· ὁ πόρρω ἀπῶν, ἀπὸ τοῦ τηλοῦ καὶ ὄρος*; and so modern dictionary-makers, including W. Dindorf (Lexicon Aeschyleum).

The accent of the word is against this. Compounds of this sort, ending in *-ος*, accent the ultima or a short penult only when the latter part of the compound has an active sense, as doer or agent: so *λιθο-βόλος*, 'stone-thrower,' distinguished from *λιθό-βλος*, 'pelted with stones'; *νεο-τόκος*, 'having lately brought forth,' but *νεό-τακος*, 'new born.' And possessive compounds in *-ος* are always, or almost always, accented recessively. Our word, therefore, if really a compound of *ὄρος* (*οὐρός*), 'boundary,' ought

¹ Argonautica 2, 544: *οὐ δέ τις αἶα τηλουρός.*

to be *τήλουρος*, or at least *τηλοῦρος*.¹ Lycophron, indeed, uses *ἀγχοῦρος*, and its accent as properispomenon is expressly attested by Herodian. And *τηλοῦρος* has been written, it would seem, even in ancient times; for the Hesychian gloss above quoted goes on, *τινές μὲν ὡς πανουῖργον, τινές δὲ ὡς κηπουρὸν τῷ τόνῳ*, and then comes a second gloss, *τηλοῦρος· μακρόθεν ἀποθεῖς*. Of modern scholars Reisig wished to write *τηλοῦρος*. But the testimony of Herodian must be considered final as to the accent. He cites it as oxytone, along with *οἰκουρός* and *κηπουρός*.² This fact makes very strongly against the etymology in question, especially as the supposed idea of 'boundaries' by no means necessarily lies in the word. I can think of only one way in which a deviation like this from the normal accentuation could be accounted for. Supposing that all, or nearly all other words in *-ουρος* were oxytone, this one word standing by itself might, we can conceive, be drawn into the analogy of the rest. We shall have, I think, to conclude that this has happened in the case of some words in *-ωπος* to be hereafter discussed. But even that resource seems to fail us here. For although there are four or five other oxytones in *-ουρός*, there are, on the other hand, *πρόσουρος* (Soph.), *ἄπουρος* (Soph.), *ὄμουρος* (Hdt.), to say nothing of the late *ἀγχοῦρος*,³ and of *σίουρος*, *κέρκουρος*, *ἀρχτυῦρος*, and others. These would have protected a **τηλοῦρος* or **τήλουρος* from any influence of false analogy.

Hartung regarded *τηλουρός* as a derivative merely, not a compound, and in this he is followed by Wecklein. According to them⁴ it is formed from *τηλοῦ* as *τολυμηρός* from *τόλυμη*, and *πουηρός* from *πόνοος*. This is by no means convincing. For *τηλοῦ* is genitive of an obsolescent noun-stem *τηλο-*, whence *τηλό-θεν*, *τηλό-θει*, *τηλοῖ*, *τηλο-τέρω*, *τηλο-τάτω*. And what is a derivative suffix doing behind a genitive case? Suffixes should be added to stems, not cases. To the grammar of the last generation there was, of course, nothing strange in the idea of an adjective derived from an adverb,

¹ The oldest (inscriptional) form of *ἄρος*, 'boundary,' is *ἀρφος*. Its etymology is unknown. As no initial consonant can be proved for it, it seems that we should have to suppose **τήλ-αρφος*, proparoxytone, to start with; then **τήλ-ουρος* (cp. *ἀπ-ουρος*, *δμ-ουρος*); so that the accentuation *τηλοῦρος*, *ἀγχοῦρος*, remains after all unexplained.

² Lenz I, p. 202, 17.

³ *τετρωρος* in the Heracleian Tables, C. I. G. 5764, 5775, is also a compound of *ἄρος*, but of course there is no tradition about its accent.

⁴ On Prom. I.

and our dictionaries are full of such derivations yet. But I do not know of a single clear case of the sort. Adverbs are *fossilized cases*, so to speak, of dead (or living) nouns. And where derivatives exist, they are formed, as they should be, from the stems of these nouns. An instance or two will illustrate my meaning. *Μάταιος*, any one can see, is not from *μάτην*, but from the stem *ματα-* of the old noun *μάτη*, which is still rarely used. But just so *ἀνταῖος* is not from the adverb *ἄντα*, as such, but from the stem *ἀντα-*, which survives in *ἀντη-ν*, and would appear, as a noun, to be not quite extinct. And *κρυφαῖος*, *ἡρεμαῖος*, *λαθραῖος* are likewise to be understood, not as from *κρύφα*, *ἡρέμα*, *λάθρα* outright, but as from dead stems *κρυφα-*, *ἡρεμα*, *λαθρα-*. The relation of *αἰψηρός* to *αἰψα* is probably not different. The adverb *χαμαί* makes no adjective, but its stem *χαμα-* (also in *χαμᾶ-θεν*, *χαμᾶ-δεις*, *χαμᾶ-ζε*) makes *χαμηλός*. And—passing to adverbs like *τηλοῦ—δμουῦ* and *ὕψου* can form no derivatives, but their stems *όμο-* and *ὕψο-* (compare *ὕψό-θεν*, *ὕψό-θι*, *ὕψοι*, *ὕψό-σε*, *ὕψο-τάτω*) give rise to *όμοῖος* and *ὕψηλός*. Now just so, if an adjective corresponding to *τηλοῦ* had been wanted, it would have been formed from the stem *τηλο-*; and if formed in *-ρός* it could have been nothing else than **τηληρός*, as *πονηρός* from *πονο-*, *νοσηρός* from *νοσο-*, and more than forty others.

I think it probable that *τηλουρός* is a compound, not of *δρος*, 'boundary,' but of *ὄρος*, *οἶδος*, in compounds also *-ωρος*—originally *Φόρος*—'watcher,' 'looker,' and is formed exactly like *οἰκουρός*, 'house-guardian,' and *κηπουρός*, 'garden-watcher,' the words along with which Herodian cites it; to which may be added *ἐρκουρός* (late), 'fence-watcher'; also *πυλωρός*, *πυλα-ωρός* (*πυλα-Φόρος*), 'gate-keeper,' and *θυρωρός*, *ἀρχυρωρός*, *σκευωρός*, *φρυκτωρός*, as well as *τιμωρός*, *τιμά-ωρος* (*τιμα-Φόρος*) 'honor-guardian,' 'avenger.' Accordingly, **τηλε-Φόρος* (or **τήλο-Φόρος*), meaning primarily 'watching from afar,' and so 'looming up in the distance,' and applied first, let us imagine, to a tree or mountain on the distant horizon; then by use the meaning might fade, perhaps, into 'seen in the distance,' and then merely 'distant.' An inkling of this etymology may have lurked in the mind of a scholiast on Prom. 1, who defines the word, ἀφ' οὗ τῆλε καὶ μακρὰν ὄραν τις δύναιται,

¹ All these words must have shifted the accent to the ultima after contraction, in order to conform to the rule which prescribes that compounds of this class shall be oxytone if they have a long penult. At the outset **πυλα-Φόρος*, etc. (like *σκενο-φόρος*), must be assumed. The accent of *τιμά-ωρος* is to me inexplicable.

that is, 'affording a distant view,' which is certainly a wrong turn, at least for the passage in question, but shows perhaps some notion of the original meaning.

If this transition of meaning seems harsh, it may be observed that we have a close parallel in the Sophoclean *τηλωπός*. It means, as used, simply 'far': *τηλωπός* *πέχρεϊ*, 'he is gone far away' (Ai. 564); *ἤσῃ* *τηλωπὸν* *ἰσῶν*, 'he utters a shout from afar,' or 'penetrating far.' The original meaning must have been, not 'seen from afar' (Liddell and Scott), 'e longinquo conspicuus' (Dindorf), 'μακροθεν φανόμενον' (Hesychius), but rather 'far-seeing,' 'fern schauend' (Pape), like *συχθρωπός*, 'gloomy-looking,' and plenty more. But 'far looking' can pass without much trouble into 'far visible'; for whatever looms up so as to see us, that we can see in turn; and, finally, can come to mean simply 'far,' without reference to vision.

These adjectives in *-ωπός* demand a word in passing. Most of them are generally taken as containing *ὤψ*, 'face,' 'eye.' But their accent again is not what we look for in possessive compounds, and suggests rather an active verbal *-ωπό-*, 'looking.' Now, a good many of the words in question admit this explanation just as easily as the other, and some seem to require it. *Τηλωπός* seems a clear case of this, for 'far-eyed' or 'far-faced' would not give much sense. So too:

πυρωπός: *κεραυτός* (Prom. 667), 'fiery-looking,' 'fire-glancing' lightning, better than 'fire-eyed.'

φλογωπὸν *πῦρ* (Prom. 253), 'flame-looking,' 'flaming.'

ἀνωπός: *ἀνωπὸς* *ἔλεφάμοισι* (Iph. A. 584), 'eyes that looked him face to face.'

γοργωπός: *γοργωπὸν* *σέλας* (*ἐξ* *ὀμμάτων*, Prom. 356), 'fierce-glaring' flame; *γοργωπὸς* *κόρας* (H. F. 868), 'fierce-flashing' eyes; better than 'fierce-visaged.' So:

ἀγριωπὸν *ἄμμα* (H. F. 990), 'wild-looking.'

φαιδρωπὸν *ἄμμα* (Orest. 894), 'cheerful-looking.'

συχθρωπὸν *ἄμμα* (Phoen. 1333), 'gloomy-looking.'

ἀστερωπὸν *ἄμμα* *Ἀγέρας* *κόρης* (Aesch. Fr. 164 N.), 'star looking,' 'star-like.' But *ἀστερωπός* *αἰθήρ* (Ion. 1080), 'starry' firmament.

αἱματωπὸς *κόρας* (Orest. 256), 'bloody-looking,' 'blood-shot' eyes (*αἷμα* *βλεπούσας*, Hesych.). In *αἱματωπὸι* *δεργμάτων* *διαφθοραί* (Phoen. 870, of Oedipus) it does not necessarily mean 'bloody-eyed'; we can translate 'the bloody mutilation of his eyes.'

In these cases the supposed active meaning seems to me preferable. Observe that in the last two ('starry,' 'bloody') the meaning has begun to fade out much as in *τηλωπός*. This fading has gone further in:

κοιλωπός ἀγμός (Iph. T. 263), 'hollow-looking,' and so practically 'hollow'; and

νυκτερωπός: *δόκημα νυκτερωπὸν ἐννόχων ὀνειρώων* (Herc. F. 111), merely a 'nocturnal' vision. Perhaps also in *στενωπός* (Homer), 'narrow-looking,' and so 'narrow'; to which Euripides has the counterpart in *χάσμα εὐρωπὸν πέτρας* (Iph. T. 626), a 'wide' crevice. However, a different understanding of these two is possible.

Others are less decisive so far as meaning goes: *δεινωπός* (Hes. Scut. 250, of the *Ἰήρες*), *τερατωπός* (Hymn. Hom. 19, 36, of Pan), *μωπός*, *οἶνωπός*, *μαρμαρωπός*, *μορμωρωπός*, *εἰσωπός*. Yet their accent affords a presumption in favor of the active sense.

On the other hand, one or two resist this interpretation. For even if we can understand *παρθενωπός* (Eur. Elec. 948) as 'girlish-looking' rather than 'girl-faced,' and *ἀμβλωπός* (*δακρύων βίον ἀμβλωπὸν*, Eum. 955) as 'dim-looking' rather than 'dim-eyed,' still the *μυριωπός βούτας* (Argos) of Prom. 569 cannot be other than 'many-eyed.' Not less certainly have we a possessive compound in *δικτόω πολυωπῶ* (Od. γ 386), which seems to contain an **ὠπή* 'hole,' equivalent to *ὀπή*. And it is possible to take *στενωπός* and *εὐρωπός* in a similar way, as Vaniček does, though to me this does not recommend itself.

Respecting these words in *-ωπός*, the most probable view, so far as I now see, is that the mass of them were compounds of an active *-ωπό-*, and so oxytone; and that the few other compounds of like termination, which should have had recessive accent, were drawn into the analogy of the rest.

2.—*θεωρός*.

This word has received a variety of interpretations.

1. From *θεός* and *ᾠρα* or *-ωρός*: 'god-watcher,' 'caring for the god.' Hesychius: *θεωροί· οἱ φροντίζοντες περὶ τὰ θεῖα*: and so most ancients and moderns have taken it.

2. Pollux 2, 55: *ἀπὸ τοῦ πρὸς θεὸν ὀρούειν* (!), 'hastener to a god.'

3. From *θεῖα* and *ᾠρα*, *-ωρός*: "mit der *ᾠρα* der *θεῖα* (spectandi cura) betraut: wonicht gesteigert; die *θεῖα* (eifrig) wahrnehmend, d. h. ausführend"; Pott Etym. Forsch. II 3, 584, doubtfully.

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a compound. That the *δ* in stems in *-ιδ-* is only an accessory sound, is well known; so *δαφι-*, not *δαφιδ-*, is the oldest form of the stem.

We get, therefore, 'fiery-hearted' as the probable meaning of *δαί-φρων*, and this sense, we may suppose, was still fully alive in the Iliad. From this it is no great transition to 'high-souled,' 'spirited,' 'gallant'; and this, I think, is about the meaning of the word in the Odyssey and the Homeric Hymn. Pindar uses it of Alcmena, Pyth. 9, 148.

5.—*Siremps*.

Siremps, an old Latin legal term, means 'just so.' Usually in the connexion *siremps lex esto*, 'let the law be just so.' The fuller form *sirempse* occurs in the prologue to Plautus's *Amphitruo*, 73. Neglecting older and less successful attempts to explain the word, we have explanations from Ritschl¹ and Corssen.² Ritschl, regarding *si-* rightly as *si-c* without its *c*—the locative of the pronoun-stem *so-*—takes the whole as *si rē pse*, 'so in very fact,' whence *sirepse*;³ and he looks upon the *m* as a mere 'phonetic' insertion, like that in *rumpo* and *cumbo*. But the *m* in these words is not phonetic merely, but an organic addition to form the present stem, and the supposed insertion, between two words, is not very credible. Corssen does a little better, assuming *si rem pse*, *rem* being the accusative of 'specification.' But what has this strengthening particle *pse*, which elsewhere attaches itself only to pronouns, to do after *rem*, a substantive? **Si-pse* would be very conceivable, but hardly *si-rem-pse*. We cannot fancy any **res-pse*, **rei-pse*. I take the word rather as *si rem eampse*, 'thus in very fact.' *Eampse* is a known form (Plaut. *Men.* 772 and elsewhere): *m* in *rem* would be lost in this situation, and the three vowels, *e^mea* would readily contract into one.

6.—*Macte virtute esto*.

Macte in the few places where it occurs in verse before a consonant shows a short final *ε*; Verg. *Aen.* 9, 641, *maclē nova virtute*, and twice in Statius.⁴ This, I suppose, is the reason why we

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³ This form really occurs (along with *sirempse*) in a passage of Charisius, but is probably nothing more than a scribe's error.

⁴ Two passages in early tragedies, *Att.* v. 305 R. and *Inc. inc.* v. 231 R. (*stier*), are indecisive from the nature of the metre.

4. As no compound at all, but a mere derivative from *θέα*; 'one who has to do with a spectacle.' So Curtius, followed by Vaníček.

Which of these is right ought not to be a matter of doubt. The first explanation falls to the ground by reason of the Doric form *θεᾶρός*,¹ as Ahrens, Dor. p. 182, rightly says. The second requires no serious notice. The fourth is refuted by the lack of all analogy for the *ω* in *θεωρός*. There is not a single derivative in *-ωρός*; on the contrary, the very numerous formations with suffix *-ρο-* from *α-* and *ο-* stems have mostly the form *-ηρός*, as *μελετηρός*, *ἀτηρός*, *λυπηρός*, and about forty others (but *ἀνιᾶρός* from *ἀνία*); a few end in *-ερός*, as *σχιερός*, *φοβερός*; still fewer in *-ᾶρός*, as *νεᾶρός*. Accordingly, from *θέα* we might have Doric and Attic *θεᾶρός*, Ionic *θεηρός*, but never *θεωρός*.

Pott's idea is the only one that meets the case. From **θεᾶ-φόρος* we should get by the regular contraction *θεᾶρός* in Doric, *θεωρός* in Attic. The only question is whether the original meaning is really 'overseer of a spectacle,' and not rather 'onlooker at a spectacle,' according to Pott's second thought. For this latter speaks the use of *θεωρός* in Choeph. 246 (*Ζεῦ, Ζεῦ, θεωρός τῶνδε παραγμάτων γεννῶν*), and two other places in Aeschylus, where it means simply 'spectator,' *θεατής*; also the prevailing use of *θεωρέω*.

The objection which Ahrens (l. c.) makes to this derivation has little weight. It is true that *θεάομαι* is in Doric *θαέομαι*; nevertheless the noun **θαᾶ* might have been lightened to *θέα*, even in Doric itself. And in any case **θαᾶρός* would be too clumsy to have maintained itself.

3.—*Ποίεω*.

In an old Argive inscription recently discovered at Olympia occurs the form *ΕΠΟΙΦΕ* □ *Ε*; that is, *ἐποίησε* = *ἐποίησε*. The appearance of *Φ* in this word I have not seen accounted for. E. Curtius, who edited the inscription in the *Archaeologische Zeitung* xxxiv (1876), 1, was puzzled by it, and Cauer in his *Delectus Inscriptionum* cannot explain it: "nam quamquam in stirpe verbi *ποιεῖν* *ϕυ* radix latere videtur . . . tamen in ea tale vestigium *υ* vocalis servatum esse non crediderim"; and he thinks it may have arisen "depravata pronuntiatione." But it does not seem needful to resort to this last supposition. *Ποίεω* is a derivative verb from *-ποιός* (*λογο-ποιός*, *δπλο-ποιός*). Whether with G. Curtius we refer this to root *ϕυ*, 'beget' (cp. *παιδο-ποιός*, *ποιεῖσθαι* *παιδας*), or with

¹ Also Elean, as we see from the long Elean inscription lately discovered.

Vaniček and others to root *ku*, 'beat,' 'hammer,' we must in either case suppose **ποF-ιό-ς* and from it **ποF-ιέ-ω*. Hence to **ποιFός*, *ποιFέω* is an easy step: the epenthesis just as in *μοῖρα* for **μώρ-ια*, and countless other cases. I do not suppose it would be easy to show another case of epenthesis with *vau*, but as it can be proved for almost every other consonant, and is most common with the continuants, there is nothing strange in it here. I take it that in most cases where *Fι* came together (**εὐνόF-ια*, **γάF-ια*, etc.) the *F* disappeared before the epenthesis had time to set in, but we have only to suppose that the Argive dialect held to the consonant in this word with a little extra tenacity.

4.—*Δαίφρων*.

It may seem almost presumptuous to offer anything about this much-discussed Homeric word; yet I cannot help thinking that just the right view of it has been hitherto missed. The case stands briefly thus:

From the ancients we have two interpretations: one, 'experienced,' 'skillful,' based on a derivation from *δαῖναι*; the other, 'valiant,' 'warlike,' referring the compound to *δαί* (dative), 'battle,' 'fray.' Modern scholars are divided between these two interpretations. Thus, Nitzsch, Autenrieth, Düntzer favor the former; Wolf, Hermann, Ameis, the latter; while Buttmann (*Lexilogus* 1, p. 200) laid it down, as is well known, that the word has the one meaning in the *Iliad* (except the last book), and the other in the *Odyssey* and *Il. Ω*, and that so there are two *δαίφρων*'s.

Buttmann was undeniably right in asserting a difference in usage. In the *Iliad* the epithet is applied as follows (I rely on Ebeling's *Lexicon*): to Achilles, six times; Diomedes, four times; Tydeus, three times; Aias, twice; Atreus, twice; Bellerophon, twice; Priam, four times; Antimachos, twice; Odysseus, Idomeneus, Antilochos, Meriones, Peneleos, Cebriones, Peleus, Aeneas, Pandaros, Socos, Hippasos, Phorcys, each once. In every case to a warrior; for even Priam and Antimachos, who do not appear outright as such in the field, are yet princes who have, as a matter of course, seen their fighting days. In the *Odyssey*, Odysseus is called *δαίφρων* nine times, and Alcinoos four times, Orsilochos and Anchialos each once; so, too, Polybos, a suitor; and another Polybos, father of Eurymachos: these are princes, and may be counted as warriors by implication, but less easily can Telemachos (*δ* 687) be considered so, and still less Polybos, an artificer of the Phaeacians (*θ* 373), and Anticlea,

the wife of Laertes (ο 356). Even Penelope was formerly called *δαίφρων* instead of *περίφρων* in some copies at least, as we know from Eustathius and the scholiasts. And similarly in the Hymn to Demeter 359 we have *δαίφρονι Περσεφονείη*. Finally, in Ω 325, *Idaeos*, the charioteer of Priam, is *δαίφρων*.

All this is hardly fortuitous, and goes to show that in the later epos the word had altered its meaning somehow, so as to be applicable to unwarlike personages, even women. But every one must see the difficulty of supposing, as Buttman does, that we have two words of different origin. Are we to think, Nitzsch pertinently asks, that by *Ἵδυσσῆα δαίφρονα ποικιλομήτην*, Λ 482, any different Odysseus is meant from the one so described in η 168? On the other hand, it is not easy to get along with either interpretation alone. Those who hold to the derivation from *δαῖναι* apply it to warriors as 'skilled,' 'tried' in war, *δεδαηότες ἀλκῆν*, but they do not show why in the Iliad it is applied to this kind of skill only, but to others in the Odyssey. Those again who think 'battle-minded' to be the original force are obliged to assume a very great change in meaning, so that the epithet as given to women shall signify no more than 'wacker' (Wolf) or 'spirited.'

Formally, neither derivation is, so far as I am prepared to say, impossible; yet it is to be observed that neither furnishes exactly the right stem *δαί-* for the first part of the compound. A noun-stem *δα-ι-*, from root *δα-*, 'learn,' is not only unknown but in some degree improbable. Rather the stubborn hiatus in *δαίφρων* points to a lost consonant. The other derivation furnishes this consonant, for the Homeric dative *δαί*, 'battle,' stands without doubt for *δαF-i*. But even this word gives us only a stem *δαF-*, not *δαF-i*.¹ It is true that the assumption of such a stem would be easy; *δαί* would then be to *δαί-φρων* as dative *ἀλκι* to *ἀλκι-φρων*.

But there is no need to assume a stem *δαF-i* at all when we have it right at hand in another word, which furnishes, it seems to me, a very fitting meaning for the epithet in question. This is the word *δαίς*, plural *δαίδεις*. As used, the word means 'torch,' but its older meaning was presumably anything burning, 'firebrand,' 'blaze,' 'fire.' Its root is *δμ-*, *δαF*, 'kindle.' Indeed, it is almost certain that *δαί*, 'battle,' (compare *δηῖος* and *μάχη πόλεμός τε δέδθεν*) is from the same root, and meant only the 'blaze' of battle; so that 'battle' would be after all only a metaphorical sense, unlikely to be used in

¹ The late accusative *δαίν* (Callimachus) may, I take it, be left out of account.

a compound. That the δ in stems in $-i\delta-$ is only an accessory sound, is well known; so $\delta aFt-$, not $\delta aFt\delta-$, is the oldest form of the stem.

We get, therefore, 'fiery-hearted' as the probable meaning of $\delta ai-\varphi\rho\omega\nu$, and this sense, we may suppose, was still fully alive in the Iliad. From this it is no great transition to 'high-souled,' 'spirited,' 'gallant'; and this, I think, is about the meaning of the word in the Odyssey and the Homeric Hymn. Pindar uses it of Alcmena, *Pyth.* 9, 148.

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Macte in the few places where it occurs in verse before a consonant shows a short final \acute{e} ; Verg. *Aen.* 9, 641, *mactē nova virtute*, and twice in Statius.⁴ This, I suppose, is the reason why we

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⁴ Two passages in early tragedies, *Att. v.* 305 R. and *Inc. inc. v.* 231 R. (*macte Pelopiis* and *macte nitier*), are indecisive from the nature of the metre.

have all been taught that it is a vocative, and that in the phrases *macte virtute esto* and the like, it is used somehow irregularly or exceptionally for the nominative. This has been understood in two somewhat different ways. First, it has been looked on as an instance of attraction out of the nominative case into the vocative. So, among others, Reisig, *Vorlesungen über lateinische Sprachwissenschaft*, 346, who puts it thus: "indem ein prädicat in einem satze, statt in dem nominativ gestellt zu sein, in dem vocativ steht, weil der satz an jemand gerichtet ist, auf welchen das prädicat bezogen wird." And as the standard Greek illustration of this, Theocritus 17, 66, ὄλβιε κοῦρε γένοιτο, is always brought forward, which really does, at first view, seem a striking parallel to *macte virtute esto*. But the correspondence lessens on inspection. Theocritus's phrase is a bold and exceptional attraction, even for the Greek, which admits attraction of case so freely. The two or three other Greek passages which are cited as having the vocative by attraction are less abruptly peculiar.¹ But the Latin language is much less flexible in such matters, and the expression in question is an old and well-established phrase, not the bold venture of a poet. Then, too, in these Greek passages there is a vocative² close at hand to exert the attraction; in the Latin phrase there is often no vocative at all. Nor do the other instances of the like attraction in Latin stand on the same footing with *macte esto*. The most noteworthy are Hor. Sat. 2, 6, 20, *Matutine pater, seu lane libentius audis*; Pers. 3, 27, *stemmae quod Tusco ramum millesime ducis, censuremve tuum vel quod trabeate salutas*; Tibull. 1, 7, 53, *sic venias hodie*. Add Val. Flac. 4, 467.³ In these cases, it is clear, the vocative is not merely an address, it stands also for what should be a nominative in agreement with the subject of the verb. But it is equally clear that in these isolated passages we

¹ Soph. Ai. 694, ὦ Πάν, Πάν, ἀλίπλαγκτε . . . φάνηθι, and Aesch. Suppl. 535, γενού πολυμνάστορ, ἐφαπτορ Ἰούξ, are the chief instances. Soph. Phil. 760, Eur. Tro. 1221 cannot count (see Lobeck on Ai. l. c.), because the participle which here stands as copula is itself vocative, so that we have simple agreement rather than attraction. But ἀντὶ γὰρ ἐκλήθης Ἰμβρασε Παρθενίου, in a verse of Callimachus (Schol. Ap. Rh. 2, 866), goes beyond all these in boldness.

² Except in the fragment of Callimachus: see last foot-note.

³ Verg. Aen. 2, 283, 10, 327, Val. Flac. 1, 391, do not belong here. Nor do Catull. 75, 1, *Rufe mihi frustra . . . credite amice*; and Prop. 2, 12, 2, *lectule deliciis facte beate meis*: there is no attraction, only the normal agreement of cases.

are dealing not with a native idiom of the Latin language, but with a finicality of expression which poets here and there imitated from equally exceptional expressions in Greek poetry. And the models for these Latin passages were no doubt found in the artificial Alexandrine poetry, as for instance the sample quoted from Callimachus.

A somewhat different view of the supposed vocative is that which regards *macte* as a sort of *fixed* or *petrified* case, no longer felt distinctly as vocative. In this sense Neue, Lateinische Formenlehre, II, p. 99, treats of it among the *adjectiva indeclinabilia*. See also Zumpt's Grammar, § 103. The idea would be that starting from a vocative *macte* it would have lost its force as a case of address, and so become somehow capable of standing for other cases. But it is very difficult to see how the first beginnings could have been made of using a vocative in construction with the predicate of a sentence. That the vocative should become a mere exclamation is natural enough: *so macte virtute!* but *macte virtute esto* would be conceivable only as a sort of mixture of two phrases, *macte virtute* (exclamatory) and *mactus virtute esto*, and I suppose the retention of the vocative form would be thought to impart something of the explosiveness of the exclamatory clause. So from *macte!* meaning substantially 'bravo!' we should have to fancy people beginning to say 'be thou bravo!' This is in itself difficult, and when now one takes into account the older use of the phrase it becomes wellnigh incredible.

The oldest use is sacrificial. *Mactus* means, I take it, 'increased,' 'magnified,' 'glorified,' from root *mag-*¹ Servius tells us that the expression was derived from the religious language, and we find it repeatedly used in the prayers given by Cato in his work *De Re Rustica*, as follows: *macte fercto esto; macte vino inferio esto; macte hisce suovitautilibus laudentibus immolandis esto*; and the like (chapters 132, 134, 139, 141). What would the vocative be doing here? *Macte* here does not mean 'bravo!' nor is there anything exclamatory or interjectional in the thought; it is not even 'O glorious Jove'; it is simply 'be thou magnified by these offerings,' always at the end of the prayer, and in a solemn but tranquil tone. Nor does the vocative of the god's name immediately precede; this may or may not be the case.

¹ Fest. p. 125, *mactus, magis auctus*. Serv. on Verg. Aen. 9, 641, *macte, magis aucte, affectatae gloriae: et est sermo tractus a sacris, quotiens enim aut tus aut vinum super victimam fundebatur, dicebant, mactus est taurus vino vel ture: hoc est, cumulata est hostia et magis aucta*. But the usage shows that *mactus* was said rather of the god than the victim.

Now, dissent from this vocative view has not been altogether wanting. As early as 1827 G. T. A. Krüger, in his 'Untersuchungen aus dem Gebiete der lateinischen Sprachlehre,' Heft 3, p. 80, separated *macte* from the above-described cases of attraction, and recognized in it an adverb. Madvig says: "man pflegt dies wort mit unrecht als den vocativ eines sonst ungebräuchlichen adjectivis zu betrachten" (Grammar, § 268, a, 3 foot-note), but he does not tell us what it is. Weissenborn on Livy 2, 12, 14, calls it an adverb; and Roby (516), speaking of the shortening of the adverb-ending *-ē* in *bene*, *male*, adds with a 'perhaps' *mactē*. Roby is certainly wrong in classing *macte* with *bene* and *male*. In the shortening of the latter, two influences have co-operated: the well-known tendency to shorten iambic words to pyrrhics, and the frequency of these particular words. *Macte* is not a frequent word, and not an iambic word, and so it is hardly credible that as an adverb it should have been shortened, or should have a short *-ē* at all.

Now, if we examine the three passages, which, so far as I can find out, are the only evidence we have of the quantity of *macte*, we find, what nobody seems to have noticed, that there is in these no *esto* at all, and that nothing hinders our taking it outright as vocative. The chief passage is Verg. Aen. 9, 641. Ascanius has just killed Remulus with his arrow, and Apollo watching the conflict calls out *macte nova virtute puer; sic itur ad astra*, which is to say, 'bravo, boy, for thy youthful prowess; 'tis thus that immortality is gained.' The two other places are both in Statius' *Silvae*: 1, 2, 201, *macte toris, Latios inter placidissime vates*, and 1, 3, 106, *macte bonis animi*. And this leads me to my own view, which is that there are two *macte*'s: *mactē* vocative, used in pure exclamations, and *mactē* adverb, used in wishes along with *esto*. There occur also *mactus* nominative singular, *mactum* accusative, and *macti* nominative plural of this obsolescent word; and to make all clearer I will run through the bulk of the instances where the different forms occur.

1. The nominative *mactus* in a formula of Cato's (R. R. 134), *bonus preces precor, uti sies volens propitius mihi, liberisque meis, domo familiaeque meae, mactus hoc fercto*, 'glorified by this meat-offering.' Again along with *esto* in a sentence from a similar prayer, Arnobius 7, 31, *mactus hoc vino inferio esto*, where Cato in like cases gives *macte*; whence we see that *mactus esto* was said as well as *macte esto*.

2. The accusative, *mactum honoratumque*, in a Numidian inscription: see Neue II, p. 99.

3. The adverb *mactè*; first in the sacrificial formulae above described: *macte vino inferio esto*, and the like. *Macte esse* can be said just as *bene, pulcre esse*, which Plautus freely uses personally (*bene fui, pulcre simus*, etc.; Men. 485; Truc. 4, 2, 28; Merc. 3, 3, 21), 'to be well off'; so *macte esse*, 'to be in a glorified condition.' Later in expressions of applause and encouragement with *esto*, and with an ablative, mostly *virtute*. *Macte virtute esto* (Hor. Sat. 1, 2, 31; Sen. Ep. 66 end), 'be prospered' or 'increased in thy valor'; *macte virtute diligentiaque esto* (Liv. 10, 40, 11); *macte, inquam, virtute simulque his versibus esto* (Lucilius). Add Mart. 4, 13; Pacuv. v. 146 Ribbeck. In indirect discourse Liv. 2, 12, 14, *iubereim (te) macte virtute esse*, where the assumption of a vocative would be more than ever troublesome. A case with the plural will be noted directly.

4. The vocative *mactè*; without *esto*. In a fragment of Attius' Neoptolemus (v. 473 R.), *tù, uli dixi, mactè his armis, macta virtutém patris*, 'thou who art honored with these arms, do honor to thy sire's valor.' Again Attius (v. 305 R.), *maneds, his ante exilio macte Pelopis ex terris!* where it seems to be ironical, 'honored with exile.' Later in exclamations of applause. Simply *macte* 'bravo!' (Cic. Att. 15, 29, 3; Fragm. of unc. trag. v. 231 R.; Val. Flac. 6, 547): *macte virtute* (Cic. Att. 12, 6, 2; Tusc. 1, 17, 40): *macte uterque ingenti in rem publicam merito* (Plin. Pan. 89), 'bravo, both of them!': *macte animo* (Stat. Theb. 7, 280): *macte hac gloria* (Plin. Pan. 46). The Vergilian passage and the two from Statius' *Silvae* have been quoted already. Exceptionally we find *macte* with the genitive, Mart. 12, 6, *macte animi . . . morumque tuorum*; and Stat. Theb. 2, 495; with an exclamatory accusative, Flor. 2, 18, *macte fortissimam et . . . beatissimam . . . civitatem*. In all these cases there is no need of supposing that *esto* or anything else is understood.

5. The plural *macti*, read at present only Plin. H. N. 2, 12, 9, *macti ingenio este*; and Curt. 4, 1, 18, *vos quidem macti virtute, inquit, estote*; which used, I dare say, to be taken as vocative, but on our theory will be nominative, corresponding to the *mactus* . . . *esto* furnished by Arnobius. Formerly *macti virtute inquit, milites Romani, este* was read in Liv. 7, 36, 5, but now Alschefski, Madvig and Weissenborn have replaced *macte* on manuscript authority. And it is noteworthy that in both the above passages of Pliny and Curtius, *macte* is found as a manuscript variant. If this reading is right, it seems to dispose finally of the

vocative theory, as *macte* vocative singular could not be used in addressing more than one person.

This theory of two different *macte*'s I would put forward with all due caution, as accounting best for the facts so far as I know them. It would be overthrown if it should be shown that *macte* with *esto* has anywhere a short *e*; it would be confirmed if it could be shown that it has a long *e*. But I have not been able to find any case of either.

7.—*Temperare*.

This verb certainly comes from *tempus*, whose stem *tempo-* appears in the form *tempes-* in *temperi* (locative) and *tempes-tas*. But to trace its meaning is less easy. The way, however, has been paved for this by a brief but suggestive discussion of *tempus* and *templum* by Usener in Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher, vol. 117, p. 59. To reproduce the argument in full would be out of place here; its conclusion is that *tempus* meant primarily 'place cut off,' 'space marked off,' and was applied especially to sacred enclosures on the earth and the sacred augural divisions of the heavens—in short, meant precisely what *templum* afterwards came to mean. The word referred originally to *space*; the meaning 'time' is later, and came about in this way: the quarters of the heavens are thought of as corresponding to and standing for the parts of the day and year; east is morning, south noon, and so on; so *diei tempus* was originally the quarter of the sky where the sun stood. *Templum* (Plaut. *ex tempulo*) Usener takes for **tempus-lum*,¹ a diminutive of *tempus*; which evidently succeeded to its local use when *tempus* itself took on the temporal meaning. Not the least valuable part of Usener's article is the identification of *tempus* with the Greek τέμπη (= **τέμπεσ-α*, *tempor-a*), which contains precisely the same stem *tempes-*. The old meaning of τέμπη is shown to be 'sacred enclosures,' 'sacred groves' (= τεμένη).² The root is *tem-p-*; *tem-* 'cut' with a determinative *p*.³ It had been already sug-

¹ That *templum* stands for **tem-ulum*, **templum*, with inserted *p*, as has been often represented, last by Vaniček, is disproved by *temp-ulum*. This form shows that the *p* is not there to keep *m* and *l* apart.

² Schol. Theoc. I, 66: τέμπη γενικῶς μὲν τὰ ἄλση. Hesych.: τέμπη· τὰ σύνδεσθρα χωρία. It is known that the name was not confined to the celebrated Thessalian valley.

³ Fick and Vaniček assume *tan-p-*, 'stretch': so make *tempus* = 'span,' and so 'time.' Others have connected it with *tap-*, 'warm' (*tep-or*); L. Meyer with *róπος*. All three views are to be given up.

gested that *tempus* meant 'place,' and L. Meyer¹ had interpreted *ex tempore* as 'from the spot,' 'von der stelle aus,' 'auf der stelle,' just like *ex templo*. And *tempora*, 'temples' of the head, (this Usener does not mention) explain themselves as the 'spots,' 'places,' that is, the vital, tender spots. This etymology of *tempus* seems to me as clearly made out as anything need be, and it affords us an interesting glimpse into Graeco-italic religious notions. The older meaning peeps out in *anni tempora* (Lucret.), 'seasons' of the year, *extremum diei tempus*, *matutina tempora* (Cic.), and like expressions: compare *templa caeli* (Enn.), 'quarters' of the sky.

Now, of these two meanings of *tempus*, 'bounded space,' 'place,' and 'time,' which appears in *temperare*? The latter not at all, for *temperare* never has any reference to time. The verb arose and developed its meaning altogether from the older *tempus* of local signification. Conceivable meanings for such a verb would be (1) 'mark off into *tempora*, limited spaces'; (2) 'assign bounds, limited space, to'; (3) 'keep something within *tempora* or bounds'; or (4) intransitively, 'keep one's self in bounds.' Of these possible turns, only the three last distinctly appear; of the first I do not find trustworthy indications.²

'Restrain' is the commonest meaning of the verb, and the only one known to the earlier Latinity.³ Both the dative and the accusative constructions easily explain themselves, as do the same two constructions with *moderari*. *Temperare linguae, manibus, aetati* is to 'set bounds to tongue,' 'hands,' 'youthful passion'; *temperare vim, sumptus, libertatem, annonam*, is, with a slightly dif-

¹ Vergl. Gramm. I, 368.

² As an augural term the first supposed meaning would be very natural; *temperare locum*, 'mark it off into a *templum*'; or *temperare caelum*; and so it might pass into metaphorical use. One is tempted to recognize this in expressions like *temperare orbem* (Ovid Metam. I, 770; I5, 869), said of the Sun and Augustus; *Iuppiter arcem temperat aetherias* (Ov. Metam. I5, 858); and Horace's *quæ mare ac terras variisque mundum temperat horis* (Carm. I, 12, 15); an unknown comic poet (Suet. Oct. 68) wrote *viden ut cinaedus orbem digito temperat?* But against this is the fact that this use is not to be traced in pre-Augustan literature: so in all probability these seeming indications are illusory, and we have here merely an offshoot of the meaning 'restrain.'

³ Plautus has *temperare* eight times: twice with dative, three times with infinitive, twice absolute, once with *ne* and subjunctive. Terence has only *temperans* twice. An uncertain tragic poet (Cic. Div. I, 21, 42) has *temperaret tollere*. Lucretius does not use the word.

ferent turn, to 'keep violence, expenses, freedom, price of corn, within limits.' Then 'govern,' 'control,' *temperare ora, rem publicam*. This accusative construction I cannot directly exemplify from early Latin, but it seems to be implied in *temperatus, temperate*, used by Cato. Furthermore, this last *temperare* is capable of being taken reflexively or intransitively: 'keep *one's self* within bounds'; so *posthac temperabo*, 'I'll be moderate hereafter'; '*temperare in amore*;' with infinitive, *temperare dormire* and the like, not infrequently, 'refrain'; later with ablative, *temperare a lacrimis*, etc. So, too, *temperans* as adjective, as early as Terence.

From this meaning 'restrain,' 'keep within bounds,' comes a rich metaphorical development: I mean the usage of *temperare* in the sense of 'apportion,' 'mix in due proportion.' I am aware that the dictionaries have long represented this as the first and fundamental meaning of the verb, and at first I was tempted to get this directly from a supposed *tempus* 'division,' which would be the oldest sense of the noun. But there are two weighty reasons against this. First, *temperare* in this sense is not found before Cicero; secondly, *tempus*, so far as our indications show, meant always a division of *space*, 'space cut off,' not a 'division' outright. So I now feel sure that this sense is a derived one. The starting-point for this usage I take to be the tempering of cold water with hot, or hot with cold; this was 'restraining' it within due bounds—*temperare calorem, frigus*. So on to *temperare solem umbra, temperatura caeli, intemperiae*, and other terms applying to atmospheric heat or cold. And from water again it was an easy step to *temperare pocula, venenum, aes*, etc.; till at last it was felt outright as 'mix,' and we have *temperare colores* (Plin.), *herbas* (in a healing salve, Ovid); and Cicero says *temperare acuta cum gravibus*, and *ex dissimilibus rebus misceri et temperari*.⁴

Accordingly we have, recounting briefly:

1. *temperare*, 'set bounds to' (dative).
2. *temperare*, 'keep within bounds' (acc.), and, derived from this, 'apportion,' 'mix.'
3. *temperare*, 'restrain one's self within bounds.'

The compound *obtemperare* presents, however, a fresh problem. I have not been able to satisfy myself in getting the sense 'yield,' 'comply,' out of the *temperare* above described. 'Restrain one's

¹ Plaut. Trin. 1187.

² Plaut. Epid. 1, 2, 8.

³ Prol. Plaut. Poen. 24.

⁴ Rep. 6, 18, 18; Off. 3, 13, 119.

self in another's presence' seems unsatisfactory; it is too far from the actual sense. Can it be that we have yet another *temperare* here? I will venture on two slightly different suggestions. From *χῶρος* the verb *χρῆσθαι* means 'move,' *cedere*—advance or retreat. Could we fancy that *temperare* was ever used in the same sense, then *obtemperare* would be parallel to *ἐπιχρῆσθαι*: it would mean primarily *accedere*, 'come at one's call'; *ob* having its old force of *ad*. It would, therefore, be like *pārere*, originally 'sich einstellen,' 'present one's self'; and *obsequi*. Or—another possibility—we might suppose a phrase *ob tempore*, 'on the spot' (compare *op-pido*, that is *ob pedo*, 'on a level'), and thence an adjective **obtemperus*, whence *obtemperare*, with the meaning 'present one's self,' 'be on hand.' Is it perhaps conceivable that *obtemperare* was originally an augural term, applied to the birds or other signs that showed themselves in the 'fields' (*templa* or *tempora*) of vision? *Optemperare* in Plautus and Terence is always used of obeying the command of a *person*; not yet, therefore, *obtemperare rationi* or *auctoritati*, or such turns. Noteworthy is Ter. Adolph. 705, where the son tells his father to make the prayers to the gods in his stead, 'because you are a much better man than I, and they will surely pay more attention to you (*tibi optemperaturos magis*) than to me.'

Contemperare, the only remaining compound, arises from *temperare*, 'mix,' and belongs to the later language.

8.—*Intrare, penetrare.*

To these words we must add *extrare*, 'pass out,' in a verse of Afranius,² *simul limen intrabo, illi extrabunt ilico.*

Bopp³ divided *in-trare, pene-trare*, and recognized in the last part a primary verb **trāre* (like *stāre*), which he connected with the Sanskrit root *tar-*, 'cross,' 'pass over,' and saw in *trans* the present participle thereof. Assent, so far as *intrare* is concerned, is expressed by Corssen;⁴ G. Curtius, too, in his Greek Etymology understands *intrare* and *extrare* so; and Vaniček⁵ gives all three verbs as compounds of **trāre*. No other theory, so far as I know, has ever been given.

This view is attended with no difficulty or improbability except in the case of *penetrare*. As the first part of the supposed com-

¹ Vaniček, Etym. Wörterb., p. 503.

² V. 5 Ribbeck.

³ Gloss. Sanscr. I, p. 165.

⁴ Zeitschr. für vergl. Sprachf., 3, p. 292.

⁵ Etym. Wört. p. 290.

pound must be *penus*, 'store' (of food),¹ and as a verb cannot be compounded with a noun-stem, we should be driven to assuming that the word is a juxtaposition of some case of *penus* and **trare*; and stands—say for *penum trare*, which would be like *vinum ire* (*venire*), *venum dare* (*vendere*), but with this difference that it would show no trace of its original form, as two separate words, in the earlier language. This is a small difficulty; a greater one is the Plautine use *se penetrare*; for the active meaning of the verb accords ill with the meaning of *tar-* and **trare*.

Now, of course, the great mass of verbs in *-are* are of denominative origin, and if it be shown that there existed in Latin noun-stems in *-o-* corresponding to each of the three verbs in question, will it not be far more likely that the verbs are simply derived from these nouns and do not contain any **trare* at all?

To *extrare* we have the stem *extero-* in *exterus*, syncopated in the adverb *extrā* (for *exterā*), ablative feminine. It is from *ex*, with comparative suffix *-tero-*.

In like manner *intrā-* is ablative of a stem **intero-* (whence also *inter*, *inter-ior*, *internus*, like *exterior* and *externus*), corresponding to Greek *ἐντερο-* (*τὰ ἐντερα*, 'insides'). This, too, is a comparative formation, from *in*.

The noun-stem **penetro-* is proved by *penetralis*. The very numerous formations in *-ālis* are all denominative. The only ones I can find (I have to rely on Roby's and Leo Meyer's lists, as I have no absolutely complete collection of them) which are not clearly derived from existing nouns, are *vectigalis*, *fetialis*, *maialis*, *sodalis*, *canalis*, and perhaps *esurialis*; none of these has any connection with a verb in *-āre*, and there is no doubt that they are to be referred to lost nouns. *Penetralis* cannot, therefore, come from *penetrare*, but points unmistakably to a noun-stem **penetro-*. As to the meaning of this stem, we shall not be far wrong in assuming it to be 'inmost part' (of the house), comparing the adjective stem *penito-* and the adverb *peni-tus*. These are thought to come from *penus*, 'store,' 'store-room.' The suffix *-tro-* may or may not be the comparative *-tero-*.

We derive, therefore,

extrare from stem *ex-t(e)ro-*;
intrare " " **in-t(e)ro-*;
penetrare " " **pene-tro-*;

¹ Curt. Etym.³ p. 354; Vaniček, p. 449.

just like *superare* from stem *supero-*. The meaning of all these was apparently causative at first: so *se superare*, 'put one's self above' (*radius sese sol superabat ex mari*, Plaut Stich. 365); *se penetrare*, 'put one's self inside' (*intra pectus se penetravit potio*, Truc. 1, 1, 23; so very often in Plautus¹); and presumably *se intrare* and *se extrare*, though these are not known. From this they came to be used intransitively, 'get above,' 'get inside,' etc.; and finally to take the accusative of that which is surmounted or entered; but *penetrare* and *intrare* are not so used in Plautus, who indeed has *intrare* but seldom.² The connexion between *intra* and *intrare* is further indicated by the frequency of *intra limen* on the one hand,³ and *intrare limen* on the other;⁴ while in the Menaechmi 414 we have *periisti si intrassis intra limen*.

Whether *trans* (Umbrian *traf*) is really the participle of a **trāre*, or that verb should be dispensed with altogether, I do not undertake to say.

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¹ For instance, Trin. 291, 314. Plautus has the intransitive *penetrare* only once, Bacch. 56. He has also *penetrare pedem*. In *penetrant se in fugam* (Amph. 250), and *se penetravit ex aedibus* (Trin. 276), the verb has come to mean no more than *praecipitare*, 'plunge.'

² Men. 414, Truc. 2, 1, 20.

³ Mil. Glor. 596, Cist. 3, 19, Most. 5, 1, 16.

⁴ Fragm. of Afranius quoted above; Cic. Phil. 2, 27, 68: other examples in the lexica.

II.—ON RECENT INVESTIGATIONS OF GRIMM'S LAW.

Ever since its discovery, more than fifty years ago, Grimm's Law has been the constant subject of discussions and investigations. Its bibliography will compare in extent with that of the Nibelungen and of other much mooted, perhaps never to be settled questions. Yet Grimm's Law differs from these. It is a generalization, based upon certain facts, sufficiently recognized by Rask and Grimm for the establishment of a principle, but not sufficiently understood and collocated and weighed by them to have made further investigation superfluous even soon after the discovery. What shall we say then of to-day, when the methods of investigation have been so greatly improved? There is a class of younger philologists in Germany and England who have so revolutionized the traditional methods, that they have received the name of the 'new school,' 'junggrammatische Schule.' Their principles have been repeatedly set forth and defended, *e. g.* in the review of Scherer by Paul in the *Jenaer Literaturzeitung*, No. 22, 1879, in Paul und Braune's *Beiträge*, IV, 315, and VI, 1. In full sympathy with Brugman, Joh. Schmidt, Osthoff, Sievers, Verner, Paul and Braune in Germany, are Sweet, Nicol, Murray and others in England. They do not believe, as Mr. Ellis expresses it, that philology is mere 'radicarian linguistry,' or the philologist, according to Mr. Nicol, a sort of 'cross between an antiquary and a postage-stamp-collector.' They hold that to understand prehistoric speech-forms we must start with the historical and living ones; that phonetic laws are as free from exceptions as physical and chemical laws; that physiological and psychological processes must be kept strictly apart. Free play is given to accent, analogy and form-association: 'false' analogy, the men of the old school like to call it. For letter-comparison is substituted sound-comparison, pronunciation for orthography, the thing symbolized for the symbol. Phonetics, *lautphysiologie*, plays a prominent part in the usual phonology, *lautlehre*. We hear now of a history of sounds and of pronunciation, formerly only of historical grammar and history of literature. It is my purpose to discuss in a paper, or two, what progress has been made in the study of Grimm's Law by these new methods, what some of the problems are that

remain to be solved; and if I sift the literature on the subject as far as I may, some of the readers of this Journal may thank me for it.

Grimm's Law consists in a shifting of the mutes, as follows (s. *Geschichte der deutschen Sprache*, p. 276): the sonants shift to surds, the surds to aspirates, the aspirates to sonants. This he considers a real circular movement, all three shiftings going on at the same time. The languages concerned are 1. Any member of the Indo-European family except Teutonic; 2. Any Teutonic except High German; 3. High German. I shall try to restate and illustrate the law in a way less open to objection, I hope, than the old one just given.

Let *y* represent the sonant stop and *z* the surd one. These two are tolerably fixed quantities. *x* shall be that very uncertain quantity, generally called 'aspirate,' which is as objectionable a term as 'hard' and 'soft' for surd and sonant. The three groups of languages should not be—1. Greek or Latin or Sanskrit; 2. Gothic or English or Low German; 3. High German. For the first group Parentspeech (Prsp.), for the second General Teutonic (G. T.) are the terms most in accordance with the facts. Greek *θ* did not shift to Low German *d*, nor this to H. G. *t*. The sound of the Parentspeech which in Greek became *θ*, became in G. T. *d*. By General Teutonic is meant that Teutonic language which existed before there was any Low German or Gothic or High German. The term Parentspeech is a favorite one of Prof. March.

The formulas run then as follows:

	Parentspeech.	>	General Teut.	>	H. G.
I.	<i>x</i>	>	<i>y</i>	>	<i>z</i>
II.	<i>y</i>	>	<i>z</i>	>	<i>x</i>
III.	<i>z</i>	>	<i>x</i>	>	<i>y</i>

The advantage of using *x y z* in these formulas is, that they are employed as symbols in other sciences and have in themselves no meaning or force. Whenever I wish to apply one formula, say the first, to study the transition of *x > y > z*, to inquire into the causes of the transition, the first thing to do is to find out the sound-value of *x y z* in the three groups. Scherer, Paul, Sweet and March have insisted upon this non-identity of letters and sounds, and have done much to clear away misunderstandings and hindrances and thus to advance our knowledge upon the subject. I am aware that Mr. Douse, in 'Grimm's Law: a Study' (London, 1876), has used *H, S, A*, as algebraical symbols, but they played the mischief

with him, because he does not appreciate the importance of the inquiry into the value of his *H, S, A*. It is wonderful what a damper such an inquiry is upon one's enthusiasm over the beauty, uniqueness and regularity of this famous linguistic phenomenon. When I read such statements of Mr. Douse,¹ "that these tabulations are of identical value, or severally represent precisely the same facts (differing only in order of sequence), will be seen by comparing the vertical columns of any one with those of any other"; or again, "Whatever phonetic operation, as it were, is executed upon the Classical system to produce the L. G. system, must also be executed upon the L. G. to produce the H. G.; and (what is equally important, but is rarely if ever made prominent) the very same operation, when executed upon the H. G. system brings us round again to the Cl. system." Indeed! I should say that to get from H. G. $x = ts$ or pf back to Prsp. $y = d$ or b would require not so much a surgical operation as a somerset or balloon-ascension. I believe Dr. Murray must have been reading just such erroneous statements as these when he wrote those indignant letters to the 'Academy' about two years ago (Feb. 23 and March 2, 1878), in which he went so far as to deny that there was any Grimm's Law. He really meant, I think, Grimm's Law is no such thing as Mr. Douse represents it to be, which is exactly the truth.

The symbols, instead of being a snare, should be a safeguard. Substitute in Formula I the dental mutes and we have—

$$\text{Prsp. } dh > \text{G. T. } d > \text{H. G. } t.$$

This shifting is beautifully regular. The only drawback about it is, that we are not sure of x , the starting point. The German translator of Mr. Whitney's *Altind. grammatik* says (§ 37), European scholars pronounce Skrt. dh as $dH = d +$ aspiration, nearly as in *kind-heit*. But this is an example for the eye merely, since *kind-heit* is pronounced *kint-heit*, whose medial sounds are rather surd tH than sonant dH . It is clear then, that the pronunciation of European Sanskritists will not help us out. The uncertainty of the acoustic value of Prsp. x is unfortunate, if Formula I is, as some think, the 'Kernpunkt des Problems der Lautverschiebung,' and if, as is probable, the whole shifting started with it. Paul, in *Paul und Braune's Beiträge*, p. 155, thinks, to be sure, that Arendt has put the existence of 'medial aspirates' out of doubt. But few will agree with him. What discovery did Arendt make? He observed (in 1859)

¹ Quoted from Rhys's review in the *Academy*, 1877, p. 123.

the pronunciation of Said Muhammed and claims that he pronounced a real *dH*, *bH*, *gH*. From this he concludes that twenty modern dialects in India pronounce it so, and then Sanskrit *dH* must have had that sound. Brücke investigated the pronunciation of the same native and observed no medial aspirate. Here were two flatly contradictory results. Which of the two observers was right? Brücke was under this disadvantage, that he had beforehand committed himself to the opinion that a medial aspirate was a physiological impossibility. Scherer and Max Müller, however, sided with Brücke, and Max Müller even tried to come to the rescue with the old Sanskrit grammarians. Curtius and nearly all other philologists accepted Arendt's statement, and in explaining the transitions from Prsp. $x > y$, gave x the value of sonant stop + surd breath, and found nothing easier and more natural than that *dH* should lose the *H* and become *d*. But in 1873 Mr. A. J. Ellis observed the pronunciation of two natives, Messrs. Gupta and Mookerjey, and discovered no sonant stop + surd breath, but sonant stop + "glottal buzz," accompanied "by a momentary energizing of the following vowel." While this was not exactly what Brücke observed, yet it would have told strongly against Arendt, had Ellis's observations been known to anybody in Germany except Sievers. Sievers, in his *Lautphysiologie*, p. 95, expresses the opinion that a sonant stop + surd breath was theoretically impossible and the Skr. medial aspirate must have been sonant stop + sonant breath. Though the *Lautphysiologie* did not come out till 1876, he claims he always held this opinion, and was delighted to see it confirmed by the facts observed by Mr. Ellis.¹ The impossibility then of $x = dH$ or bH or gH must be admitted, and with that the old theory of the transition of $dH > d$ by the loss of the second element falls to the ground. Curtius, and later Kräuter, have upheld this view. Scherer, and before him Raumer, discarded the medial aspirate and substituted the medial affricate *dʒ* (Brücke's *d'z'*) for *dH*. The transition then was $dʒ > ʒ > d$. This has been more fully established by Paul in his long investigation, *Paul und Braune's Beiträge*, I, 147-201, and may be called the Scherer-Paul theory. But Paul is inclined to start with Prsp. *dH* and then $dʒ > ʒ > d$. He finds it hard to accept with Scherer the primitiveness of medial affricates. But this is not

¹ For a full account of Ellis's and Brücke's observations see Ellis' *Early English Pronunciation*, p. 1134-1137, and Brücke's *Grundzüge*, etc., pages 115 and 116, new edition.

at all necessary. We must start with the true medial aspirate of Sievers and Ellis, which we shall transcribe as d' . This is a double sound, consisting of sonant stop and voice, which is continued after the d explosion until the 'jerked' vowel commences. The series then was $d' > \delta > d$. As soon as the d closure was slackened in the least, the homorganic sonant spirant began, and, as is generally the case, the second continuant element prevailed over the first explosive one. But if, with Scherer and Paul, we retain the medial affricate, the development of that from d' is more natural than from dH . The more stopping-places we can find in the passage of one sound into another, the more time is gained, the less the chances of collision with other sounds. Only the intermediate sounds must not be 'aus der Luft gegriffen,' but must actually occur and must not mislead. The seeming transition, for instance, of Prsp. $t > G. T. d$, in Formula III, has many intermediate sounds, but they are all verified. The transition was $t > tH > tth > th > \delta > d$. tH occurs in Sanskrit and in Southern German dialects; tth in the Irishman's 'thin.' th is the surd spirant, δ the sonant one. Formula I runs nearly parallel to this: $d' > d\delta > \delta > d$. d' occurs in modern Bengalese dialects; $d\delta$ sometimes initially in modern English. Physiologically the transition is as follows: Adding a vowel, we have $d' > a$, in which $>$ indicates Sievers' 'tönenden hauch' after the explosion of d . With the least relaxation of the d closure we have the beginnings of the sonant spirant, which will increase as the first element decreases, detracting also from the energy ('jerk') of the following vowel. Both in surd and sonant affricates the second element encroaches upon the first, as a rule, until the first is lost entirely and a simple sound is the result, as Greek $tH > \theta$, H. G. $pf > f$.

For all three classes of mutes in Formula I, Paul has shown that they reached the sonant stop only in the beginning of the word, and that the guttural sonant spirant appears even there in Oldest Low German and Anglo-Saxon, but that medially the sonant spirant appears except after nasals. Zend, Keltic, Slavic and Lithuanian show the same shifting. In the last two the sonant stop is always reached, whether initially or medially.

A most extraordinary development is that of the Greek surd aspirates and spirants from Prsp. x . It is a difficult question, and I only mention it now, lest I seem to underrate its difficulty. But is not the transition from our value of x made more difficult still? I dare say it is, but the other transition was made easy by starting

with a fictitious value that would best suit the result. We cannot regret that Curtius' plausible explanation in his *Grundzüge*, p. 393, viz: by assimilation of dH , bH , gH to tH , pH , kH (later $> \theta$, φ , χ), falls to the ground. Kuhn, Sonne and others claimed that this transition was a 'strengthening,' which would have been against the main drift of the whole *Lautverschiebung*, and that kH , tH , etc., must have been the original Prsp. sounds, from which gH , etc., arose by 'weakening.' While it was easy to refute Kuhn's opinion on other grounds, the objection of 'strengthening' seemed to stand, and so Curtius resorted to assimilation. The second element was surd breath, the first was sonant. They must both become surd, hence kH . Now this very incongruity of sonant and surd, which necessitated their assimilation, is one of the reasons for the non-occurrence of any such compound as dH . If d' was the value of x , its transition into tH or th was chiefly a matter of sonancy and surdness. But this question is connected also with another, which even Curtius (p. 84) admits is still an open one, viz: whether there were not surd aspirates by the side of sonant aspirates in the Parentspeech. Grassmann held that such was the case. The Italic correspondents are f for b' and d' , h for Gr. $kh <$ Prsp. g' , and in Latin medially the homorganic sonant stops.

The order of the shiftings I must leave for another time. I have already used so much space for this formula that I must despatch the rest more rapidly.

Formula II with dental mutes becomes—

Prsp. $d >$ G. T. $t >$ H. G. ts, s .

The value of all of these is fixed. 'Aspirate' does not at all apply to H. G. x , even if it should to Prsp. x . ts is beyond the line of mutes and is a surd affricate. The signs for H. G. x are very numerous, but do not concern us now, and one kind of z is difficult to print.

Formula III becomes—

Prsp. $t >$ G. T. $th >$ H. G. d .

G. T. th was the surd spirant; H. G. d does not appear regularly. Finally, it was probably surd. Other signs for it are t , th , dh . The labial mutes introduced in our schedule will give us in Formula I—

Prsp. $b' >$ G. T. $b >$ H. G. (β) b .

To Prsp. b' correspond Greek φ , Latin f and medially b . y is lip-shut-voiced and z lip-shut-voiceless, but the exception rather than the rule, no shifting having taken place.

Formula II becomes—

Prsp. *b* > G. T. *þ* > H. G. *þf*. *f*.

H. G. *þf*, like *ts* (*z*), is the double sound, called affricata by some in distinction from the simple spirant or fricative. Other signs are *pph*, *þh*, *v*. *f*, *þh* and *v* represent the same sound, viz: lip-teeth-open-voiceless. The second shifting was also shared by the numerous O. H. G. words borrowed from other languages, and such a *þf* or *f* does not go back to Prsp. *y*, but *z*.

Formula III—

Prsp. *z* > G. T. *x* > H. G. *y*,

is too large for the labials. There is no shifting from G. T. *f* > *b*, and it is merely Prsp. *þ* > G. T. *f*, particularly when initial. *f* was originally only surd spirant, but became then sonant medially. The guttural or palatal mutes substituted in the schedule will read in Formula I—

Prsp. *g'* > G. T. *g* > H. G. (*k*) *g*.

To *g'* correspond Gr. *z*, Latin *h* and *g*, Sanskrit *h* as a rule. For H. G. the rule is *g*, the exception *k*, hence no shifting. The sign *gh* = *g*. *ch* occurs finally in Otfried, and was then back-open-voiceless instead of back-shut-voiced.

Formula II would read—

Prsp. *g* > G. T. *k* > H. G. *ch*, (*k*).

ch may be considered the rule in O. H. G., but now *k* is more common. *ch* is back- or front-open-voiceless, according to the vowel immediately near it.

Formula III reads—

Prsp. *k* > G. T. *h* > H. G. *h* (*g*).

No second shifting is the rule. Initial *h* in both G. T. and H. G. is surd breath. Like the other G. T. surd spirant, *h* could become sonant medially and then *g* (Verner's Law). H. G. medial and final *h*, *hh*, *ch* have the same value as the preceding *ch*.

Now if this be a correct statement of the principle, several points are clear, which have been frequently covered up by false comparisons and figures of speech. The shifting is not circular, and cannot be compared with the movement of the wheels of a wagon or of the spokes of a wheel, or with three bent arrows pursuing one another in a circle. The varying values that the aspirates assume forbid it, and so does the incomplete shifting of H. G. The process is not 'weakening' or 'lightening of sounds' alone, as some claim.

Call 'weakening' ease of utterance or euphony and we grant that it plays an important part in Grimm's Law, as it does in all phonetic changes. Euphony explains Prsp. $x > G. T. y$, perhaps Prsp. $z > G. T. x$, but surely G. T. surd stop into H. G. surd affricates is no weakening process, for in this Grimm saw, or thought he saw, evidence of the manly, warlike spirit of our ancestors.

Prof. March, in the excellent treatise mentioned below, was the first to give prominence to a tendency so strong in the High Germans of to-day, of unvoicing sonants. It certainly explains the passing of G. T. sonant stop into H. G. surd, and yet this is strictly carried out only in the dental mutes. The passing of Prsp. $y > G. T. z$ is, however, nothing but loss of sonancy. Under this head would also come the development of Greek and Latin surd aspirates and spirants from Prsp. x . Raumer and Scherer are always on the hunt for missing links that are to bridge over the chasm, generally imaginary, between two sounds. Thus they have put between d and t , for instance, 'die geflüsterte Media' as transition sound. Now d is the point-stop-voiced and t is the point-stop-voiceless, and no transition sound is called for. No one single fact or principle has yet been discovered and proposed that will explain all the shifting of Grimm's Law. I believe none will be found, and it is a mistake to look for one. Foreign influence upon the High Germans was first brought forward by Scherer to explain the second shifting. Prof. March favors this idea. Dr. Murray suggested the influence of the early inhabitants of Southern Germany, upon whom the Germans forced their language. Scherer suggests Romance influence. These are valuable suggestions, and the right direction and principle have been pointed out in which sound results may be obtained. Granted foreign influence upon the dialect of one tribe or district, how would this affect the sister dialects? Such a question cannot be correctly answered until the importance of the study of living dialects upon the old ones is more fully recognized by investigators. The Old High German dialects have lately received much attention from Braune, *Zur Kenntniss des Fränkischen*, and Heinzel, *Niederfränkische Geschäftssprache*

Much emphasis has been laid by Dr. Murray upon the incompleteness of the H. G. shifting in the letters already referred to. His protests and strictures are indeed called for, and would have had more effect if he had not gone too far in some directions. That the O. H. G. shifting is historical and recent was, it is true, admitted by Grimm, but he liked to lose sight of the fact whenever he wanted

to 'magnify the law.' His framework is much too big for the facts. But is there also a difference in kind between the shiftings as well as in extent?

Most certainly, and while Dr. Murray overlooks the unvoicing of the sonant stops of the Parentspeech and General Teutonic, which is repeated in High German, all before him have overlooked, or at least not appreciated, the differences in the first and second shiftings. The shifting of G. T. *y* > H. G. *z* and that of Prsp. *y* > G. T. *z* are identical. It is the same process—loss of sonancy. This shifting was repeated a third time in the exceptions which Verner's Law accounts for. Prsp. *patar* became first *patHar*, then *fathar*, *fā̄ar*, *fadar*. This G. T. sonant spirant or stop underwent the same fate as the sonant spirant or stop that arose from Prsp. *x* (= *d'*) and both became surd in H. G. Thus the *t* of New H. G. 'tun' and 'vater' are of very different origins, yet their last changes were identical, if not contemporary. But the H. G. shifting differs from the G. T. very much in kind. Thus H. G. *x*, excepting of course non-shifting, is not at all identical with General Teutonic *x*, though both arose from surd stops. H. G. *x* is either surd affricate or spirant, G. T. *x* only surd spirant. Hence the transitions from Prsp. and G. T. *z* to these sounds cannot be put side by side.

The uniqueness of Grimm's Law has been made more prominent than there is ground for. When we consider that the change of Prsp. *x* into spirant or stop took place as strictly in Slavic and Lithuanian as in G. T.; that it occurs in Sanskrit, in Keltic and medially in Latin; that the changes are not merely from one group to another, but within the same group and language; that in the labial and guttural mutes (except *k* > *ch*) there was no shifting in H. G.; that in modern languages we find many parallel transitions, then we shall be less inclined to consider the *lautverschiebung* as such an extraordinary phenomenon. We shall be better disposed and fitted to investigate it from the fruitful side and with proper methods. Any mingling of aesthetics and patriotism with phonology, '*lautphysiologie*' and dialect-study, within whose spheres the phenomena fall, is entirely unscientific. We can pardon it in Grimm in the enthusiasm of discovery, and in Scherer, who claims the prerogative of Lessing's genius as an excuse for his mistakes, which, he is sure, will lead others on the right track.

We come now to the exceptions. Onomatopoeic words remain unchanged from their very nature. The surd mutes *p*, *k*, *t*, in

close contact with preceding spirants cannot shift, hence *st*, *sk*, *sp*, *ht*, *ft*, are unchangeable. *d* is sometimes protected by *n* and *l*. In 1862 Lottner made a very careful examination and collocation of the exceptions to the first shifting in Kuhn's *Zeitsch.* XI, 161-205. Besides those above mentioned he found two classes of exceptions. The first is in Formula I. In them Gothic *y* (sonant stops) appeared to correspond to Skt. *y*, and there was no shifting apparently, e. g. Gothic *dauhtar* = Skt. *duhitar*. The second is or was in Formula III, in which both Gothic sonant stops and surd or sonant spirants corresponded to Skt. surd stops, e. g. Gothic *bairand* = Skt. *bharanti* (*d* = *t*) and Gothic *fadi* = Skt. *pati*. The first class had been allowed to pass partly because it was considered quite natural that there should be exceptions, and they proved the rule, partly because the Sanskrit forms were supposed to be identical with the Parentspeech forms. Grimm always put some one of the Indo-European family of languages as the first member of his schedule. It was Grassmann's great merit to have proved in his article 'Ueber das ursprüngliche vorhandensein von wurzeln, deren anlaut und auslaut eine aspirate enthielt' (Kuhn's *Zeitsch.* XII, p. 110-138), that Sanskrit was not primitive in this case, that the Parentspeech had had a 'medial aspirate,' if that be the value of Prsp. *x*, and that hence the exceptions to the first class were not exceptions at all. We had not started with the right Prsp. letter, but with the Sanskrit or Latin or Slavic. In other words, there was a shifting of *x* > *y*, which was so general as to extend over Sanskrit, Greek and Latin partially, over Slavonic, Keltic and Teutonic wholly. Grassmann demonstrated this within a year after Lottner's article appeared.

The second class of exceptions, that of the G. T. double correspondences (sonant stop and spirant) to Prsp. surd stop, waited for an explanation much longer. That the shifting was not directly from *t* to *d*, for instance, was recognized already by Raumer in 1837; again maintained by Scherer (*Zur Gesch. der deutschen Sprache*,) and by Paul (*Zur Lautverschiebung*) in Paul und Braune's *Beiträge* I, 147-201. The transition is now generally put down and accepted as follows: *t* > *tH* > *th* > *ð* > *d*. The first part, *t* through *tH* into *th*, is the regular shifting. The surd stop became first dental aspirate in the strict sense, *t* + *H*. The aspirate became surd spirant. The exception lies in this, that it did not remain surd, but became sonant medially, and then the sonant stop. How is this change to be accounted for? Verner discovered the reason.

It lies in the accent. Mr. Sweet framed a very bold theory in his edition of Gregory's Pastoral Care, published by the Early English Text Society, in which he puts down the following series: Prsp. *t* > oldest Teutonic *d* > oldest Low German *dh* > oldest H. G. *d*. The primitiveness of *d* is based chiefly on the frequent and easy interchange of *d* and *dh*. Prof. March, in an article 'On Recent Discussions of Grimm's Law,' Transactions of the American Philological Association, 1873, objected very strongly and effectively, and if he did not overthrow Sweet's position, Verner's Law certainly did, as Mr. Sweet handsomely acknowledges in a letter to the 'Academy,' February 9, 1878. Paul, in the article referred to, though the subject of his investigations is really Formula I, has much to say about Formula III and its exceptions. He tries to make out, that medial *b, d, g*, are really sonant spirants in Gothic (p. 151); that the only difference between medial *d* and *th* is that *d* is sonant spirant and *th* the surd one. And one of the reasons adduced is also the easy interchange of *b, d, g*, with the corresponding spirants. Both Sweet's and Paul's theories are indirect unsuccessful attempts at explaining the exceptions of Formula III. Though Paul's idea of the manner of the transition is perfectly correct, of the cause he had no idea.

I shall try now to state and illustrate Verner's Law as briefly and clearly as I may. His own statement of it is this:

"Indogerm. *k, t, þ*, gingen erst überall in *h, th, f*, über; die so entstandenen tonlosen fricativae nebst der vom Indogerm. ererbten tonlosen fricativa *s* wurden weiter inlautend bei tönender nachbarschaft selbst tönend, erhielten sich aber als tonlose im nachlaute betonter silben." Paul, in P. und B. Beitr. V, 538, restates it in this way: "Die nach vollzug der germanischen verschiebung vorhandenen vier härten reibelaute *h, th, f, s* sind ausser in den verbindungen *ht, hs, ft, st, sk, sp, ss*, erweicht, wenn der nächstvorhergehende sonant nicht nach der ursprünglichen betonung den hauptton trug." Omitting *s* at first, it would read in this way: Prsp. *k, t, þ* shifted without exception to *h, th, f*. But these became medially in unaccented syllables sonant spirants, except in certain surd consonant-combinations. This is sufficient, if every medial *b, d, g*, in Gothic or Ags. are sonant spirants. But if not, we must add "and these sonant stops": *s*, though not within the limits of Grimm's Law, joins the other spirants. Then it may be stated as follows: Medial *G, T, h, th, f, s* become the sonant spirants *gh, dh, r, z*, in unaccented syllables, and later the sonant stops *g, d, k* and *r* = (un-voiced).

A fictitious word *asataka*, after Verner's *akasatam*, would take these shapes in General Teut., Gothic and H. G., having passed through *asatHakHa* and *asathakha*, according to the primitive accent:

G. T. *ásaðagha-*, *azáthagha-*, *azaðákha-*, *azaðaghá-*,
 Goth. *ásadaga-*, *azáthaga-*, *azadákha-*, *azadagá-*,
 H. G. *ásataga-*, *arádaga-*, *aratákha-*, *aratagá-*.

As examples of actual words these will suffice:

	Skt. <i>bhrátar</i>	G. T. <i>bróthar</i> ,
but	" <i>pitár</i>	" <i>fadar</i> ,
and	" <i>mātár</i>	" <i>mōdar</i> ;
	" <i>ántara</i>	" <i>anthara</i> ,
but	" <i>antár</i>	" <i>undar</i> ;
	" <i>çváçura</i>	" <i>swehra</i> ,
but	" <i>çvaçrú</i>	" <i>swegrá</i> .

Skt. pf. ind. sing. *bibhédá*, *bibhéditha*, *bibhédá* =

G. T. pret. ind. sing. *laith*, *laist*, *laith* (not etymologically of course); but

Skt. pf. ind. pl. *bibhidimá*, *bibhidá*, *bibhidus* =

G. T. pret. ind. pl. *lidum*, *liduth*, *lidun*.

Skt. causatives have the accent upon the ending, *bhārdya*, which shows itself in G. T. causatives, e. g. G. T. *hangjan* from *hanhan*, *laidjan* from *lithan*, *nazjan* from *nesan*.

The comparative is interesting. Since there is a retraction of the accent, as in *ῆδύ-*, *ῆδιον*, *ῆδιστος*, when it rests in the positive upon the second syllable, the G. T. ending must always be *-izan* and *-ozan*, later *-iro* and *-oro*, e. g. *batizan*, Ags. *betra*; *blindozan*, O. H. G. *blindoro*.

It would be interesting to trace Verner's investigation from the beginning and see how he was gradually led up to the discovery. We must be satisfied with reproducing here an equation from p. 109:

G. T. $\frac{tehan}{tegu} = \frac{slahana \text{ (inf.)}}{slagana \text{ (p. p.)}} = \frac{bróthar}{mōdar} = \frac{kwehthana}{kwedana} = \frac{mūsi}{deuza} = \frac{keusana}{kuzana}$

He reasoned correctly that an explanation of one of these must be an explanation of all. He found the clew in the second, fourth and sixth fractions, which illustrate that remarkable phenomenon called 'grammatische wechsel' in O. H. G. and M. H. G. grammar. The last one who wrote upon this subject before Verner was Braune, P. und B. Beitr. I, 513. Braune says that hitherto we have been satisfied with merely stating the fact of the change, without showing the inner connection between these separate phenomena. Paul's

theory of the origin of sonant stops and sonant spirants proves this inner connection, as he will proceed to show more fully. In fact, Braune sees in the 'grammatische wechsel' proof of Paul's theory. But when he begins to realize fully that Gothic especially and old Saxon and Frisian do not follow suit, he says: "Ueberhaupt aber muss man das wol beachten, dass dieser ganze lautwandel nicht auf einem streng-durgeführten lautgesetz, sondern nur auf einer sehr ausgeprägten lautneigung beruht." This distinction between a law and an 'inclination' would never do for a '*junggrammatiker*.' The trouble was with Gothic. It showed very slight traces of grammatische wechsel. Its primitiveness was not questioned on this point any more than that of Formula I. Verner's Law was not found, because it was not looked for, and the facts were not so properly and comprehensively grouped as in the above equation, in spite of Paul's and Braune's constant efforts and frequent publications. Scherer, who if he cannot solve a phonetic problem phonetically will resort to aesthetics and 'sprachgeist' and 'männische und weibliche periode' in literature and language, singled out *fadar* and *modar*, and accounted for their *d* because they were "more frequently used words than *brothar*." *Fadar* and *modar* must belong to the 'small coin of language,' and must have been used so much that they are worn smooth and have nearly disappeared in Gothic. *Modar* never occurs, only *aithci*; *fadar* only once, in its stead *attu*, while *brothar* has no synonym at all. No; the accent explains either all members of the above equations or none. *Slabana* inf. has the primitive accent on the stem, *slagana* the past-part. on the suffix. The same is true of *quethana* and *keusana*. The pret. sing. was accented on the stem, the pret. plur. on the suffix. The 'grammatische wechsel' is a part of that so-called great exception to the first shifting. It is that general Teutonic shifting of surd spirants to sonant ones and sonant stops in unaccented syllables. If one dialect, whether old like Gothic or young like modern English, does not conform to this law, what seems an apparent exception must be accounted for in some way or other by tendencies and phonetic principles within that individual dialect. Gothic, for instance, must have once had grammatische wechsel. It traces of it now, e. g. *aik-aigum*, *thart-thaurbum*, *silhan-fulgins*. There is a tendency in all languages, and very strong in Gothic, called 'ausgleichung' by German scholars, levelling or striving after uniformity. In Gothic it manifests itself clearly in the reintroduction of *i* and *u* for *e* and *o* in G. T. and the sister dialects, which gives it that appearance of primitiveness. Thus it has made the

pret. pl. and past-part. again like pres. and pret. sing., and *z* in declension again *s*. But *z* has never become *r*, as in the other dialects. In Goth. we have *tiuhan, tauh, tauhum, tauhans*; *h* is uniformly restored. In Ags. we have *tiohan, toh, tugun, logan*; in N. H. G. *ziehen, zog, gezogen*, which is more ancient on this point than Gothic. Again, in N. H. G. *zeihen, zieh, geziehen*, we have uniformity, as in the cognate Goth. *-teihan, -taih, -taihans*. The N. H. G. class of verbs, *schneiden, schnitt, geschnitten*; *leiden, litt, gelitten*; *sieden, sott, gesotten*, is easily brought into line. The G. T. forms with the spirant became the H. G. forms with *d*, and those with *d* received in H. G. *t*, for instance, Aags. *snidhan, snadh, snidon, sniden* = O. H. G. *snidan, sneid, snitum, snitan*. With the H. G. tendency to make a final sonant stop surd, and the good sense of the writers, especially of M. H. G., to spell as they pronounced, *leid* and *sneid* became *leit* and *sneit*, and then in N. H. G. *litt* and *schnitt*, the vowel difference between pret. sing. and plur. having soon disappeared.

But how and why did the accent produce such a remarkable effect? Admitted the tendency of any surd spirant to become sonant when surrounded by sonants—which is nothing but leveling—the question is, how did the accent preserve the surd character? Verner explains it in this way. The G. T. accent must have been one of stress also, and not of pitch merely, which was the primitive accent. The strong impulse of surd breath, when the stress is thrown upon the syllable with the surd spirant, would preserve this spirant as it was originally. Let the accent be thrown upon any other syllable, and the surd spirant will weaken from a fortis to a lenis, and then become sonant in sonant surroundings. (See Sievers' *Lautphysiologie*, p. 133.) I dare say, many will be satisfied to know that the preservation of the surd spirants *h, th, f, s*, or their transition to sonant spirants and to sonant stops, goes hand-in-hand with the original accent. Verner's Law settles also a point in the history of accent. The free Parentspeech accent was still preserved in G. T. after the beginning of the first shifting of mutes. When the characteristic Teutonic accent, which is limited to the stem-syllable, commenced, the shifting of spirants was accomplished, or at least so well under way that the new accent had no influence upon it. Had the G. T. logical accent been as old as was formerly supposed, it would have prevented this shifting.

Verner's Law strengthens the position of the 'junggrammatische schule,' claiming that phonetic laws admit of no arbitrary excep-

tions. They must and can be applied as strictly as physical laws, if they are laws at all. By Verner's discovery the last large class of exceptions to the first shifting in Grimm's Law has been explained. They have been proved not to be real exceptions. Prsp. *z* became G. T. *x* initially, medially and finally. But medially they shifted within the same group of languages a second time and a third time in H. G., at least in the dental mutes. Verner's Law has lately been studied and cleared up very much. See Fr. Kluge, Beiträge zur Geschichte der germ. Conjugation; Paul, Zum Verner'schen Gesetz, P. und B. Beitr. VI, 538. Sievers, P. und B. Beitr. V, 149, has already found a corollary: *g* (*gh*) disappeared between originally unaccented vowel and *w* already in General Teutonic. In Gothic we have uniformly *h* in *saihwan* (G. T. *sehwan*), *sakw*, *sehwum*, *saihwans*, but Ags. shows the older forms, *seon* (for *sehon*), *seah*, *sawon*, *gesewen*, where *g* from *h* is lost before *w* in the pret. plur. and past participle, though there are forms which still show it.

H. C. G. BRANDT.

III.—PRINCIPLES OF ORTHOGRAPHY OF FRENCH VERBS ENDING IN *-ELER* AND *-ETER*.

M. B. Jullien in his 'Revue de l'Instruction Publique' (Didot, Orthographe Française, p. 380) makes this remark: "I should like to find a list of verbs in *-eler* and *-eter*. I do not exactly know how many of them our language possesses, but if there were from two to three hundred I should not be surprised. These verbs present this peculiarity, that wherever the last syllable is mute the *e* preceding it *must* become open. This open *e* is marked either by a grave accent, as in *geler*, *je gèle*, *acheter*, *j'achète*; or by doubling the intermediary consonant, as in *appeler*, *j'appelle*, *jeter*, *je jette*; and every one knows how difficult it is to remember without any determining reason the choice which one must make between these two orthographies. But this is not all; for a great number of these verbs the Academy does not give any example where the last *e* is mute, so that the writer is free to choose between the two methods, and the critic is left free to condemn him, no matter which course he has taken."

The want thus complained of by M. Jullien I have endeavored to supply by making a list of these verbs in *-eler* and *-eter*, and in order to put an end to the very unsatisfactory state of incertitude as regards this question which his last words so forcibly illustrate, I have tried to find out if any principle had governed the choice of either orthography, and if so, what it was.

The number of verbs I have found, is 224: 129 ending in *-eter* and 95 in *-eler*, of which I will give a list further on. Of these the Academy only gives the conjugation in 108 cases; hence there are 116 verbs left to the option of writers. M. Littré, however, who, I think, can be taken as a very safe authority, in his 'Dictionnaire de la langue Française,' gives the conjugation of 94 of these 116 verbs, thus reducing to 22 the number of those left to our own choice.

These 202 verbs can be divided, according to the orthography observed in their conjugation, into five classes as follows:

I. Those verbs in *-eler* and *-eter* which double the *l* or *t* before mute *e*, as *appeler*, *j'appelle*, *jeter*, *je jette*, etc. ,

This class numbers 105 verbs (57 in *-eter* and 48 in *-eler*), more than half the verbs conjugated. They are—

arbreter	interjeter	appeler	étinceler
billetter	jeter	amonceler	ficeler
biqueter	lingueter	anneler	gabeler
briqueter	loqueter	atteler	grabeler
brocheter	louveter	bosseler	greneler
cacheter	mailléter	carneler	grommeler
cailleter	marqueter	chanceler	grumeler
cliqueter	moucheter	chapeler	javeler
coqueter	mugueter	cordeler	jumeler
coupleter	naqueter	créneler	morceler
débonneter	paqueter	cuveler	museler
déboqueter	parqueter	décapeler	niveler
décacheter	pinceter	décheveler	oiseler
déchiqueter	piqueter	démuseler	paisseler
déjeter	pocheter	denteler	panteler
démoucheter	projeter	déniveler	pommeler
écolleter	recacheter	dépuceler	rappeler
émoucheter	rejeter	dessemeler	râtelier
empaqueter	saveter	dételer	renouveler
épinçeter	souffleter	écheler	ressemeler
feuilleter	surjeter	écheveler	ruisseler
forjeter	tacheter	enâceler	taveler
fareter	teter	enjaveler	tonneler
gileter	tréjeter	ensorceler	
gobeter	valeter	épeler	
greneter	vergeter		
gucreter	vigneter		
guillemeter	voleter		
haleter			

II. Verbs of this species which take a grave accent on the *e* which precedes the mute syllable, as *ceier, je cèle, acheter, j'achète*.

This class has only 31 verbs, not one-third of the previous class and scarcely a seventh of the whole number. They are as follows:

acheter	âter	agrèler	encasteler
baqueter	barreter	bourreler	engeler
chaqueter	raçetter	carreler	geler
coller		celer	griveler
couqueter		congèler	harceler
couvèter		couler	marteler
couvèter		coupler	modeler
couvèter		à marteler	peler
couvèter		cousteler	regeler
couvèter		embarler	repeler

III. Verbs which are common, *i. e.* can be conjugated either by doubling the consonant *l* or *t* before mute *e*, or with a single consonant and a grave accent on the preceding *e*, as *breveter*, which, according to Littré, can be written *je brevette* or *je brevète*. We find 12 verbs belonging to this class—9 in *-eter* and 3 in *-eler*. They are:

aiguilleter	buffeter	trompeter	botteler
banqueter	caqueter		canneler
bonneter	dépaqueter		ciseler
breveter	épuuseter		

IV. Verbs which have already an acute accent on the penult in the infinitive which they change to a grave accent in the present before mute *e*, but are regular in all their other tenses. This class numbers 29 verbs, which are:

affréter	empiéter	péter	anhéler
appéter	fréter	piéter	héler
admonéter	genéter	refléter	recéler
compéter	hébéter	rempiéter	révéler
compléter	inquiéter	répéter	sphacéler
concréter	interpréter	secréter	
décompléter	masséter	sousfréter	
décréter	mésinterpréter	végéter	

V. Verbs which have a circumflex accent on the penult in the infinitive. They are regular in all their moods and tenses, and number 25, as follows:

acquéter	entéter	béler	préter
appréter	fêter	demêler	vêler
arrêter	prêter	emmêler	
conquêter	quêter	engrêler	
désentéter	requêter	entremêler	
écréter	reprêter	fêler	
embéter	tempéter	gréler	
enquêter		mêler	

The 22 verbs, which for lack of authority I have been unable to assign to either of the first two classes, are:

baqueter	niqueter	bateler	hôteler
caneter	paleter	capeler	ponteler
chiqueter	pelletter	crêteler	
corneter	planeter	empasteler	
culleter	sauveter	fumeler	
décliqueter	simpleter	fuseler	
haqueter		grappeler	

I have endeavored to give here a complete list of all verbs ending in *-eler* and *-eter*, but it is not my purpose at present to examine the principles of orthography with reference to the last two classes. I will confine myself to those verbs which are unaccented in the infinitive.

Why then is it that among these verbs some double the *l* or *t*, whereas others obtain the same result in pronunciation by accenting the *e*? I find the utmost confusion reigning among grammarians and even academicians as to this question. In fact three of the verbs above-mentioned, which I have on the authority of the Academy grouped in the second class, according to Littré should belong to the first. These verbs are: *claqueter*, *jarreter* and *décolleter*. I have searched in vain for some rule or principle among the most noted French grammarians, and though ready to seize the faintest hint, I have not found one who so much as gave an opinion on the subject, beyond saying that it was very awkward to have no definite rule on the subject.

I subjoin an extract which will show this confusion. In the *Grammaire des Grammaires*, of Girault Duvivier, (edited by P. A. Lemaire, Paris 1863, p. 511-12), we find the following peculiar way of getting out of the difficulty. In treating this question he says:

"En Français un mot ne peut pas être terminé par deux *e* muets de suite. C'est une règle qui ne souffre aucune exception. Mais dans ce cas faut-il toujours doubler la dernière consonne pour rendre le premier de ces deux *e* sonore? ou bien peut-on employer aussi l'accent grave? Nous ne trouvons point à ce sujet de règle fondée sur une base uniforme: il semble que l'usage seul, ait, au hasard, établi des différences. Ces mots sans doute se présentent rarement, nous pensons, tout au plus, qu'il faut s'abstenir d'en faire usage."

This last suggestion has at least the merit of being thorough, but the spirit of the present day will not admit of such a conclusion. I could cite numerous other instances of confused ideas on this subject; in fact, take up any grammar you choose, you will find, either that the matter is quietly passed over in silence or that the author says he can give you no fixed rule for your guidance. Indeed it would be hard for him to do so when, as before remarked, two such high authorities as the Academy and M. Littré are at variance regards certain verbs.

These examples prove clearly the confusion that reigns as to the proper way of writing some of these verbs, and it would seem

that no one up to this time had ever taken the trouble to enquire into the origin of this anomaly or tried to find a reason for this difference of orthography. Nothing, therefore, was left to me but to examine closely each verb in its origin and development, and by this means to find out what cause or causes had produced such a result. This examination has led me to the conclusion that it can only be ascribed to the influence of etymology.

These verbs are for the most part derived from the Latin, and at the time when the Academy published the first edition of its dictionary (in 1694), the influence of Latin among the literati was paramount; and at this epoch we find introduced into the language a whole host of new words formed almost without change from the written Latin. This, however, would prove nothing were not my conclusions substantiated by facts the consideration of which will enable the reader to judge whether this opinion is well grounded or not.

1. In the class of verbs of which *appeler* and *jeter* are the types and which double the consonant before mute *e*, I find eighteen derived directly from Latin verbs.¹ In every case the Latin verb has a double consonant in the infinitive.

2. On the other hand in the class of verbs such as *celer* and *acheter*, I find eleven derived directly from Latin verbs.² Of these only one has two *l*'s in the infinitive, and that is *encasteler*, a term of veterinary science derived from the Low-Latin *incastellare*, and a word not very often employed.

These facts in themselves, I think, are very strong proof that the etymology had a powerful influence on the different forms.

Admitting, then, that this principle accounts for the orthography of 18 verbs in the first class and 11 in the second, let us see now what we can do for the remainder. In the first class we have still 87 verbs to account for. Of these 64 are derived from diminutive forms and 6 are frequentatives, 15 are derived from nouns not

¹ e. g.: *appeler* derived from Latin *appellare*
atteler " " *astellare*
chanceler " " *cancellare*
jeter " " *jactare**

* the *c* being assimilated; ex. Ital. *gettare*, etc.

² e. g.: *celer* derived from Latin *celare*
geler " " *gelare*
acheter " " *adcaptare**

* the *p* being dropped and forming *acatare*, etc.

diminutives, and two from Keltic verbs. The Latin double-diminutives, as every one knows, were written with two *l*'s, as *auricilla*, *monticellus*. Hence it would follow according to the principle stated above, that verbs derived from these would also double the intermediary consonant in preference to accenting the *e*, where the pronunciation required it. The great number of diminutives contained in this class as compared with the second is, I think, a strong argument for my cause.

Of the 15 verbs derived from nouns, 9 of them have for roots feminine nouns, and 6 only have masculine forms. All the former terminate in a double consonant.

Passing to the second class, besides the 11 verbs already referred to, we find 13 diminutives and 3 frequentatives as against 64 and 6 respectively in the first class, also 4 verbs derived from nouns. Of these last *three* are masculine, and have only one consonant at the end, and *one* is feminine. Of the diminutives 11 are masculine nouns and two are feminine, which would lead us to believe that the tendency was to conjugate verbs derived from feminine nouns or from Latin diminutives as *appeler* and *jeter*, and derivatives of masculine nouns as *acheter* and *celer*.

From these figures, the result of a careful study of each verb, I think I am justified in saying that etymology is the cause which has determined the variations of orthography, and the fact that there are words which are conjugated in opposition to this principle does not in any way affect my argument. In the first place they are comparatively rare, and secondly their presence in the wrong class can be attributed to the confusion which exists among grammarians touching this question, (as shown by the extracts above given,) and which in the case of words for which usage and custom gave no rule, caused authors to employ either orthography as they themselves saw fit.

On the other hand if this was not the principle which guided the orthography it must be the pronunciation, as we cannot accept an empty word, *chance*, as a cause. This must have caused a preference for a double consonant after certain syllables and an accented *e* after others. But a casual glance at these verbs will suffice to show the fallacy of that argument. Why should *acheter*, for instance, have an accented *e*, while *cacheter* (the very same word phonetically) with a *c* prefixed, requires two consonants; or *appeler* take two *l*'s and *agnelet* employ an accented *e*? Were we to depend on the pronunciation as our guide we should find it

difficult to distinguish the difference between one orthography and another, as it would take a very fine ear indeed to observe any difference of sound in the last syllable of *j'appelle* and *je bourrile*, for instance. There is to-day another tendency which M. Littré notices in his dictionary, and which I have often observed personally, and that is to retain the mute *e* in all cases in some verbs and say *e. g. je cach'te, je cach'terai, je bourr'le, je bourr'lerai*, etc., which would add another class to our already complicated list.

I am, therefore, convinced, in the absence of proof positive to the contrary, that etymology is the sole principle which presided at the formation of these two different orthographies. These verbs should, therefore, be classed as follows :

I. All those derived from Latin verbs having *ll* or assimilated *ll* in the infinitive, or from Latin diminutives terminating in two consonants, or from feminine nouns, should belong to the first class and double the consonant before the mute *e*.

II. Those which are derived from Latin verbs having only one consonant preceding the termination of the infinitive, or from diminutives terminating in one consonant or from masculine nouns, should employ a grave accent before mute *e*.

The carrying out of this measure would involve a slight interchange from one class to another, but would have at least the merit of giving some guide as to which is the correct orthography for us to use, although it would suppose a knowledge of Latin and etymology which all do not possess.

On the other hand, although our philological sentiments could not countenance the overthrow of all principles of etymology and due development of the language, still it would simplify matters very much if the Academy, yielding to the demands of grammarians and others, should ordain that all these verbs be written alike one way or other. The principle which originally presided at the choice of either orthography has been so considerably overlooked already, and in fact so entirely unnoticed, that it would be no great change if it were completely banished ; whereas the advantage to the learner, both native and foreign, gained by this increased simplicity would more than compensate for the loss of an obsolete principle.

Having thus, as I believe, satisfactorily disposed of the first two classes, verbs of the third class, (my principle once admitted,) can readily be assigned, according to etymology, to their respective places, as also the 22 verbs which I was not able previously to classify.

It does not enter into my plan to treat of the two remaining classes which, in their conjugation, do not present the same difficulty as those I have endeavored to examine. I will simply state that, in my opinion, the 29 verbs which have an acute accent on the penult in the infinitive are to those which have double *l* or double *l'* in the infinitive in the same ratio as the verbs I have grouped in the second class are to those of the first. The study of the principle in these cases is one I should very much like to see taken up, as it would have an important bearing on the question which has occupied me in this paper.

B. F. O'CONNOR.

IV.—XENOPHON'S OECONOMICUS.¹

In the preface the writer tells us that he does not propose to set forth a complete recension of the text of the *Oeconomicus*, but to exhibit the dialogue in its original form, divested of those additions which have been foisted into it from early times. He thinks it can be proved that the book as it came from Xenophon has been worked over by some other hand in a very unskillful manner, and that every one who is capable of forming an unprejudiced judgment will agree with him.

Herr Lincke's mode of dealing with his author is peculiar. In the forty-six pages of his Greek text there is no indication of an omission anywhere, except that the small marginal figures used to mark chapters and sections do not run on without breaks. Not merely has he removed from their proper places in the text the passages which he deems interpolations, but the longest and most important of these is not even permitted to appear in the book at all. The amount of his excisions on the whole will be understood from the following calculation :

In the Teubner edition the *Oeconomicus* occupies 71 pages, containing in all 2205 lines, more or less. Herr Lincke has printed a text with these omissions :

cc.	III	1—vi	11	396	lines
	VIII	3—8		31	"
	XI	12—13		13	"
	XI	24		5	"
	XIV	4—7		18	"
	XV	4—9		26	"
	XX	6—9		16	"
	XXI			73	"
				<hr/>	
				578	

in all 578 lines out of 2205, or nearly a quarter of the whole.

¹Xenophons Dialog *περι οικονομίας* in seiner ursprünglichen Gestalt. Text und Abhandlungen von KARL LINCKE, Dr. Phil. Jena. 1879.

This is the treatise of which a critic so fastidious as Cobet (Nov. Lect., p. 568) can write, "venio nunc ad Xenophontis libellum quo non est alius ab eo nitidius venustiusque scriptus et magis expolitus et limatus," and of which George Long, the writer of the article in Smith's Dictionary, who would look at the matter from a point of view different from Cobet's, says "this is one of the best treatises of Xenophon," and which Grote can analyse without the slightest intimation that he finds it other than coherent and satisfactory. It happens, moreover, that we have unusually early evidence of the existence of our treatise in its traditional form. Cicero (de Off. II, § 87) speaks with admiration of the *Oeconomicus*, and says that in his youth he translated it into Latin. Parts of the suspected sections are quoted in the *Cato Major*: *Columella* quotes several other passages of Cicero's translation, some of them from the incriminated sections.

But it is not necessary to go into further detail to establish the unbroken tradition which defends the integrity of the treatise as we have it; for Herr Lincke himself admits that there is no evidence whatever of the existence at any time of a different edition of the work, and that it is certain that it must have been published before the expedition of Alexander the Great (334). Now, Xenophon died probably not earlier than 355; and we, therefore, have a period of less than twenty years within which the spurious passages, if there are such, must have been inserted. But the extreme improbability of a work's being tampered with so shortly after its publication, and the absolute want of evidence that the *Oeconomicus* ever existed as a published work in any other shape than that which it possessed till Herr Lincke took it to pieces, constrain him to adopt the theory that it was never published by Xenophon himself, but was found among his papers by the person into whose hands they came, and was given to the public after his death. Herr Lincke considers himself to have proved that this person was a mere beginner, as destitute of style as he was of practice, while even the chapters and sections added to this work show him to have improved as he went on. Still, notwithstanding the evident deficiencies which demonstrate that the interpolator belonged to a younger generation, his language betrays a near connexion with that of Xenophon himself, especially in those points which discriminate Xenophon's own style from that of the Attic classics. No teacher in Athens could have imparted such peculiarities. Nothing short of the influence of Xenophon's own individuality

could have produced such striking similarity in matter and manner. This exceeding similarity has indeed hitherto imposed upon all editors and interpreters; and we can explain it, as well as the author's familiarity with the Cyropaedia and his effort to work in Xenophon's own lines, only by the assumption that he was of kin to Xenophon, and received his earliest instruction from him. Since, further, there is no doubt that this young writer had in his possession several of Xenophon's works and undertook the editorial care of their publication, we may assert with considerable confidence that, as Xenophon's kinsman, he inherited his literary remains. The existence of such a kinsman is not left wholly to conjecture. There is a statement in Diogenes Laertius and another in Photius from which, it is said, it may be inferred that Xenophon's son Gryllus, who was killed before Mantinea, had a son named Xenophon after his grandfather. Diogenes Laertius speaks of a statement made by Deinarchus ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ξενοφῶντα ἀποστασίῳ; and Photius mentions a Xenophon, son of Gryllus, along with Theopompus and Ephorus, as among the pupils of Isocrates, by whom they were incited to the pursuit of historical study. Herr Lincke thinks the latter statement of importance as containing an intimation of the literary activity of the *younger* Xenophon.

Such is Herr Lincke's theory, in deference to which he has subjected the *Oeconomicus* to the treatment I have described. It will, I think, be admitted that this is a case, if ever there was one, in which the burden of proof rests upon the assailant. To one who desires to defend the integrity of the suspected passages no other course is open, or is needed, than to state with all possible fairness the arguments alleged against them, and in this way to leave the unprejudiced reader, to whom Herr Lincke constantly appeals, to decide for himself whether they are strong enough to support the conclusion built upon them.

Of the 114 pages devoted by Herr Lincke to his argument, 88 are taken up with criticism of the matter of the incriminated passages, which he endeavors to show are clumsy *emblemata*, foisted into the tissue of the dialogue, marring its symmetry, and standing in no organic relation to the genuine parts; the remaining 26 pages contain what he has to say as to the style and phraseology of the interpolator. It will be impossible for me, within the limits at my disposal, to touch upon more than the most important of these criticisms.

The dialogue in its traditional shape is divided by Herr Lincke into three portions. The first of these, cc. 1 and 2, contains the introduction. In c. 1 Critobulus and Socrates discuss the meaning of *οἰκονομία*, whether there can be said to be such a science, and what is its subject matter. No possession is of any value unless the owner knows how to use it for his advantage; but with this knowledge even enemies may be turned to profit. Unbridled passions, however, reduce a man to a state of slavery, in which no wealth and no knowledge of its advantageous use will be of any service. In c. 2 Critobulus asserts his own freedom from this degrading condition, but desires to learn what course of action will conduce to the augmentation of his property. He expresses the suspicion that Socrates may think him sufficiently rich already. To his surprise, however, Socrates tells him that while he considers himself to be rich enough, though his whole property would be dear at five minae, he regards Critobulus as poor, though his estate would bring at least a hundred times as much. He calls Critobulus' attention to the many expenses his position as a rich man entails upon him. If Socrates should himself come to want, his friends would, with a trifling contribution, set him on his legs again with what would be for him an abundance. But Critobulus' friends are always looking for favors from him. So that Socrates feels a real concern for Critobulus, *μη τι ἀνήκεστον κακὸν πάθη καὶ εἰς πολλὴν ἀπορίαν καταστῆ*. This leads Critobulus to entreat Socrates to act as his guide to the acquisition of wealth. Socrates points out that this request seems an absurd one for Critobulus to make, who had but now laughed at him for his ignorance in representing himself as rich while the wealthy Critobulus was poor. But Critobulus retorts that Socrates knows at least one *πλουτηρὸν ἔργον*, viz. *περιουσίαν ποιεῖν*. If he is able so to husband his little as to have more than he wants, he must surely be able to make a larger store yield a more ample abundance. Socrates, after protesting that he has had no property of his own to handle with a view to increase, and has never had that of any other persons intrusted to him to make experiments with, says that the case is not yet hopeless for Critobulus; for he will indicate to Critobulus others far more capable than himself to give instruction in what he is so anxious to learn from him: *ἐγὼ τοίνυν σοι δεῖξω ὅσα νῦν λιπαρεῖς παρ' ἐμοῦ μανθάνειν ποιοῦν ἄλλους ἐμοῦ δευτερώτους περὶ ταῦτα*. Socrates has, he confesses, had his attention strongly attracted by the fact that men who are engaged in the same lines of work pursue them with very different

results, some acquiring wealth and others falling into distress. On examining the cause of this surprising fact he was led to see that it came about quite naturally, *πάνυ οικείως*, and his observation had thus made him acquainted with the most conspicuous instances of successful enterprise in various departments to be found in the city: *ὁμολογῶ μεμεληχέναι μοι οὔτινες ἕκαστα ἐπιστημονέστατοί εἰσι τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει*. From these Socrates is sure that Critobulus might learn to become an able money-getter: *παρ' ὧν ἂν καὶ σέ οἶμαι, εἰ βούλοιο, μαθόντα, πάνυ ἂν δεῖνόν χρηματιστήν γενέσθαι*.

These words conclude the second chapter; I have quoted two or three lines of the Greek that it may be seen what it is Socrates undertakes to do. He has no practical knowledge of economical matters himself. He has, it is true, had his attention attracted by the variety in the fortunes of men engaged in the same enterprises; and the observation he has made has taught him in general that attention and care were rewarded by success and that negligent dealing brought its natural punishment with it, and has besides made him acquainted with the most successful practitioners in various walks of life. He offers to indicate these persons to Critobulus, whose wants would thus be supplied better than they could be supplied by Socrates himself. He does not undertake to give instruction himself, either immediately or mediately. The first three lines of c. 3, which Herr Lincke supposes to be genuine, are *Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Κριτόβουλος εἶπε, Νῦν τοι, ἔφη, ἐγὼ σε οὐκέτι ἀφήσω, ὦ Σώκρατες, πρὶν ἂν μοι δὲ ὑπέσχησαι ἐναντίον τῶν φίλων τουτωνὶ ἀποδείξῃς*. In view of all that has preceded, these words can mean nothing else than that Critobulus insists that their present group shall not break up till Socrates has indicated the persons to whom Critobulus should apply for instruction. There is not, so far as I can see, a syllable which could justify Critobulus in calling for or expecting the performance of Socrates' promise in any other sense.

When we again come upon the genuine dialogue, according to Herr Lincke's text (c. 6, § 12 of the ordinary one), we find Socrates saying: *τί οὖν, ὦ Κριτόβουλε, ἦν σοι ἐξ ἀρχῆς διηγήσωμαι ὡς συνεγενόμην ποτὲ ἀνδρὶ δὲ ἐμοὶ ἐδόκει εἶναι τῷ ὄντι τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐφ' οἷς τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα δικαίως ἐστὶν δὲ καλεῖται καλὸς τε καὶ ἀγαθὸς ἀνὴρ*. Critobulus assents, and then we hear no more of him, the rest of the book being taken up with a report by Socrates of a conversation he had once had with a certain Ischomachus. Herr Lincke's account (p. 52) of c. 3, 1, following on Critobulus' demand for

immediate satisfaction is this, "und dieser beginnt denn . . . den belehrenden Vortrag." And below he says that the second chapter contains the proof (1) that Critobulus needs instruction in good husbandry, and (2) "*auf welche Weise Socrates ihm die Belerung werde erteilen können.*" I think that these expressions indicate the fundamental mistake made by Herr Lincke. There is not, as I have said, a syllable that implies a promise on the part of Socrates to communicate instruction either derived from his own experience or imparted to him by others. All that Socrates undertakes to do is to indicate persons among the citizens who, he is assured by his observation of their success, must be able to teach others to follow their example. Herr Lincke supposes that the report of the long conversation with Ischomachus is the fulfilment of Socrates' promise, and is therefore naturally surprised that between Critobulus' demand for the immediate performance of it and the discourse which he assumes to be its fulfilment, Socrates should coolly, and without any protest on the part of Critobulus, intercalate a long discussion about various points of good husbandry amounting to three chapters and a half. Herr Lincke repeats again (p. 54) his summary of the introduction, "lässt sich *das Versprechen des Socrates* etwa so formuliren: Socrates, dem die eigne Erfahrung in der Erwerbskunde abgeht, erklärt sich *zum Ersatz dafür* und unter Zustimmung des Kritobulos bereit, *ihm die nötige Belerung durch Schilderung musterhafter Männer aus Athen zu erteilen.*" I maintain on the contrary that there is not a word to show that Socrates promised to do anything else for Critobulus than to indicate to him citizens from whom he could learn if he chose. In c. 3, § 1 foll. (of the received text), Socrates says he can point out persons who spend much money on building their houses and yet find them inconvenient, while others with a much smaller outlay have houses with every needful convenience. Some again he can indicate whose possessions are practically of no use to them from the disorderly way in which they are kept, while others have the full advantage of everything they possess, because they can lay their hands on them when they want them. Again men differ in a corresponding way in the handling of their slaves, in the management of their farms, of their horses, of their wives. As Socrates goes over these six points he is made to use such phrases as *ἐγὼ σε ἄξιω καὶ ἐπὶ τούτου, σὺ δὲ θεώμενος δήπου καταμαθήσει.* Of course, as Herr Lincke denies the genuineness of these sections, I cannot refer to these expressions as evidence of Xenophon's own statement

of his purpose. But it must be admitted that the interpolator would have understood the first two chapters as well as Herr Lincke, and he could not have intended in his additions to represent the promise of Socrates as different from what it was stated to be in the second chapter. Herr Lincke, on the contrary, interpreting Socrates' intention as I have described, finds in this enumeration of six points of good and bad husbandry a complete abandonment by Socrates of his professed purpose.

At the end of c. 3 Socrates says that he can, if Critobulus pleases, indicate to him successful practitioners of other branches (*τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιστημῶν*). But, c. 4, 1, Critobulus says that it would be useless to point out to him the means of acquiring all; he merely desires that Socrates will indicate the best and the most suitable for *him*, and do what he can to help him by teaching him himself. Socrates then goes on to exclude from consideration the mechanical trades (*αἱ βαναυσικαί*), and when Critobulus asks him *ἡμῖν δὴ ποίαις συμβουλεύεις χρῆσθαι*, replies that they need not be ashamed to imitate the Persian king who is said to set the highest value on the arts of war and of agriculture. And the remainder of the fourth chapter is taken up with an account of the system by which the Persian arrangements conduce to the highest cultivation of the soil; and we have the story of the visit of Lysander to Cyrus the younger and the account of the prince's personal labors in his garden, which is translated by Cicero in his *Cato Major* (c. 17). At the beginning of c. 5, Socrates tells Critobulus that the reason of his narrating this story is that he might prove *ὅτι τῆς γεωργίας οὐδ' οἱ πάνυ μακάριοι δύνανται ἀπέχεσθαι*. And he then proceeds to enumerate many of the advantages of an agricultural life, at the end of c. 5 insisting that it is as necessary to secure the favor of the gods for success in the cultivation of the ground as it is in warlike enterprises. In c. 6, Critobulus assents to this, but begs Socrates to return from his digression and pursue the subject of economy proper, as he thinks he has a clearer view now of the proper mode of life. Socrates then proposes that they should first review what they had so far agreed to, and this leads us to c. 6, § 12, where Herr Lincke allows that the genuine dialogue is continued. I shall give as briefly as I can the chief points of his criticism on these chapters, premising that I shall omit nothing which seems to me of greater weight than what I cite.

Herr Lincke objects (p. 57) that in these chapters we have an independent statement of Socrates' own views on various points of

good management and the most important occupations, notwithstanding his former refusal to give any instruction himself on the ground of ignorance of the subject (p. 57). "Ist es nicht ungeheimt, dass er trotz dieser Weigerung weiter docirt? Wie lächerlich ist die gedankenlose Anmasung, dass er unmittelbar nach seinem Geständnis über seine Unerfahrenheit in der Oekonomie nichts destoweniger seine eigne Meinung über wirtschaftliche Angelegenheiten an den Mann zu bringen sucht." On his remarks on the proper age for buying horses and their management, we are asked, "klingt das nicht wie Sachkenntnis und eigne Erfahrung?" I need make no remarks on Herr Lincke's apparent incapacity to appreciate the irony of Socrates.

Then he finds a similar contradiction (p. 58) in the allusion to the Persian king. Was it not the *ἐπιστημονέστατος τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει* from whom he has said that Critobulus could learn? After this, when Socrates says (4, 4) *ἀρα μὴ αἰσχυνθῶμεν τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα μιμήσασθαι*, "diese Worte müssen jeden, der auf den Zusammenhang achtet, in gerechtes Erstaunen versetzen." If the author intended to make this reference to the Persian king, and to pronounce a panegyric on his arrangements, why did he direct attention so pointedly to Athenians? It is strange that Herr Lincke has not noticed here that the mention of the Persian king's attention to agriculture is introduced merely to show Critobulus that such attention is respectable: to prove that *τῆς γεωργίας οὐδ' οἱ πάντο μακάριον δύνανται ἀπέχεσθαι* (c. 5, 1). Whatever may be thought of some of the details of this episode, it is not in the smallest degree inconsistent with anything that has preceded it. It is impossible for me to follow in detail all that Herr Lincke alleges as to the want of coherence between what he assumes to have been Socrates' promise and the actual contents of these chapters. He uses the strongest expressions to do justice to his sense of incongruity: "passt-wiedie Faust aufs Auge" (p. 60): "so besteht denn in allem was die Form der Darstellung betrifft ein tiefgehender, schroffer Widerspruch zwischen der Erklärung die Socrates in der Einleitung gegeben hat und der hierauf unternommenen Behandlung des Themas" (p. 62). Socrates has taken the liberty of putting forward his own knowledge and to support it with unsuitable examples. Still we can see that the author of the interpolation has tried to disguise his handiwork by using expressions which may have the appearance "als stehe alles in gutem Zusammenhang." Herr Lincke then proceeds at great length to show how unsuited the doctrine expressed by

Socrates in these chapters is to the needs of Critobulus. We have been told in the first and second chapters that Critobulus needs instruction as to the use of his property so as to increase it: only to him who knows how to use his goods are they really χρήματα. But he is a householder. We learn from 1, 8-13, and also from 2, 11, that horses, land, sheep and money are the objects from which gain is made. "Auf Landbau, Viehzucht, Capitalanlage und ähnliche Dinge hat sich also die Belerung im gegebenen Falle zu richten—*aber auch zu beschränken*" (p. 63). We cannot, therefore, be surprised that Herr Lincke thinks that the description of the mixed agricultural and military arrangements of the Persians can have no instructive interest for Critobulus; therefore "es fehlt dem ganzen Abschnitt die organische Bestimmung" (p. 67). Wholly inappropriate and useless is the reference to Cyrus the younger and the account of Lysander's visit to him. Critobulus can derive not the slightest benefit from this. It was of no use to hold up before him the example of Cyrus' personal labors in his garden, for he needs no such stimulus. His disposition has been already shown to be excellent. "Alles dies zeigt uns nicht Socrates als Lerer der Erwerbskunde, sondern ein Wirrkopf, der nicht weis was er seinem Zuhörer schuldig ist" (p. 69). Again, in regard to the details of the panegyric on agriculture in c. 5, Herr Lincke finds himself equally dissatisfied. In § 1 Socrates attributes to the exercise of it ἡδονήθειά τις καὶ οἴκου ἀύξεσις καὶ σωμάτων ἄσκησις. But this order of treatment is not followed in the chapter; and besides other matters are intruded, as in § 3 the mention of the supply of material for sacrifice to the gods. "Es liegt auf der Hand, dass die Gaben des Landes, welche zu Opfern verwendet werden, nicht als Gegenstände des Genusses oder des Gewinnes für den Menschen aufzufassen sind" (p. 71). After pointing out more of such infelicities, he concludes: "das Ganze macht überhaupt von Anfang bis zu Ende den Eindruck einer Reihe schlecht geordneter und nicht immer treffender Einfälle" (p. 72). It is, he thinks, a prime fault of all this discourse that it contains no practical suggestions. The remarks of Socrates seem not to be addressed to Critobulus, who can derive no benefit from the bare assertion that agriculture procures much pleasure and profit: "es hat vielmer den Anschein, als sei die Absicht einem unerfahrenen jungen Manne, der nicht recht weis welche Beschäftigung er wol am besten ergreifen soll, Interesse für die Landwirthschaft einzuflösen" (p. 73). Herr Lincke here expresses, in my judgment, the exact truth; but whereas he con-

siders that a discourse of this character is self-condemned where it stands, with my view of the circumstances of the case it needs no justification.

Herr Lincke then has some remarks upon the recapitulation at the beginning of c. 6. It is not, I confess, as complete as one might expect, and it mentions one conclusion as having been reached which is not found in the previous chapters. But this difficulty has troubled all the commentators, who make various attempts to set matters straight. It is not, therefore, worth while to follow Herr Lincke in his discussion of the shortcomings of this passage, as he only differs from others in the greater minuteness of his examination and in the violence of his remedy. It is indeed remarkable that Herr Lincke in all his criticism, both of the ill-adjustment of the parts of the dialogue to each other and of shortcomings in regard to phraseology and syntax, appears never to think that a lighter remedy than total expulsion of the offending passage might be resorted to.

I must pass lightly over the rest of Herr Lincke's remarks on these chapters. As he has complained of their want of proper subordination to the beginning of the dialogue as he understands it, so he takes further offence at the fact that in some respects they anticipate the discourse of Ischomachus, which forms the latter portion of it. He thinks that no one can believe that Socrates would have delivered this pitiful cento of remarks while he had firm in his recollection the original and well ordered utterance of Ischomachus and intended presently to repeat it in full. But surely it is a perfectly natural supposition to imagine that Socrates may have had at first no intention of recounting his conversation with Ischomachus, and may have been led on by the interest of Critobulus to do more than he purposed. I do not think it is at all necessary to make this supposition: I only suggest it to call attention to the flimsy character of Herr Lincke's reasoning. Herr Lincke attacks particularly the remarks introduced about the Persian king. There is indeed in this passage one fault which it is quite impossible that Xenophon can have committed. After his speaking of Cyrus the elder, certain remarks are introduced about the younger Cyrus without any indication that the persons were different. This difficulty has, however, engaged the attention of the commentators before, and been variously dealt with. Schenkl thinks that two sections, 18 and 19, are an interpolation which they are exceedingly likely to be, as they contain two generations with almost verbal

exactness from the Anabasis), and that when these crept into the text the context was mutilated and altered to suit them. But beyond this Herr Lincke thinks that Xenophon could never have represented Socrates, whom he must have heard discourse before he joined Cyrus' expedition in 401, as possessed of a knowledge of Persian customs which he himself only acquired during the Cyreian expedition; and he could not but feel how inadequate a guarantee for affairs in Persia Socrates must have seemed, who had hardly ever passed beyond the limits of his own country. But, says Herr Lincke, even granting that Xenophon might possibly have committed this absurdity of making Socrates pose as an authority on Persian matters, he certainly would not have represented him as uttering what was false and perverse. The ground of this attack is that in speaking of the officers in charge of the various duties of raising and dispensing the revenues, of controlling the troops, etc., the word *οἱ ἄρχοντες* is not used in one exclusive meaning. It is true that Cobet (N. L. p. 574) has bracketed this word twice, but merely, as he says, because "sententiam onerat." Herr Lincke finds it intolerable that it should not have been used as the technical name of one grade of officers. He is also offended that Socrates is made to say that when these officers are found inefficient the king *παύων τῆς ἀρχῆς ἄλλους ἐπιμελητάς καθίστησι*, because in Cyr. VIII 1, 9, Xenophon "*die ἐπιμεληταί als untergeordnete Beamte genannt und ihre Functionen definiert hat*" (p. 90). It is worth while to quote this passage from the Cyropaedia that we may see with what degree of precise definition of rank the word is used there. *Κύρος δ' ἐπὶ μὲν τὰλλα καθίστη ἄλλους ἐπιμελητάς, καὶ ἦσαν αὐτῷ καὶ προσόδων ἀποδεκτῆρες καὶ δαπανημάτων δοτῆρες καὶ ἔργων ἐπιστάται καὶ κτημάτων φύλακες καὶ τῶν εἰς τὴν διαίταν ἐπιτηδεῖων ἐπιμεληταί· καὶ ἵππων δὲ καὶ κυνῶν ἐπιμελητάς καθίστη οὓς ἐνόμιζε καὶ ταῦτα τὰ βοσκήματα βέλτιστ' ἂν παρέχειν αὐτῷ χρῆσθαι.* I think that no one, who had not a case to make out, would imagine that in these passages the words *ἄρχοντες* and *ἐπιμεληταί* were used in a technical sense at all. Herr Lincke himself refers to two passages in the Cyropaedia (VIII 1, 6; 6, 14) in which the term *ἄρχοντες* is used for *σατράπαι*, but only for the more certain establishment of his thesis here: for it seems he has in another treatise proved that these passages are also interpolations, the work, as he believes, of the same unprincipled grandson. He does not find it possible to describe, except in general terms, the motives which can have influenced this misguided youth thus to disfigure with his senseless

and clumsy interpolations the well adjusted scheme of Xenophon. He can say no more than that he "den Inhalt des Gespräches durch allerlei Notizen zu bereichern und durch dialogisch-rhetorische Redeübungen zu verschönern gesucht hat" (p. 92). Xenophon, it seems, had had some influence over the young man's style. We can only regret that the moral training which, no doubt, he received had an effect on his subsequent conduct so much more feeble than could be desired.

I shall pass over without special remark the shorter interpolations which follow, which betray, according to Herr Lincke, either contradictions of what we find in the genuine book, or senseless repetitions for which the interpolator betrays "ebensoviel Vorliebe als Ungeschick" (p. 97). I must, however, say something about the last chapter (21), which is expunged entirely. The contents of this chapter are as follows: Socrates congratulates Ischomachus on his successful vindication of the merits of agriculture as a pursuit, *ὡς εἶ τῇ ὑποθέσει ἔλον τὸν λόγον βοηθοῦντα παρέσχησαι*. Ischomachus replies that in every sort of activity the quality of aptness for command, *τὸ ἀρχικὸν εἶναι*, is that which most discriminates one man from another; and he illustrates this position by the different behavior and different influence of shipmasters and generals, as they are or are not fit for command. To the whole of this chapter, as well as to its details, Herr Lincke has serious objections to make. It has clearly undergone some hard usage at the hands of transcribers. This may be indicated by the fact that one passage is, as it stands, unintelligible, and that Cobet has made some ten suggestions of emendation in it. I shall confine myself, therefore, to Herr Lincke's objections to the matter of the chapter. He thinks the illustrations taken from commanders on land and at sea flat and trivial, and is sure that the interpolator borrowed from the *Cyropaedia*. He can see no point in the remark that the well-managed crew come ashore reeking with sweat while the others *land ἀνδροῶσι*, because the sweat could be no advantage to the former nor the want of it punishment to the latter (p. 128). He cannot understand any reason why the lazy crew should hate the commander who has not succeeded in making them work. The disparagement of personal advantages and of distinguished excellence in military exercises, in comparison with the capacity to inspire courage and a spirit of obedience, appears to him "völlig sinnlos." He points to *Anab.* I 9, 5, where we are told that Cyrus the younger excelled in horsemanship and the use of arms; but he does not

refer to An. II 6, in which the merits of Clearchus as a commander are depicted, especially his ability *ἐμποιῆσαι τοῖς παροῦσιν ὡς πειστέον εἶη Κλεάρχῳ*, but not a word is said of his superiority in military exercises. All this shows, Herr Lincke thinks, that the author of the chapter was entirely destitute of warlike experience. "Der Verfasser war offenbar ohne militärisches Verständnis und kriegerische Erfahrung" (p. 128). He cannot understand how it can be possible that a master should be armed with full power of reward and punishment, and yet fail in making his dependents eager to do their best under his eye. What more can a master have? he asks. It is inconceivable that Ischomachus can have indicated an opposition between one governor so equipped with full powers and another who is able to inspire his subordinates with a desire to do their duty. "Mir scheint diese Annahme rein aus der Luft gegriffen und das durch den Gegensatz bezeichnete Verhältnis praktisch undenkbar" (p. 129). He thinks, moreover, that for Ischomachus, after he has in the genuine part of the dialogue described the way in which he himself secured obedience and hearty work from his people, to say here that the possession of such a power is *ἔχειν τὴν βασιλικὴν* would be "ein hässliches Selbstlob" (p. 126). And in general he finds the praise of this quality of capacity for rule altogether excessive. It was only *one* of the five qualities mentioned in cc. 12-15 as needed in the *ἐπίτροπος*, and why should it be here singled out and exalted above the knowledge of what has to be done, which is really the principal thing in agriculture as in everything else? Ischomachus has told us himself (13, 2) that a steward ignorant of what needed to be done would be as useless as a physician who should be regular in visiting his patients but should be unable to prescribe for them. Is it then conceivable that he should here at the end of the dialogue insist so strongly on the possession of a capacity for command? "Es ist kein passendes Schlusswort, sondern ein unnützes Anhängsel" (p. 125)? Now, in all this, which Herr Lincke thinks so foreign to what we might expect, Grote (Plato III, p. 571) finds the most characteristic traces of Xenophon's handiwork; and goes on to show how Xenophon's own experience must have turned his attention peculiarly to the difficulty of ensuring steady obedience from subordinates, and to the conditions by which such difficulty might be overcome. We see, therefore, that the very remarks which seem to Herr Lincke to betray a writer wholly without military experience, appear to Grote as the ripest fruit of lifelong observation of the conditions of success in the most important affairs.

The resource which a defender of the genuineness of the attacked passages would naturally resort to, of quoting expressions of similar sentiment from Xenophon's other writings, is in the present case hardly available. For it either turns out that Herr Lincke himself, or some one else working on the same critical lines, has proved the spuriousness of the passages one desires to cite; or that these passages are referred to as evidently the ones which the interpolator of the *Oeconomicus* had under his eye when he perpetrated his forgeries. Thus Herr Lincke discredits this 21st chapter on the ground that it is borrowed from the *Cyropaedia* (I 6, 20, 21; III 1, 20, 28; I 1, 6). It is indeed true that precisely the same sentiments are there expressed in different language. But if the passage in the *Oeconomicus* is to be discredited on this account, so must also considerable portions of *Anab.* I 9, be expunged for the same reason. To illustrate the minuteness of Herr Lincke's comparative method: he finds that the mention by Ischomachus (c. 9, 6), in his instruction to his wife as to the advantages of order and putting everything in its own place, of *ὑποδήματα γυναικεία, ὑποδήματα ἀνδρῆα* was in the eye of the interpolator of *Cyr.* VIII 2, 5, where, among other instances of the division of labor in a great city we are told, *ἀλλ' ὑποδήματα ποιεῖ ὁ μὲν ἀνδρῆα ὁ δὲ γυναικεία*. The advice of Ischomachus to his wife to abstain from the use of rouge and other means of making herself appear handsomer than nature had made her has, it seems, been utilized by the interpolator of *Cyr.* VIII 1, 40, in which we are told that Cyrus thought it worth while for himself and his great officers to impose by such artifices on the minds of the lower orders. On the other hand the illustration of the advantages and the beauty of good order from the movements of a chorus is genuine in the *Cyropaedia* (I 6, 18), and borrowed from it by the interpolator of the *Oeconomicus* (c. 8, 3).

I have now given, as I think, a fair account of Herr Lincke's arguments against the genuineness of portions of the *Oeconomicus*, so far as they are grounded on matter and arrangement. I now proceed to consider as briefly as I can his objections to the style and diction of the incriminated passages. Here again the natural mode of defending them is forestalled by Herr Lincke, who says that, inasmuch as it has been proved that the interpolator was a younger contemporary of Xenophon, and must have been in the most intimate relations with him, and have taken great pains to imitate him, it cannot surprise us to find a certain similarity between his diction and that of the genuine Xenophon. And he then proceeds

to enumerate some seventy-five words or expressions which are notably Xenophontian; and then he gives a shorter list of points of agreement, not with Xenophon himself, but with the Attic usage of the period. But the inference which an unwary reader might be disposed to draw from this similarity is rudely checked by the statement that in the interpolated passages altogether there are no less than fifty-seven words not elsewhere found in Xenophon. This seems at first sight a formidable fact; but the force of it is at once reduced by Herr Lincke himself who says, (a) that several of them are unobjectionable as being evidently the words required by the passages in which they occur; (b) that others are clearly formed on the analogy of Xenophontian words; (c) others are due to the subject of the digressions in which they occur, as *κωμωδός*, *τραγωδός*, *κόκλιος* *χυρός*, *ἐμπλεῖν*, etc. But making all allowance for these deductions, the interpolator betrays a want of restraint which a good writer would not exhibit. In his criticism here Herr Lincke does not seem to recognize as one of the characteristics of Xenophon's diction a fondness for poetic and epic expressions, a remark which Cobet makes more than once. I just mention in the order in which they come a few of the words to which exception is taken: *ἀτερπής* (Thucyd.), *εὐμάρεια* (poet. and Plat.), *σκιατραφεῖσθαι* (Hdt. and Plat.), *κακοποιεῖν*, which occurs in Aesch., Aristoph., and also, I was going to say, in Xen. Mem. III 5, 26; but my petty triumph is at once wrested from me by the observation that Herr Lincke has himself noted this fact, but concludes that "es ist nur ein Beweis für die Unechtheit dieser Stelle"—i. e. of the Memorabilia (p. 143). The interpolator is inordinately fond of using compounds where a practised writer would have contented himself with the simple word, e. g. *ἀποικεῖν* *πρόσω*, which Eurip. has, and Thucyd. with *μακράν*: *κατακλουτίζειν*, *καταχερδαίνειν* (which last Cobet expressly justifies, N. L. p. 574, as here required by the meaning), and others of the same character. He thinks that in hardly one is the preposition of any perceptible use, and is convinced that the employment of them is due merely to the desire to give an appearance of strength to the style. I have myself gone over with some care the genuine parts of the dialogue to see if they did not betray analogous phenomena with the interpolated ones. My conclusion is that on this ground there is no sort of reason for attributing them to a different author. I will only mention one or two points. In c. 9, 3, Ischomachus, speaking of the designed adaptation of various apartments in his house to the things they were to be

occupied by, uses the expression ὥστε αὐτὰ ἐκάλει τὰ πρέποντα ἐνὶ ἐκάστῳ, and in the next paragraph he uses παραλαεῖν in the same connection. The word χερσεύειν is used in c. 5, 17 (spurious), in the sense of 'to lie barren or waste.' And it appears to be used only by Xenophon and only in this book. Why then has not Herr Lincke mentioned it among his notes of forgery? I suggest that the reason may be that it occurs again in the same sense in the genuine chapter 16, 5.

After his criticism of the diction, Herr Lincke passes to the grammar. In no case, so far as I have observed, does he give the unfortunate writer the benefit of the supposition that he may have been misreported by his transcribers. It is just to these matters that Cobet has devoted thirty-three pages of his *Novae Lectiones*, his suggestions being distributed impartially over the genuine as well as the spurious portions. To take a single instance: we find in 21, 8, μέγας τῷ ὄντι οὗτος ἀνὴρ, ὅς ἄν—δύνηται, on which Herr Lincke notes the omission of the article with ἀνὴρ. But Cobet remarks, "loci artificiose compositi concinnitas postulat ut scribatur μέγας τῷ ὄντι οὗτος ἄν εἶη ὅς ἄν χ. τ. λ." Many of Herr Lincke's defects have been eliminated from the text by emendations as certain as this. Of others it may be said that, supposing them to be errors, they would have been as impossible to the assumed fabricator as to Xenophon himself, or as it would be to a well-educated American youth to write 'I was going to home,' unless he purposely violated what his ear must have told him was the correct rule. As a single instance: he points to ἐν τῷ ἄστυ in the spurious 5, 4, whereas in the genuine 11, 18 we have the normal εἰς ἄστυ without the article. Now, the use of ἄστυ without the article was either established or it was not. If the expressed article was so rigorously forbidden by usage that the use of it, as in the above passage, could not be defended by the immediately preceding and contrasted ἐν τῷ χώρῳ, then this usage must have been as much a matter of instinct with the supposed Xenophon the younger as it was with his grandfather, and the insertion of the article must be due to the ignorance of a copyist. Again Herr Lincke refers to the use of σύν and μετά. I am not sure that I quite understand him here. He finds in certain spurious sections the use of σύν to μετά as 5 : 2. But T. Mommsen has established that the ratio was as 2 : 1. We must therefore conclude that we have here a suspicious approximation to poetical language and not a correspondence with the usage of Xenophon. All such reasoning seems to me to the last degree hazardous. He

complains further that we find in 21, 7, ἐμποιῆσαι τοῖς στρατιώταις ἀκολουθητέον εἶναι instead of, as in Anab. II 6, 8, ὡς πειστέον εἶη, remarking that it was only by a degradation of meaning, similar to that of *efficere* from Cicero on, that ἐμποιεῖν could be used with the infinitive. This he thinks was not possible for Xenophon. But we find in 15, 1, which is genuine, ἐπειδὴν ἐμποιήσης τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι. As this stands in Lincke's text I can see no difference between it and the assailed construction of 21. It is true that here Schenkl, after Heindorf, inserts τὸ before ἐπιμελεῖσθαι; but this is apparently only to restore symmetry with a preceding clause, and not from any doubt as to the construction.

It is impossible in the great number of similar observations that Herr Lincke adduces to do more than pick out one here and there. His opinion is that the interpolator improved as he went on: "übri-gens ist das 5te Capitel schon besser geschrieben als das 4te." But if one may form a judgment from the number of emendations Cobet has found desirable, the last chapter is the worst in the book.

As I have not wittingly left unmentioned any criticism of greater weight than those I have adduced, I think it must be admitted that the case made out by Herr Lincke is not a strong one. I recognize to the fullest extent the learning he has displayed and feel that the labor he has expended, if it had a more hopeful object, would deserve all praise. But I must be allowed to say that I consider we have in Herr Lincke's book a good specimen, only slightly exaggerated, of the kind of work on which an undue portion of German energy and German learning is expended. There seems to exist there a perfect mania for *athetesis*. Whether the existence of it is due in any degree to the demand for novelty in the subjects chosen for doctoral dissertations, I will not take upon me to decide. But it has, I think, certainly reached the proportions of a plague, and one which grows by what it feeds on. On this point Cobet remarks (Mnem. VII, p. 263), "ubi semel huiusmodi opinio (de falsitate librorum) subiit animum et quis suspiciosius tentat omnia an forte vitium sonent, facile reperiuntur quae eam suspicionem alant et confirment, unde tandem exoritur τὸ ἀδαμαντίνως πεπεῖσθαι, quod mentis aciem praestringit et occaecat." Herr Lincke believes that not the *Oeconomicus* alone, but also the *Memorabilia*, the *de venatione*, and in all probability the *Cyropaedia* were published not by Xenophon himself but by the heir who took charge of his literary remains; and he tells us it yet remains a task for criticism to undertake to ascertain, from the interpolations

which have been or are to be detected in these works and which all are doubtless of the same paternity, what was the literary capacity of the editor. This disease is unfortunately not confined to the Germans. It is sometimes taken in a virulent form by foreign students who are subjected to the same influence. I find, for instance, in a doctoral dissertation of a learned young American, which treats another famous author in a way analogous to Herr Lincke's dealing with the *Oeconomicus*, a protest against the *socordia* of the poor creature who maintains that what has hitherto passed as the genuine work of an author must be regarded as genuine till it has been proved to be spurious; and he then announces this statement: "gravior est eius culpa qui poetæ famam obscurat unum spurium verum defendens quam eius qui illum duobus bonis et genuinis privat." I confess this doctrine appears to me portentous.

How different is this rule of criticism from that which is recommended by the veteran August Boeckh. The pages in which he discusses the principles of the higher criticism; the jealousy with which he guards the rights of an author to his own work; the cautious discrimination which he insists upon as the first duty of a scholar who undertakes to question the genuineness of a book or a passage, seem to me to embody a doctrine as unlike as possible to that I have just quoted; and the concluding words of one of his chapters appear to recommend the very opposite spirit in approaching such questions. "Wir müssen immer von der Tradition ausgehen und versuchen, ob sich die unverdächtigen positiven Zeugnisse für den Ursprung einer Schrift durch combinatorische Kritik bestätigen und vervollständigen lassen. Wo das Urtheil irgend wie schwankend ist, gilt der Grundsatz: quivis præsumitur genuinus liber, donec demonstretur contrarium." Contrast these words with a dictum of the writer I have just quoted. "neque justus erga poetam est qui omnia genuina esse affirmat usquedum spuria demonstrantur." Can any two principles of procedure be more diametrically opposed to each other?

The genuineness of the 3d book of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* was also denied on similar grounds by Rose and others. On this proceeding L. Spengel remarks, "nam tertius liber, quem nostratum quidam et temere et inepte Aristotelis esse negant, si quis alius ingenuus philosophi nostri foetus est. V. Rose a discipulo tertium additum esse dicit, iam de universa hac rhetorica ab Aristotele profecta dubitat: hæc est nostræ ætatis ars critica."

C. D. MORRIS.

V.—THE FOURTH PLAY IN THE TETRALOGY.

The recent¹ publication of a papyrus containing, among other things, a fragment of a lost play of Euripides, has led to a discussion of the question whether Euripides did not write dramas, or at least one drama, based upon occurrences of private life, to take the place of a satyr-drama. *Apropos* of this discussion I purpose to investigate the nature and the metrical structure of the two extant dramas which occupy the fourth place in a tetralogy—the Cyclops² and the Alcestis.

1. The iambic trimeter of the satyr-drama proper, as exhibited in the Cyclops, presents nothing peculiar; that is to say, each of its features is found either in the tragic or in the comic trimeters. But it does not admit all the comic licenses, and yet certain portions of the play approach more nearly to the comic than to the tragic form. Other portions, however, conform rigorously to the tragic restrictions. For convenience, although they are well known to all, I shall briefly state the chief points in which the comic differs from the tragic trimeter. (1) Resolutions of the *θέσις* are not subject to the same limitations. (2) Elision and crasis are less restricted. (3) Comedy prefers liveliness, and hence does not allow quantity by the weak position. (4) It admits a (so-called) dactyl in the fifth place. (5) It admits the anapaest not only in the first place, but also in the next four places. (6) It frequently neglects caesura. (7) It disregards the Porsonic law. Let us now see how it is with the Cyclops. (1) Resolutions do not materially differ from those of the later Euripidean tragedy. (2) The same is true of elision and crasis. (3) Quantity by weak position is admitted, but more sparingly, perhaps, than in tragedy. (4) The dactyl is not tolerated in the fifth place. (5) The anapaest is sparingly employed in all the places but the last. This point demands a brief discussion. Disregarding the anapaest in the first

¹ For a notice of the papyrus, and the discussion based upon it, see the report of the Rheinisches Museum and the Revue de Philologie in this Journal, present number.

² In giving names of *plays*, I employ the Latin form; otherwise, I transcribe the Greek.

place and in proper names in any place (tragic privileges), we find from Dindorf's text the following results: (a) In the second place six instances of anapaest: vv. 272, 546, 562, 588, 647, 684. In v. 260 there was an instance of it which Heath removed. Dindorf accepts the emendation, and yet in his *De Metris Scenicorum* he counts this among the examples of anapaest *quae certa haberi possint*. The example also in v. 546 is by no means certain. Παριών, 'passing by,' for παρών, 'coming up' (a very familiar sense) is surely unnecessary. In v. 334 one reading gives an anapaest, but the passage is doubtful. (b) In the third foot we find only one example (v. 234), which should perhaps be removed by writing ἐξεφροῦντο for ἐξεφροῦντο, as in Troad. 647, where occurs εἰσεφροῦμην. (c) In the fourth place occur five examples: vv. 154, 232, 558, 560, 566. Three of these are μὰ Δι' ἀλλ' (bis) and μὰ Δι' οὐ. (d) In the fifth place occur five examples: vv. 242, 274, 582, 637, 646. Now in the entire play there are 588 iambic trimeters. Of these, Odysseus, sustaining the reputation of χροτάλιον, utters 232. For a reason given below I leave these out of the count. Omitting only the example in v. 260—the only example in a speech of Odysseus—I here present a comparative view of the remaining 356 trimeters and the first 356 trimeters of Aristoph. *Aves*:

	Anapaest in 2nd,	3rd,	4th,	5th.	Dactyl in 5th.	
Cyclops	...	6,	1,	5,	5,	... 0
Aves	...	55,	9,	16,	14,	... 10

It is needless to comment on this disparity.

(6) The comic verse frequently dispenses with main caesura. In the Cyclops, on the contrary, there is no trimeter without a main caesura of some sort or other. As this proposition may seem bold, I shall examine all the apparent instances of neglected caesura.¹

¹ In Dindorf's text we find:

- (a) 9: οὐ μὰ Δι', ἐπεὶ καὶ σκῆλ' | ἔδειξα Βακχῶ
 32: καὶ νῦν τὰ προσταχθέντ' | ἀναγκαιῶς ἔχει
 94: ἀλλ' ἴσεν γὰρ ῥιγροσὺ', | ἴν' ἐκτινώμεθα
 229: ἐπὶ τοῖ: τις εἰς σὺν κρᾶτ' | ἐτυκτεσεν, ῥέρον
 252: ἄλλοι πρὸς ἄντρα ταῦτ' | ἀσκαντο ξεῖνοι
 288: μὴ τῆλις πρὸς ἄντρα ταῦτ' | ἀσκαμένους ξεῖνοτες
 304: ἄλλης δὲ Ποικίλου γὰρ | ἐχρήρωσ' Ἑλλάδα
 321: οὐκ οἶδ' ὅτι Ζεὺς ἴστ' | ἐμῶ ἀρεσσωσιν θεός
 423: καὶ δὴ πρὸς ὠχὸς εἰσπ'· | ἐγὼ δ' ἔπει, χεῖνω
 427: σιγῆ, σε σώσαι κάμ', | εἰάν δουλῆ, θέλω
 450: πῶς δεῖ: σοοσὺν τοῖ σ' ὄντ' | ἀσκανομεν πάλαι

(a) In all the eighteen examples of the first group (a) in the foot-note, we have diaeresis with elision at the end of the third foot, *i. e. quasi-caesura*. I have shown in an article on Elision, Transactions Am. Phil. Assoc. for 1879, that *quasi-caesura* must be recognized as a valid substitute for main caesura.

(b) In the next group (b) it will be observed that there is a caesura in the third foot and also diaeresis at its end, the sense seeming to indicate the diaeresis as the place for a pause. But the *θέσεις* of the third foot is in every instance resolved. Now, the effect of a resolved *θέσεις* is almost to force the reciter to pass quickly on to the next foot; and, although a punctuation point sometimes immediately follows, the sense does not demand an actual pause, but sometimes rather the contrary, as in v. 28, *νέα νέοι*, and in v. 203, *τί τάδε; τίς ἡ βραθυμία;* In this verse all the points lose their pause in the same way. Whether this explanation appears satisfactory or not, the phenomenon is a common one in the tragedies of Euripides, where a verse entirely without main caesura is almost unknown. In such verses the caesura is not a pause at all, but serves as a *vinculum* to hold the two members

- 545: τί δῆτα τὸν κρατῆρ' | ὀπισθὲ μου τίθης
 555: ναὶ μὰ Δι', ἐπεὶ μοῦ φησ' | ἐρᾶν ὄντος καλοῦ
 561: ἀπομυκτέον δέ σοι γ', | ὅπως λήψει πνεῖν
 586: ναὶ μὰ Δι', ὃν ἀρπάξω γ' | ἐγὼ 'κ τοῦ Δαρδάνου
 600: λαμπρὸν πυρώσας ὄμμ' | ἀπαλλάχθηθ' ἀπαξ
 668: σταθεῖς φάραγγος τῆσδ' | ἐναρμύσω χέρας
- (b) 6: ἐνδέξιός σῶ | ποδὶ παρασπιστῆς γεγώς
 28: νέμονσι μήλα | νέα νέοι πεφυκότες
 88: τεύχη φέρουσι | κενὰ, βορᾶς κεχηρημένοι
 99: τί χρῆμα; Βρομίον | πόλιν εὐοιγμεν ἐσβαλεῖν
 160: χάλα τὸν ἄσκον | μόνον· ἔα τὸ χρυσίον
 203: ἀνεχε, πάρεχε, τί | τάδε; τίς ἡ βραθυμία
 343: πῦρ καὶ πατρῶων | τόδε λέβητά θ' ὄς ζέσας
 549: Οὐτὶν· χάριν δὲ | τίνα λαβὼν σ' ἐπαινέσω
 577: ὡς ἐξένευσα | μόγις· ἄκρατος ἡ χάρις
 695: εἰ μὴ σ' ἐταίρων | φόνον ἐτιμωρησάμην
 700: πολὺν θαλάσση | χρόνον ἐνωαιρούμενον
- (c) 11: ἐπεὶ γὰρ Ἥρα | σοι γένος Τυρσηγόνων
 182: τὴν προδότην ἢ τοὺς | θυλάκους τοὺς ποικίλους
 213: καὶ τάστρα καὶ τὸν | Ἐρίωνα δέρκομαι
 250: τὰ καινὰ γ' ἐκ τῶν | ἠθάδων, ὧ δέσποτα
 261: ΣΕ. ἐγώ; κακῶς γὰρ | ἐξόλοι'.
 ΟΔ. εἰ ψεύδομαι
 341: οὐ παῖσομαι δρῶν | εὐ κατεσθίων τε σέ
- (d) 7: Ἐγκέλαδον ἰτίαν μέσσην θενῶν δορί.

of the verse together. (See article on Caesura, Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc., 1879.)

(c) The examples in the third group (c) are like those in the second, in so far as the caesura is not a pause; but there is no diaeresis in the middle of the verse, and so the resolved *ἑλείς* is not necessary. In the paper on Caesura just referred to I have shown that caesura between the article and its noun, as in vv. 182, 213, 250, is much better than no caesura at all. But it is extremely rare when the article, especially in a proclitic form, immediately precedes its noun. But that even then the caesura is of some value is shown by the fact that the article even in a proclitic form may stand at the end of a verse when its noun is at the beginning of the next, as Philoct. 263-4:

. . . Φιλοκτήτης, δὲ οἱ
δισσοὶ στρατηγοὶ πέ.

So other proclitics, as *εἰ* (Oed. Col. 993, Trach. 462), and *ὡς* (Oed. Col. 1130, S. Elect. 1309) may stand at the verse end. I have also shown that caesura may fall before an enclitic as in v. 11; and many examples may be produced where we should even expect a pause before an enclitic, whether at caesura or not, one instance occurring in this play, v. 676:

ὁ ξένος, ἰν' ὀρθῶς ἐκμάθῃς, μὴ ἀπώλεσεν.

When *εἰδ* is placed after the word which it modifies, as in v. 341, it must be read with a certain emphasis which causes a slight suspense just before it, and the caesura at that point is found occasionally in tragedy (see Aesch. Theb. 375, Suppl. 454, Agam. 934, Eumen. 87; Soph. Ajax 18, 95, 1252, Antig. 166, 723, Oed. Rex 626, 1066, Oed. Col. 1489, Philoct. 503; Eur. Hippol. 313, Hec. 253, Bacch. 49, Frag. 284, v. 16, 611.

(d) Finally, v. 7, as it appears in Dindorf's text, is entirely without caesura. But in the MSS. it is:

Ἐγέλαδον ἰτέαν | ἐς μέσην θεῶν δορί.

Elmsley first omitted *ἐς*, for what reason I do not know. I see no difficulty in the preposition on its own account; in fact we have the same use of it elsewhere, as in Aristoph. Nub. 549: *Κλέων' ἔπαισ' ἐς τὴν γαστέρα* —; and *metrically* there is no trouble, for Euripides would not hesitate to allow Seilenos to make synizesis in *ἰτέαν*. If it were necessary, I should prefer to read *εἰ* short (considering the relationship of *ἰτέα* to *ἴτυς*); but there is no occasion for this.

I think I have shown that there is no verse in the Cyclops absolutely without main caesura, that is, no such verse as Aves 200:

ἐδίδαξα τὴν φωνὴν ξυνῶν πολλὸν χρόνον,

which is a very common thing in comedy. *But the tragic licenses are more frequent than in tragedy itself.*

(7) No attention whatever is paid to the Porsonic law in comedy. In the Cyclops we find only the following exceptions: 120: οὐδεις | οὐδενός; 210: ὕμων | τῷ ξύλω; 304: ἐχέρωσ' | 'Ελλάδα; 331: οὐδέν | μοι μέλει; 639: οὐκ οἶδ' | ἐξ ἄτου; 664: . . . μέλπε μοι τόνδ', | ᾧ Κύκλωψ; 672: οὐδεις σ' | ἠδίξει; 681: ποτέρας | τῆς χερός; 682: αὐτῇ | τῇ πέτρα—nine in all. The break after οὐδεις and οὐδέν, as in 120, 331, is found in tragedy. The one in 331 is excused also by the enclitic. In 304, 639, 664, 672, the offense is mitigated by elision. The only full violations are in vv. 681 and 682. Only one example (v. 304) occurs in any speech of Odysseus, and it is one of those excused by elision,—an influence of elision not by any means unknown to tragedy. (See my paper on Elision above referred to.)

It has been repeatedly pointed out that in the more serious portions of the satyr-drama the metre assumes the tragic form. This and more is true. The somewhat refined characters (there is only one such in the Cyclops) employ under *all* circumstances the tragic form. Odysseus in no instance, if Heath's emendation of v. 260 is accepted, disregards the restrictions of tragedy. (And, by the way, v. 260 occurs in a serious scene.) *Hence we see that a fragment's presenting the tragic form is no proof that it belongs to a tragedy.*

II. The Alcestis, not only according to ancient testimony, but also as is shown by internal evidence, occupied the fourth place in a tetralogy. It is, however, composed in the pure tragic metre throughout. *But this does not make it a tragedy.* There is not a passage in it (with one barely possible exception) of so comic a character that it would, even had it been in the Cyclops, have admitted any comic license. The characters are all of a serious and elevated order with the exception of one,—Herakles; and he combines two opposite qualities. The nobler quality predominates in all the scenes in which he appears, except where he discourses to the servant on the brevity and uncertainty of human life and fortunes; and also here *he* means to be serious. Even when he says,

δεῦρ' ἔλθ', ὅπως ἂν καὶ σοφώτερος γένη,

he was no doubt as much surprised, as the spectators were amused, at the terror of the trembling servant. But even if Herakles had meant to be comic, Euripides would hardly have lent him the aid of comic metre, when all the rest of the play was tragic in form. The air of refinement, therefore, which envelops the characters and pervades the whole story excluded the comic structure from this play. *But did this tone of refinement make the play a tragedy?* Here again I must answer in the negative. Weil, in his discussion of the new fragment, says (*Revue de Philologie*, 1880, p. 4): "Dans l'*Alceste* l'élément tragique domine, l'héroïne est le modèle du plus noble dévouement conjugal: c'est une tragédie, et le chœur, qui partout donne le ton à la pièce et en établit le milieu moral, ne ressemble en rien à un chœur de satyres," etc. But he certainly does not use the word 'tragedy' in its strict sense. I repeat, it is *not* a tragedy, nor is it to be judged and criticised as a tragedy. The tragic element, apart from the style, which is adapted to the characters, is fully as great and in one particular much greater in the Cyclops. In fact the satyr-drama is a modification of the antique tragedy. In this play Odysseus, emerging from the loathsome den of Polyphemos, describes the dire preparations made by the one-eyed monster, and continues:

And when the God-detested cook of Hell
 Had all things ready, of my comrades, twain
 He seized and slaughtered in a sort of rhythm,
 The one into a cauldron's brazen gulf;
 The other grasping quickly by the heel,
 His head he dashed against the rocky cliff's
 Projecting point, and scattered forth his brains;
 And laying to with greedy knife, the flesh
 He puts to roast upon the fire; the limbs
 He casts into the cauldron's seething pool.

Then follows the description of a hideously repulsive scene, from which the poet brings us back to the ordinary current of the action through an account of the plans laid by Odysseus for the destruction of the monster. Now, in respect to this tragic element, what are the differences between this play and the *Alcestis*? Simply these: In the Cyclops the tragic element is *really* tragic, but loses much of its effect, partly because it concerns persons who are secondary in the play and take no part in the dialogue; and partly from the fact that, *first*, all the spectators were already familiar with the calamity, since it is detailed in the *Odyssey*; and, *secondly*, the

approaching catastrophe is not elaborated, but is simply narrated in a single speech. In the *Alcestis*, on the other hand, the tragic element concerns the heroine herself, and the calamity is gradually approached, and the elaboration would inevitably produce a deep tragic effect but for the fact that the catastrophe is virtually *unreal*: the spectators *have already been notified that the death is not to be final*, in other words, that as far as all parties are concerned, Alkestis is only going to *appear* to die; that misunderstood and much abused prologue,—that absolute essential to the proper working of the play,—enables us calmly to look upon what is to us nothing more than a swoon mistaken for death. Let it not be understood that I am claiming perfection for Euripides; but I do insist upon it that great injustice is done Euripides in the prevalent manner of criticising the *Alcestis*. If there is a jar in the play it is *not* because the Heraklean scene is too comic for a tragedy, but because the elaboration of the seeming death of Alkestis is too tragic for a romance drama, replacing the satyr-drama, and designed to relieve the long strain of a tragic trilogy. But, as I have already shown, the prologue prevents, or is calculated to prevent, this over-tragic effect.

The fragments of satyr-dramas of Euripides in Dindorf's edition amount to about seventy-four iambic trimeters. One of these fragments (from the *Autolykus*) contains twenty-eight verses, the metre of which is strictly tragic. One verse (23) wants the caesura, but just this verse happens to be *ex coniectura Musuri!* In the remaining forty-six verses there is no departure from tragic rigor in the metre. The fragments of Sophocles and Aischylos are too meagre to discuss.

My object was primarily to discuss, as an independent theme, the metrical form and the nature of the two extant dramas which occupy the fourth place in a tetralogy; and, secondarily, thereby to place especially the metrical construction of the *Cyclops* in such a light as to prevent the drawing of hasty conclusions from the metrical form of the new fragment. But as some of the readers of this *Journal* may not otherwise have access to a copy of the fragment, I give it in full, and add a few remarks.

ὦ πάτερ, ἐχρῆν μὲν, οὐς ἐγὼ λόγους λέγω
 τοῦτους λέγειν σέ· καὶ γὰρ ἀρμόζει φρονεῖν
 σέ μᾶλλον ἢ 'μὲ καὶ λέγειν ὅπου τι δεῖ.
 ἐπεὶ δ' ἀφῆκας, λοιπὸν ἐστ' ἴσως ἐμὲ
 ἐκ τῆς ἀνάγκης τὰ γε δίκαι' αὐτὴν λέγειν.

Ἐκείνος εἰ μὲν μείζον ἠδίκαιε τι
 οὐκ ἐμὲ προσήκει λαμβάνειν τούτων δικήν·
 εἰ δ' εἰς ἐμὴν ἡμάρτηκεν, αἰσθέσθαι με δεῖ.
 ἀλλ' ἀγνοῦ δὴ τυχὸν ἰσως ἄφρων ἐγὼ
 οὐδ', οὐκ ἂν ἀντείπαμι· καίτοι γ', ὦ πάτερ,
 εἰ τάλλα κρίνειν ἐστὶν ἀνόητον γυνή,
 10
 περὶ τῶν γ' ἐαυτῆς πραγμάτων ἰσως φρονεῖ.
 Ἔστω δ' ὁ βούλει· τοῦτο τί μ' ἀδικεῖ λέγε.
 ἔστ' ἀνδρὶ καὶ γυναικὶ κείμενος νόμος,
 τῷ μὲν διὰ τέλους ἦν ἔχει στέργειν αἰεὶ,
 15
 τῇ δ' ὅσ' ἂν ἀρέσκη τάνδρῳ, ταῦτ' αὐτὴν ποιεῖν.
 γέγονεν ἐκείνος εἰς ἐμὸν οἶον ἤξιον,
 ἐμοὶ τ' ἀρέσκει πάνθ'· ἃ κάκεινῳ, πάτερ.
 Ἄλλ' ἔστ' ἐμοὶ μὲν χρηστὸς, ἠπόρηκε δέ·
 20
 σὺ δ' ἀνδρὶ μ', ὡς φῆς, ἐκδίδως νῦν πλουσίῳ,
 ἵνα μὴ καταζῶ τὸν βίον λυπομένην.
 καὶ σοῦ τσαῦτα χρήματ' ἐστίν, ὦ πάτερ,
 ἃ μᾶλλον ἀνδρὸς εὐφρανεῖ παρόντα με;
 ἢ πῶς δίκαιόν ἐστιν ἢ καλῶς ἔχον,
 25
 τῶν μὲν ἀγαθῶν με τὸ μέρος ὃν εἶχεν λαβεῖν,
 τοῦ συναπορηθῆναι δὲ μὴ λαβεῖν μέρος;
 Φέρ' ἦν δ' ὁ νῦν αὐτὸν λαμβάνειν μέλλων μ' ἀνήρ
 (ὁ μὴ γένοίτο, Ζεῦ φίλ', οὐδ' ἔσται ποτέ,
 οὐκ οὖν θελοῖσθαι οὐδὲ δυναμένης ἐμοῦ)
 30
 ἦν οὔτος αὐθις ἀποβάλλῃ τὴν οὐσίαν,
 ἑτέρῳ με δώσειε ἀνδρὶ; κἄτ', εἰάν πάλιν
 ἐκείνος, ἑτέρῳ; μέχρι πόσου τὴν τῆς τύχης
 πάτερ, σὺ λήψει πείραον ἐν τῷμῳ βίῳ;
 Ὅτ' ἦν ἐγὼ παῖς, τότε σ' ἐχρῆν ζητεῖν ἐμοὶ
 35
 ἀνδρὸς ᾧ με δώσεις· σὴ γὰρ ἦν τόθ' αἰρεσις·
 ἐπεὶ δ' ἅπαξ ἔδωκας, ἤδη ὅστιν, πάτερ,
 ἐμὸν σκοπεῖν τοῦτ'· εἰκότως· μὴ γὰρ καλῶς
 κρίνας' ἐμαυτῆς τὸν ἴδιον βλάψω βίον.
 Ταῦτ' ἐστίν· ὥστε μὴ με, πρὸς τῆς Ἑστίας,
 40
 ἀποστερήσθαι ἀνδρὸς ᾧ συνήκισσας·
 χάριν δικαίαν καὶ φιλάνθρωπον, πάτερ,
 αἰτῶ σε ταύτην· εἰ δὲ μὴ, σὺ μὲν βίῳ
 πράξεις ὁ βούλει, τὴν δ' ἐμὴν ἐγὼ τύχην
 πειράσομαι ὡς δεῖ, μὴ μετ' αἰσχύνης, φέρειν.

I shall give MSS. readings for only a few passages.

8: Blass writes μ ἔδει. 13 is wanting in B, because of similar beginning in 14. Blass retains Weil's first reading: τοῦτο, τί μ' ἀδικεῖ, λέγε. After I had rejected the commas, I found that Cobet had done the same, and Weil had accepted the improvement. 20: ἐγδίδως in both copies, which Blass retains. 27: φερεαυον . . (blot)

λαμβ Α; (blot) ερεσαν (blot) υν. λανβ Β; φέρ', ἦν δ' ὅ νῦν δὲ λαμβ Blass; φέρ', ἦν δὲ νῦν δ' λαμβ Weil, who objects to Blass's position of δέ. But Weil's main caesura after proclitic form of article is to be avoided if possible; hence I have proposed the reading given in the text. Φέρ', ἦν δ' ὅ καὶ νῦν would be possible, but the MSS. seem to require something between νῦν and λαμβ. I have also thought of φέρ', ἦν δ' ὅ νῦν γε, and φέρ', ἦν δ' ὅ νῦν με, omitting μ' before ἀνήρ. This last is also Cobet's reading, but it is somewhat violent. The prosaic character of the passage almost justifies φέρ' ἦν δ' ὅ νοῦν. 33: πατερδελημψει Α; πατερτελημψει Β; πάτερ δὲ λήψει Blass, which Weil (in my opinion, properly) rejects, and writes σὺ. Still it must be admitted that this is a violent emendation. 42: I have written the semicolon instead of the period of Weil and Blass, and in 43 the comma instead of a semicolon. The last line I have left unchanged, but I have no doubt that Euripides wrote *πειράσσομαι δὴ κτέ*, which was already changed in the original of our copyists.

It will be observed that this fragment is what may be called metrical prose. No passage of the same length in any extant drama of Euripides or his fellow tragedians is so absolutely void of poetical expressions. Cobet, calling attention to this, advances the theory that the fragment belongs to a *popular drama*, based upon occurrences of private life, taking the place, and possibly in some scenes approximating the tone, of a satyr-drama. Weil thinks that the play could hardly have been of the precise nature proposed by Cobet, and also that it must be sought among the plays of Euripides known to us by name. He then expresses the opinion that it must have been a real tragedy. He shows that Attic law did not give a father power to annul the marriage of a daughter, and concludes that the father in this case was exercising some other authority, viz. that of king. Further, he maintains that in v. 6 allusion is made to some political offense, from which he infers that the parties were not private individuals. And, finally, in the last verse he sees a dark intimation that the faithful wife will take her own life rather than abandon her husband; and such a resolution, he thinks, would be suitable only for a tragedy proper. But even if we admit his premises, could it not after all be a romance drama? May not some *deus ex machina* appear at the opportune moment? At any rate, to me there is about the fragment an air of romance rather than of tragedy. That the fragment belongs to Euripides cannot reasonably be doubted, as the general structure of the verse corroborates the *Εὐριπίδου* placed at the head. This

structure, at any rate, forbids the idea of a comedy, but *does not* exclude the possibility of a lively romance. As to a satyr-drama proper, *the metre does not render it impossible*, but the subject matter puts such a supposition almost out of the question. But I think I may go further, and say that some special licenses of the verse, as it stands, almost, if not quite, *exclude the idea of a tragedy proper*. In v. 10 we have violation of Porsonic law excused by elision; in 9 we have incision in the middle excused by preceding resolution; and in 18 there is quasi-caesura. All these occur in tragedy, but it would be difficult to find 44 consecutive verses containing all these licenses. And when we combine them with the elision in the last verse, the accumulation becomes entirely too great. But, as intimated above, I do not believe that Euripides made that elision at all, whether it be a tragedy, a romance drama, or a satyr-drama. This being removed, it would be impossible for the other licenses to occur in a Euripidean tragedy written after OL. 89. Weil attributes the fragment to the *Temenidae*, and briefly discusses the difficulties that surround this theory. Various other theories have been advanced, but the location of the fragment is a question which I must leave entirely to those who have access to the necessary apparatus.

M. W. HUMPHREYS.

NOTES.

THE SO-CALLED "SUBJONCTIF DUBITATIF," *JE NE SACHE PAS*, IN THE PRINCIPAL CLAUSE.

I believe almost any one would feel a little surprised on meeting, for the first time, the expression *je ne sache rien de si beau*, where one would expect *je ne sais rien de si beau*, which, by the way, does occur as frequently as the former. The surprise is no less great when, on turning to the French grammarians for an explanation of the anomaly, one finds them indulging in so much ingenious twaddle in defense of the expression as a subjunctive. The peculiarity of the construction has naturally called forth a great deal of discussion. It is confined to the first person singular of the verb *savoir*, and is always accompanied by a negation. Those who defend it as a subjunctive construction reason over it somewhat as follows: In saying *je ne sache rien de si beau*, the speaker feels and modestly admits that all objects which may be termed beautiful are not present to his mind, are not known to him, and hence he avoids expressing his opinion in a too direct way, but gives a doubting turn to the thought. It is a delicate, urbane mode of assertion, and can only be used when a man advances his own opinion. This accounts for its occurring only with a negative; for you can not say *je sache quelque chose de beau*. The expression, it is maintained, always implies a certain amount of hesitation in the mind of the speaker, and this can only be rendered by the mood of the verb most suited to represent this delicate nuance between positive affirmation and doubt. According to Boniface this use of the subjunctive is purely one of euphemism, and Bescherelle is of the same opinion. The latter says: "En effet, *je ne sache pas* est une expression dubitative et en quelque sorte palliative, qui affaiblit l'opinion qu'on émet, et qui lui ôte ce qu'elle pourrait avoir de trop décisif ou absolu." This may be made plain by an analysis of the sentence of Buffon: *je ne sache pas qu'il y ait eu des hommes blancs devenus noirs*. This means: *Il est possible qu'il y ait eu*

des hommes blancs devenus noirs, mais le hasard veut que je ne le sache pas.

Litré thinks the construction sprang up in the sixteenth century, and conjectures that those who first employed it had in their minds or understood some such expression as *j'ose dire*, the custom then being to construct *dire* with the subjunctive whenever the affirmation was not absolute. It may be remarked that this statement of Mr. Litré is purely conjectural, there being nothing to support it other than that *je ne sache pas* was current at that time. Nothing is easier than to get up fine-spun theories to explain grammatical anomalies, and if we accepted these theories the trade of the grammarian would soon come to grief for want of material to work on.

The explanation I would offer is not, I think, a mere theory, but a possible and probable fact; for while the evidence I bring forward in support of my case is rather *à priori* than empirical, it seems, nevertheless, sufficiently strong for purposes of proof. What I expect to show is this: that, for phonetical and other reasons, there is no necessity for regarding *sache* in *je ne sache pas* as a subjunctive.

In the first place, the fact that it is a single isolated expression, in which the subjunctive of no other verb of synonymous meaning can be substituted, is of itself sufficiently suspicious. You can not, for instance, say: *je ne croie pas qu'il y ait rien de si beau*; and if you used *pense* you would not regard it as subjunctive, though identical in form with the subjunctive. In the use of moods and tenses, at least in all the languages with which I am acquainted, there is always underlying the usage a general law or principle, which is applicable not to a single verb in a single form, but to a certain number or class of verbs. No such general principle is adducible in this case. It is unique and stands alone. To say that it is a doubting and polite form of assertion, or as Bescherelle, with all the pride of a Frenchman, states, "une des nombreuses délicatesses de notre langue," is lacking in point: for by using the subjunctive in the following clause, sufficient indirectness or *délicatesse* may be secured to express all the modesty of feeling of any person, however retiring and unassuming. Indeed, the subjunctive following *verba sentiendi et declarandi* is the only way, in the case of all the other verbs in the language, of rendering this feeling. For example, if I wished to make a modest assertion with reference to my disbelief in the spiritistic phenomenon of talking tables, I should say: *Je ne crois pas qu'il y ait des tables parlantes*; but if

I desired to be very positive in the expression of my opinion, or show that I had no doubt whatever about the matter, I should vary the form of my thought.

The uniqueness then of the construction, *je ne sache pas*, etc., led me to question its being a subjunctive; and somewhat to my chagrin, when consulting the grammatical and lexicographical authorities, I found I had been anticipated in my proposition to regard it as an indicative. I was reassured, however, on ascertaining that, while it had been proposed to treat it as an indicative, there was no serious attempt made to account for the form. Littré dismisses it with the assertion that *sache* from *sapio* is phonetically impossible. I maintain that it is not only possible but is also what ought to be expected. The form *sache* of the subjunctive is obtained from *sapiam*, through the influence of the palatal *i* in the latter. There can be no doubt of this, and the Provençal forms *sapcha*, *sabcha*, show the process of derivation. Phonetic decay being much more rapid in French than in Provençal, the French lost the lip-sound at a very early date, anterior probably to the time of its becoming a written language. In *sapio* we have very nearly the same elements as in *sapiam*, and both will give *sache* by the same process of transformation; for although it may be contended that the strong vowel *a* in the syllable *-piam* gives it a greater chance to survive under a new form than can be claimed for the final *-pio* (*a* in end-syllables being usually preserved as *e*, whereas other vowels with their neighboring consonants are generally lost: *e. g.* *malignam*, *malignum*, *maligne*, *malin*); still *sache* from *sapio* does not stand alone as a phonetic phenomenon; for we have precisely the same mode of formation in *proche* from *propius* and *reproche* from *repropium*. Similar examples of this mode of formation may be found; so that I can not conceive what Mr. Littré means by saying that *sache* is not derivable from *sapio*. I should be curious to know how he defends this assertion. Not only is *sache* perfectly justifiable as a legitimately derived indicative form, but also there are strong reasons for believing that the whole tense, containing the same root, was at one time in use; although phonetically we could only account for the first person singular and the third person plural. But this latter does not prove a serious difficulty. There is a large number of verbs, a part of the forms of whose indicative present can not be explained by the regular laws of phonetic change. These irregular forms can only be accounted for by assuming that they originated through the influ-

ence of the present-participial and present subjunctive roots. The 1st, 2d, and 3d persons plural of *craindre* can not be obtained from the corresponding Latin forms; they must have been brought about by the analogy of *craignant* and *que je craigne, que tu craignes*, etc., *i. e.* by a feeling that the root of all the present tenses should be the same. In the earlier stages of the language this was more observable than at the present day.

I would infer, then, that the earliest inflexion of the present indicative of *savoir* was somewhat as follows: *je sache, tu saches, il sacht, nous sachons, vous sachez, ils sachent*, these forms being derived in accordance with the process above indicated; whereas the inflexion now in use was of later development and came directly from the French infinitive *savoir*. This double inflexion of certain tenses was not at all infrequent in old French. Even to-day we have the survival of two modes of inflexion for the verb *s'asseoir*, namely, *je m'assieds, tu t'assieds*, etc., and *je m'assois, tu t'assois*, etc., and two present participles (*asseyant* and *assoyant*), as well as two imperfects, two futures and two present subjunctives. What forms of the simple verb *seoir* still remain follow the older development (*il sied, il siéra*, etc.), while *surseoir* has preserved only the later inflexion. It seems a little strange that in this struggle for existence, to borrow the nomenclature of the biologists, the later or French creations did not crowd out the earlier. This is hardly in consonance with the usual fate of words, but it remains a fact notwithstanding. With reference to the two present participles of *savoir*, it is especially surprising that the older, *sachant*, should have maintained its place as a participle, while the younger, *savant*, did not, as a participle, survive the 16th century, Rabelais being one of the last writers to use it as such (*Phaëton ne sçavant ensuyvre la line ecliptique varia son chemin*, etc., *Pant. II, 2*).

To return to what I have assumed to be the primitive inflexion of the present tense of *savoir*. It has been shown that those forms which were not possible from the original derivative elements were legitimated by analogy from certain co-related forms; there is another method of strengthening this position, which it may be well to mention.

The supposition in regard to the origin of the French imperatives is that they are the corresponding forms of the indicative with the subjects dropt. This is not a mere theory, but a fact as certain as anything in Romance philology. The Latin imperatives do not suffice to explain the French forms. *Domus* and *cade*, it is true, will

give *donne* and *va*, but not the forms with *s*, which are always used when a hiatus would be created by a succeeding vowel, as *donnes-en, vas-y*.¹ These latter are the original and would be the proper forms to be employed in all cases, if custom had not sanctioned the dropping of the *s* where it is not heard in the pronunciation. The ordinary grammars, therefore, which undertake to explain everything, but which, especially where forms are concerned, usually explain nothing logically, ought not to say that the *s* is added in these cases, but that it drops off in all instances, where no hiatus is thereby produced. The first person plural of the imperative has no congener in Latin, and must consequently be considered as an undoubted Romance creation.

Again: *donate* would give any one of three or four forms, but not *donnez* and the older words *donnes* and *donnetz*; that is, *donate* does not account for the final sibilants *s* and *z*. There can be no question, then, that the above explanation is the true one.

To come now to the imperatives of *savoir*: *sache, sachons* and *sachez*. How shall we interpret these forms, admitting that the imperatives are only the corresponding forms of the indicative, the subjects being omitted? Having the same root as the subjunctive, one is tempted to say that they represent the post-classic usage of the Latin subjunctive as a mild imperative; that is, *sache* is elliptical for *que tu saches*. This would account for *sache*, but not for *sachons* and *sachez*, which are not subjunctives in form. The only cases where the subjunctive has usurped the place of the indicative as an imperative are the auxiliary verbs *avoir* and *être*: *aie, ayons, ayez—sois, soyons, soyez*. But these are actual subjunctives, as, with the exception of *aie*, they are all identical in form with the subjunctives of these verbs now in use. Why this should be so I am not prepared to say, but it is possible that good reasons could be found for it, as the same anomaly is observable in others of the Romance languages (Ital. *sii* (*sia*), *abbi*; Wal. subj. *sâ fii*, imper. *fii*; infin. *avé*; subj. *sâ aî*; imper. *aîbî*, an old subjunctive, as we see, from the third person singular of this tense: *sâ aîba*=qu'il ait). I infer, therefore, from the above reasoning that the imperatives of *savoir*

¹After this article was in type I happened to notice that Brachet, even in the latest edition of his *Gram. Hist.* (p. 210), states that the imperative (2d sing.) is taken from the Latin imperative. This, of course, is untenable for the reason assigned above, and further because the *s* always appears in verbs of the 2d, 3d and 4th conjugations. That the *s* has been dropt in other cases where it is no longer found is certain from *aie*, an admitted subjunctive form (*aies*). *Ab uno disce omnes*.

make no exception to this general rule of the derivation of this mood; that *sache*, *sachons* and *sachez* are old present indicatives, and point to the existence of this tense, having as its root *sach*.

I would sum up then by saying, that the reasons assigned by the grammarians for the existence of this single isolated form as a *subjunctive* are not conclusive; that phonetically the form is possible as an indicative, and there are good grounds for assuming that the whole tense, with the same root, was current at a very early period of the language; and, finally, as bearing on this last point, that there were two inflexions of *savoir* for the present indicative; one, coming directly from the Latin, *je sache, tu saches*, etc., present participle *sachant*; and a second and later, of purely French formation, *je sais, tu sais*, etc., present participle *savant*.

I will not insist too strongly on the probability of there having existed the whole tense of the indicative with the root *sach*, but I do maintain that the evidence is sufficiently convincing in respect to the first person singular. It would not be extraordinary to have the creation of a single form from certain phonetic conditions, and that this form should survive and coëxist with another homologous form, at the same time having a special use, as has been shown in the case of *je ne sache pas*. We have a good instance of the survival of an isolated form, with a special use, in the imperative of *vouloir*, namely *veuillez*, which is an old second person plural indicative, but which is no longer used as such. The persistence of a principle of grammar, moreover, as has been suggested to me, is much more improbable than that of a form, even if that principle ever existed. But no such principle of syntax ever did obtain in French grammar at any time; and no amount of ingenuity, as it seems to me, can evolve a theory that will throw any satisfactory light on the anomaly here discussed, if we are to continue to accept it as a subjunctive. It is an indicative or it is nothing.

SAMUEL GARNER.

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

An Etymological Dictionary of the English Language, arranged on an Historical Basis. By the REV. WALTER W. SKEAT, M. A. Part II. Dor—Lit. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press.

Until within the last dozen years, English etymology has scarcely deserved the name of a science. The dictionaries of Johnson and Richardson, though treasure-houses of definition and illustration concerning later usage, could furnish but little accurate information about the history of early forms and that physical basis, so to speak, upon which the most spiritual conceptions have been superimposed, or out of which they have been evolved. The same holds of their rivals and successors, almost without exception, till the present day. Those who have undertaken the difficult task have rarely possessed special knowledge and freedom from prejudice at the same time. Ignorance and perverse wrongheadedness, singly or combined, have succeeded in vitiating the most promising attempts, even of individuals who seemed to possess special aptitude for the prosecution of these researches. Yet in the chaos of opinions and results some germs of order have been perceptible. From the days of Horne Tooke onward there has been a gradual accumulation and sifting of material for such a work as now lies before us; German scholarship has discovered and expounded phonetic laws; scientific knowledge of the Teutonic dialects, both ancient and modern, has been attained; Celtic, though still but imperfectly understood, has begun to reward the assiduity of a few devotees; finally, the provincial and archaic English words, which a variety of circumstances had combined to degrade and obscure, have commenced to reassert themselves, and to cast their light upon forms of literary expression.

All this while hazardous conjectures have been made only to be rejected with the advance of scholarship, and etymology after etymology has been imagined which the logic of hard facts has nullified. It is too soon to expect such reckless guessing to cease; ingenious sciolism will still find scope for its energies, and credence for its fanciful deductions.

Prof. Skeat's dictionary, while hardly definitive, even for the present generation, will set a term to much of the vague theorizing which is yet current, and indicate to future investigators the track to be pursued. Heretofore we have had only one work which challenged serious attention through the number and accuracy of its derivations. The great dictionary which passes under the name of Webster possesses a large amount of fairly trustworthy information about etymology, furnished for the most part by the indefatigable German scholar, Dr. Mahn, of Berlin. Everything may be granted which its admirers would claim for Webster, without in the least invalidating the title of Prof. Skeat's book to higher consideration as a strictly etymological dictionary. More it does not pretend to be, and indeed its definitions are meagre and often

couched in the loosest terms, while the illustrative quotations are reduced to a minimum. On the other hand, no labor has been spared to perfect it within the limits assigned. The best authorities have been consulted, and great pains taken to substantiate the etymologies adduced. The historic ordering of the material is admirable, and constitutes the main novelty of Skeat's work, as it will form one of the most valuable features of the Philological Society's stupendous English Dictionary. The utmost perspicuity is attained by the use of algebraic signs to indicate, on the one hand the direct or successive generation of forms, and on the other mere side relationship or remote cognation. Some such method of discrimination between the original of a word and its kin at several removes has long been a desideratum.

Prof. Skeat is cautious about admitting Anglo-Saxon radicals when unsupported by evidence of their actual occurrence in the literature. He has been censured for omitting words which really exist, but this is safer and more laudable than to give the weight of his sanction to the spurious coin uttered by some of his predecessors.

Where he has to deal with phonetic laws Prof. Skeat is not always sure of his footing. Especially is he unguarded and often obscure in his use of the terms 'strong' and 'weak.' For example, under the word *jaw* he says: "The spelling *joue* may have been suggested by the F. *joue*, a cheek; still, it is certain that the F. word is not original, since *chaw* and *jaw* are stronger forms than *joue*, and could never have come out of it." Under *jabber* we have: "*Jabber, jabble*, are weakened forms of *gabber, gabble*, frequentative forms of the base *gab*." Under *grate*: "Thus *grate* is a mere variant of *crate*, due to a weakened pronunciation." Under *imbue*: "Lat. *im-*, for *in-*, in; and base BU, weakened form of PU, which is the causal from the base BI, to drink, weakened form of PI, to drink." This last quotation likewise shows Skeat's fondness for going back to primitive Aryan roots, and generally for pushing his inquiries so far that none but a scholar of equal attainments can follow and comprehend him. Thus in the discussion of the word *fur* he asserts that *fur* and *fodder* are doublets, *i. e.* different forms of the same word; even with his explanation the connection will be but dimly apprehended by many who will consult his pages.

Of *flat* he says: "The connection with Gk. *πλατύς*, broad, has not been made out; it is more likely connected with Du. *vlack*, G. *flach*, flat, Gk. *πλάξ*, a flat surface." Grassmann, in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift* XII 107, is for the identification of *flat* with Gk. *πλατύς*, and strengthens his position as regards phonetic change by a comparison of Gk. *πλαθάνη*. Fick, likewise, *Wbch.* VII 194, adduces *πλάθωνον* in connection with *flat*. It is rather *flag* that should be compared with *πλάξ*, as Weigand has shown s. v. *Flagge* in his *Deutsches Wörterbuch*.

Under the word *gnat* Prof. Skeat remarks that Swed. *gnat* means 'a nit'; this suggests a possible connection between the two words; yet the A. S. form *gnat*, which does not seem to be quite the same thing." That is, A. S. *gnat* and S. *Anit* do not seem to be quite the same thing, in which conclusion Prof. Skeat readily acquiesces.

Prof. Skeat when at his worst, when most defiant of regular and prophetic change, it is only necessary to refer to his treatment of the word

though the phenomenon under consideration be admitted, the

example chosen to support it is unfortunate. Thus under *flatter* Skeat says: "Here, as in many cases (*e. g.* *mate* from A. S. *maca*) the *t* stands for an older *k*." But *mate* does not come from A. S. *maca*. Mätzner, Eng. Gram. I 204, derives *mate* from Netherl. *maet*, and *match* from A. S. *maca*. In like manner Stratmann, Dict. of the Old Eng. Lang., parallels *mate* with O. H. G. *gimaso*; with these two authorities Dr. Mahn also agrees. Diez's etymology for the O. F. *flater*, though rejected by Skeat, has much in its favor, and is far more than plausible.

Under *gate* two distinct words are confounded. Stratmann distinguishes the one meaning 'gait, road,' from the other meaning 'door, passage-way.' Cleasby and Vigfusson, Icelandic Dictionary, also separate the first, as *gata*, from the second, *gött*. So too in deriving *foil* from O. F. *fouler*, Skeat has confounded two essentially different words. He says: "Corrupted from O. F. *fouler*, just as *defile* from *defouler*." In the glossary to his Altenglische Sprachproben, s. v. *defouler*, Mätzner expressly gives it as his opinion that "Dies hybrid. v. weist auf *fulen*, *foulen*, *filen*, sch. *defoul*, neue. *defile*, besudeln, beflecken," and assigns to another *defoulen*, *defoilen*, from O. F. *defuler*, *defoler*, *deffouler*, the meaning "mit Füßen treten, zertreten, niedertreten," and metaphorically, "bewältigen, unterdrücken."

Flask and *flagon* are not traced back far enough. Diez, s. v. *Fiasco*, Etym. Wbch. der Roman. Spr., p. 178, quotes Greg. M. Dial. 2, 18: *duo lignea vascula, quae vulgo fiascomes vocantur*, and proceeds to establish the derivation as follows: "Wie durch umstellung des *l* ital. *fiaba* (für *flaba*) aus *fabula*, *pioppo* aus *populus*, sp. *bloca* aus *baculus*, pr. *floronc* aus *furunculus* geformt wurden, ebenso *fiasco* aus *vasculum*, mit einer härtung des *v* zu *f*, die hier nicht ausbleiben konnte. *Vasculum* erschöpft alle bedeutungen des rom. oder celt. wortes, es ist gefäß im weitesten sinne."

Dowager is called "a coined word, made by suffixing *r* (*for-er*) to *dowage*." But Littré, s. v. *douairière*, quotes from Du Cange, Gloss. Med. et Infim. Lat., who under *Doageria* has the following from a Charta of A. D. 1388: "Après la mort desquelx Marie de Monceaux, femme dudit Hebert, comme Douagiare (almost certainly for *Douagiere*) a joy et usé par long temps de laditte terre." *Douagère* is also to be found in the Complément to the Academy's French Dictionary, with a reference to *Douagirière*.

Skeat has scarcely hit upon the right explanation of *how* (*r*). March has already shown, Gram. §252, II, that *hwi* stands for earlier *hwil*, and that *how* and *why* are therefore doublets, and ultimately identical.

Under *icicle*, Skeat would make *gicel* Celtic. He perceives that Icel. *jökull* has the meaning of Eng. *icicle*, but is inclined to think that *jökull* itself may be borrowed from the Celtic.

Gossip: *Sib* with the meaning 'relative' is A. S. Cf. Grein's Sprachschatz, II 441. *Gesib* is used more frequently, however, in this sense.

Gulf: Skeat appears to have forgotten that *gulf* is used as the equivalent of *gullet* by Shakespeare, Macb. IV, 1, 23. Cf. also Lucr. 557, Cor. I, 1, 101.

Fleet (2): Not "a place where vessels float"; rather like Ger. *Fluss*, 'flowing water.'

Ladle: *Fladel* is found, according to Leo, in Hpt. Gl. 418, with the meaning 'Löffel,' which, though not the equivalent of Eng. *ladle*, is not very far off.

Dwarf: How is A. S. *dwellan* suggestive? Certainly it would be hard to show any relationship between the two words.

Ease: Why not from A. S. *æðe*? So Mätzner, Eng. Gram. I 145, and Grimm, Gesch. der d. Sprache 352. Of course the form *ease* is due to French influence, which has reshaped the original word.

By a singular oversight Skeat calls *eld* an obsolete word. The poets still use it, at all events. Thus Byron, Childe Harold, I 93:

"Lands that contain the monuments of Eld."

Longfellow, Prelude to Voices of the Night:

"Tales that have the rime of age
And chronicles of eld."

William Morris, The Earthly Paradise, May:

"And shuddered at the sight of Eld and Death."

Even as 'old man' in Coleridge, The Destiny of Nations:

"To the tottering eld
Still as a daughter would she run; she placed
His cold limbs at the sunny door."

Prof. Skeat is ready to ascribe somewhat too much influence to the Celtic, we think, going to the extent, as under the word *icicle*, of supposing that an Icelandic word was borrowed directly from Old Irish or Welsh. Again, he is inclined to derive English words quite too frequently from the modern Scandinavian or North German languages. As one example out of many, the word *douse* may be cited. Direct derivation from the Swedish is hardly to be thought of in such a case. It might be objected, moreover, that he shows too marked a leaning toward the onomatopoeic theory of which Wedgwood is one of the foremost expounders.

But we have no desire to indulge in carping criticism, for, while many disputed points remain to be settled, and while it is certain that some of Prof. Skeat's positions will prove untenable, his dictionary can only be received with the acknowledgment that it displays great learning, conscientiousness and skill on the part of the editor, and that it is indispensable to all who concern themselves with the history of the English language.

ALBERT S. COOK.

Introduction to the Study of Sign-Language among the North American Indians as illustrating the Gesture-Speech of Mankind. By GARRICK MALLERY, Brevet Lieut.-Col. U. S. Army. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1880.

book, which is issued by the Bureau of Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution, we have the first attempt in this country to treat sign-language scientifically; the author, aware of the extent of the subject, modestly calls it

nothing more than an introduction, a short statement of some general principles, with suggestions to observers. He properly refers to the value of sign-speech as a universal language, especially for those who have to deal with our Indians; there are some remarkable accounts of the readiness of communication between Indians and deaf-mutes. And while this sign-language excels the other in graphic effect and rapidity, it is also, he thinks, not without capacity of expressing abstract ideas. Then, there is its further utility in the study of picture-writing, which may be regarded as having the same origin with gesture, as being in fact little more than a graphic form of gesture; from it, Col. Mallery thinks, we may learn something of the syntax and the root-meanings of the spoken languages. Whether, says he, the order of the signs is the order of the spoken language depends on whether a sign- or picture-writing has intervened between the primitive sign-speech and spoken language (Col. Mallery assumes throughout the evolutionist theory of language). If such writing has not intervened, the writing will follow the order of words in speaking; if it has, the picture-writing and the spoken language will both follow the order of the signs. The difficulty about this is that the assumption of a picture-writing between the two phases of language is hardly warranted; we know of such writing only among tribes who have reached a well developed spoken language. What light the study of the picture-writing and the signs will throw on syntax we cannot tell; they have been so little studied that it would be premature to express an opinion. If a syntactical principle can be discovered in the signs it may give the genesis of Indian syntax, and possibly help us to comprehend the origin of the sentence. One school of philologists at the present day wish to see in the sentence the unit of speech, and to explain inflections as the breaking up of the sentence-word into its parts. A sign may represent such a sentence-word, and the comparison of the spoken language may show its existence there. But it would be extremely unsafe to reason from the sign to the language without having made a thorough study of the latter; and we should therefore suggest to our author to urge on his collaborators the earnest study of the Indian tongues with which they have to deal. Col. Mallery further points out that pantomime and gesture is natural to man, and he expresses the opinion that language comes partly from certain sounds that naturally accompany certain gestures, voice and gesture then moving on in parallel development. As to the modern use of gesture and sign, he suggests that it is occasioned by the contact of strange dialects, and that it is discontinued when a common dialect comes into use. In illustration he cites the gesticulating French and Italians, who live in the midst of a babel of dialects, in contrast with the isolated insular and ungesticulating English; but here national temperament comes into play. Among our Indians sign-talking is universal as an art—they all employ it, except the civilized tribes, but our author gives abundant examples to show that there is no one universal sign-language. The examples he gives of various signs for the same idea are curious and interesting. The pamphlet ends with an excellent set of instructions to observers.

We are glad that so competent a man as Col. Mallery is interesting himself in the investigation. What is now lacking is regulated intelligent coöperation, and we bespeak for him the assistance of all persons who are in position to

acquire accurate information on the subject. So far as linguistic results are concerned, we look for light from these inquiries rather in the analogy between the developments of signs and language than from any material and substantive relation to be exhibited between the two. The processes of mind are the same, or nearly the same, in both cases, and we shall be able to study the psychology of language in that of this other and lower means of communication, as we study the physical and mental organization of man in that of the lower animals.

C. H. TOV.

THE NUMBER AND GENERAL CHARACTER OF AMERICAN PUBLICATIONS FOR 1879, IN ROMANCE PHILOLOGY AND LITERATURE.

Statistics of publication are usually regarded as a pretty sure barometer by which the rise or fall of interest or activity in any given department of science may be measured. This is true, I think, however, as applied to language, only in so far as the study of it has advanced beyond the purely practical stage, or the immediate wants of the community for text-books have not already been supplied. Both of these conditions have been well illustrated by the most recent American contributions to Romance philology and literature. Up to date not a single original scientific treatise has appeared with us in this field, while the development of the pedagogical side of it has been so extraordinary that we stand second only to Germany, perhaps, in the number of aids offered to the student who is seeking an acquaintance with the rudiments of these languages. Besides a large number of imported works, no less than 364 grammars, hand-books and other elementary helps are now actually to be had of our own publishers. About five-sixths of these belong to the French alone, the remaining sixth being divided between the Spanish and Italian, with a proportion of three to one in favor of the former.

Fully nine-tenths of all the works here mentioned are introductory in the strictest sense of the term, while a large part of the other tenth is nothing but a repetition of methods already issued under another form, the existence of which, in certain cases, has been lost sight of, in others, wilfully ignored. These, we hold, have virtually no *raison d'être*, as they have simply multiplied the difficulties of selection for the scholar, without adding in any way to the reduction of his expense or time in acquiring the fundamental laws of the language. We need not, moreover, be surprised with this long list of educational works to draw on, and with no introduction, as yet, into the scientific study of the Neo-Latin idioms, that the last year (1879) has been particularly barren in production in this department. It has been characterized by a marked falling off in the number of conversational and purely elementary manuals, by the absence of all 6- or 12-lesson methods, and of all 'lightning-train' issues for learning 'without study'; nor has any new 'short-cut' series been proposed or 'leather-bottle' exercises invented for the acquisition of French 'without a master.' We have evidently touched bottom, and an era of common sense is about to set in, which we owe, perhaps, in great measure to the blessings conferred upon us by the *méthode naturelle*.

The majority of American publications for this period has been of two kinds, pedagogical and literary, with the bulk of the work limited to translations of the latter sort, and particularly of fiction. Leaving out of account, then, English treatments of subjects connected with Romance literature, the sum total of all publications amounts to 59, of which 58 belong to the French and one to the Spanish. The other Romance languages are not represented by any work. If, now, we compare the educational with the non-educational productions, we have only 8 of the former standing over against 51 of the latter. This very small proportion of educational works is, it seems to me, a significant hint as to what the immediate future will require for these studies in America. Our pedagogical needs for French and Spanish are moderately well supplied. We have enough elementary treatises for the present. The demand is now most urgent for advanced methods based upon scientific principles of the historic growth of language. The leading canons of French grammar, especially, have been cast in a variety of moulds sufficient to last us for another generation. Scientific investigation, a higher standard of practical teaching, a reaching out after more extensive culture in these languages, are the pressing needs of our time.

Of the 51 non-educational works just named, two only are reprints (French), while the remaining 49 are translations covering almost every department of literature, science, etc., with fiction at the head and history at the tail end of the list. Novels lead off with 17 volumes, to which Émile Zola has contributed the largest number of any single author, viz. five—a fact which, in itself, would seem to have a striking significance with reference to the materialistic tendencies of our novel-reading public. This author's popularity in America, over that of his contemporary fellow-countrymen, is due, however, in part most certainly, to pure curiosity. A volume like *L'Assommoir*, of which one hundred thousand copies were sold in France in a few weeks, would naturally arouse great curiosity on this side of the water to see what is in it, and then other works of the same writer would follow as a matter of business speculation. Next to Zola come Gréville (Mme. Durand), Theuriet and Verne, with two volumes apiece. Following fiction we have biography represented by 11 translations, science by 8, art and drama by 3 each, and finally the closing group—music, literature and political economy—by 2 each.

Of the eight educational works seven are French and one Spanish (an elementary Spanish primer, which, it is hoped, will do no special harm). If there is any one sign in book-making that indicates an improvement in the moral sense of French grammar-manufacturers, it is surely the fact that the whole year 1879 inflicted on the American public only three treatises of this sort. Two of these are harmless productions of extreme elementary pretensions; the third is *sui generis*,—a *curiosum* of peculiar merit. Its author must be blessed with a big bump of originality (a quality not possessed by many of his predecessors), and be, besides, a close observer of the leading traits of American character. It is to our intense appreciation of the ludicrous that he appeals with the following modest title: "Comical French Grammar; or, French in an amusing point of view, being extractive, fantastic, idiomatic, methodic, phlegmatic, theatric and graphic."

The most propitious augury for the future, perhaps, in these studies, is the

disposition to examine into previous methods before launching out upon some apparently new theory or system. With the increase of this spirit we are sure to have the 300 and odd educational works now in the book-market overhauled very soon, and a little light thrown on the utter waste of energy expended in the writing of at least three-fourths of them. It is not much credit to our American scholarship that there should be so few traces of rigid scientific method in the whole range of these studies, while our German friends for three-quarters of a century have been making valuable contributions to our knowledge almost every year in this great and important department of learning. Within the shell of the common pedagogical routine the few American scholars have shut themselves up who could have rendered good service in this field, under more favorable circumstances of an interchange of ideas and of united effort. The current year, we hope, will bring about an attempt to set aside, in part at least, this disadvantage, and to establish some centre of influence by which a more just appreciation of these studies may be promulgated.

Scheme showing the number of works published in America in the department of Romance languages for 1879, and the subjects to which these works belong:

EDUCATIONAL.	{	(1)	French.	Grammars,	3	Total, 8	
				Manuals of conver-	2		
		(2)	Spanish,	Hand-book,	1		" 2
				Reader,	1		
				Primer,	1		
NON-EDUCATIONAL.	{	(1)	Reprints, (French)		2	Total, 49	
				(2)	Translations, (French.)		
		Biography,	11				
		Science,	8				
		Art,	3				
		Drama,	3				
		Music,	2				
		Literature,	2				
		Polit. Economy,	2				
		History,	1				
		—	Total, 49				
		Whole number.	59				

A. M. ELLIOTT.

REPORTS.

ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLÄNDISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT, 1879,
XXXIII Band, I und II Heft.

1. Das indogermanische Pronomen. By A. F. Pott. In an examination of H. Chauvée's recent work, *Idéologie Lexicologique* (an attempt at the restoration of original Indo-European by the laws of lexicological phonology and lexicological ideology), Pott undertakes to show that the Indo-European pronominal elements are all consciously significant. He assumes as his basis a symbolical significance (illustrated from non-Aryan languages) for vowels and consonants: *i*, he holds, expresses nearness, *a* distance, *m*, as least opening of the mouth, the speaker, *t*, as intermediate opening, the near object, *k*, as greatest opening, is the all-embracing, and so that which calls for determination, the interrogative and indefinite sign. His elaborate, richly-learned examination of the various and perplexing ramifications of the IE pronoun is always instructive, if not always convincing. In the Mid. and Pass. verbal personal terminations he regards the diphthong as symbolizing the suffering object; *r* he takes to be a different stem from *t*, having for its object the distinction between the sexual and the non-sexual (yet only in the subject-case); *a* in *asma* he thinks may express nearness, and *vas (vos)* duality (of speaker and person addressed); Plu. *as* in nouns he makes sign of addition (*devdsas* = God this+that). His repugnance to what he calls the "Darwinian" theory of language seems unnecessary.

2. Zur Pehlevi-Münzkunde. By A. D. Mordtmann. Mordtmann describes various Pehlevi coins collected by himself and others, illustrates his view that they exhibit three eras (Hejira, Yezdegird, 10 H., and Taberi, 30 H.), maintains his formerly announced discovery of a hitherto unknown coin-prince Vischtachma Piruzi, makes various geographical remarks, and replies to Nöldeke's strictures (Vol. 31 of ZDMG).

3, 4. Th. Nöldeke has two articles, one on *Iranische Ortsnamen auf Kert*, etc., in which he defends the derivation of *kert* from Iranian *karta*, *kereta* = "made"; the other entitled *Zwei Völker Vorderasiens*, investigating the location and history of the Qadishaye and Ortaye: the former (dwelling up to the 7th century of our era in Siggar and Tebeth in middle Mesopotamia), a savage, warlike people, with a peculiar religion, not unlike the Kurds; the latter (found in southern Armenia, probably up to the middle of the 9th century), converted to Christianity towards the end of the 4th century.

5. Rigveda X, 85, *Die Vermählung des Soma und der Sûrya*. By J. Ehni. According to Dr. Ehni the Soma in this passage is twofold: first, the moon, the holder of the heavenly soma-juice, the gods' drink of immortality; and then a heavenly soma-plant, out of which is pressed the drink of life. Sûrya is the advancing sun, proceeding from the winter solstice to the vernal equinox.

The song is a description of the Hindu spring, or the period from the beginning of January to the end of April, the moon standing in the double character of ruler of the night and outpurer of life-giving moisture, and the sun appearing as ruler of the day and dispenser of fructifying warmth.

6. Ueber die Maitrayani Samhita, ihr Alter, etc. By Leopold Schroeder. This work, S. thinks, was known to Panini, and used and highly valued by him. It has striking peculiarities, phonetic (change of final untuned *a* and *as* before toned initial vowels to *ā*, but, if these tone-conditions be not observed, to *a*, change of *l* before *ç* to *ñ*, etc.), accentual (complicated method of indicating accents), lexicographical (it contains words cited by the Hindu grammarians and lexicographers, and till now found nowhere else, and S. has found in it three hundred words not given in the Petersburg Dictionary). The work is ancient, but the name Maitrayani is of later origin, and S.'s account of the change of name (following a suggestion of Weber's) throws a curious light on the early relations between Buddhism and Brahmanism.

7. Wilhelm Spitta (Die Lücken in Jawāliki's Múarrab) fills out (from two MSS. in the viceregal library at Cairo) some of the gaps in Sachau's edition of Jawāliki's work on the foreign words in Arabic, and makes a welcome addition to our knowledge of Arabic phonetics.

8. C. Sandreczki contributes a second article on Die Maltesische Mundart (the first in Vol. 30, ZDMG), fairly establishing its essentially Arabic character, and preparing the way for further researches.

9. Zu Rigveda 5, 2, 1-6. By Alfred Hillebrandt. H. supposes in the song two Agnis: a heavenly, born of the Ushas, and an earthly, born of the pieces of wood rubbed together on the altar; the object of the song being to free him from the enemies that retard his birth.

10. Zur semitischen Epigraphik. By K. Schlottmann. After a defence of his transcription and translation of the Carpentras inscription and of his assumption of rhyme and rhythm therein, against the arguments of De Lagarde, S. makes an examination of the principles of metre in Arabic, Hebrew and Aramaic, and undertakes to show that they are founded in the nature of these languages severally. Granting his transcription, his exhibition of the metric principles of procedure by ictus (in distinction from mere counting of syllables) and of rhyme in so early an inscription, is striking.

In the Bibliographische Anzeigen Spiegel (in a review of Harlez's Avestan works) takes occasion to discuss the date of the Avesta (which he thinks uncertain) and the meaning of the word (he makes it = "word of God," the whole or a part of the sacred writings), and to defend Burnouf's method of interpretation (which uses linguistic science to control tradition) against Bopp's (the purely linguistic). He thinks the metrical text older than that of the MSS. (the arrangers having added prose sections), and the Gathas as not far from the rest of the Avesta in thought and date.

Th. Nöldeke's somewhat severe notice of Schrader's Keilinschriften und Gelehrtsforschung (a reply to Gutschmid's Neue Beiträge, etc.) accords to S. only partial success in meeting G.'s objections, and demands of the Assyriologists greater accuracy in grammar and etymology. In view of the "wild irregularity of vocalization and endings," he suggests that many of the signs now regarded

as syllabic may represent consonants only, though he admits that great difficulties stand in the way of such a supposition.

III Heft.

1. Die Werthbezeichnungen auf muhammedanischen Münzen. By Stickel and von Tiesenhausen. Stickel maintains (against von T.), with strong lexicographical and commercial arguments, the view that the coin-marks in question are indications of value and genuineness.

2. Die Sprache der Turkomanen und der Diwan Machdumkuli's. By H. Vámbéry. Vámbéry points out that the Turkoman language agrees with the western and not with the eastern idioms of its linguistic family (as, in vowel-euphony, case-endings, pass. partcp., compound perf., fut., neg. and gerund), though its precise place is hard to determine. His translation of a part of M.'s poem throws an interesting light on Muhammedan ethics as represented by the ascetic teachers of the Steppe in the second half of the last century.

3. Dhanapála's Rishabhapancaçikâ. By Joh. Klatt. Together with text and translation Klatt gives some account of the linguistic peculiarities of this first specimen of a Jainastotra written in Prakrit, and appends a word-index (Prakrit-Sanskrit) and a list of Jaina MSS. in the Berlin library.

4. Die himjarischen Inschriften im Tschinili Kiöschk. By J. H. Mordtmann. In these inscriptions (a connected translation of which is impossible, says the writer, from their fragmentary character) Mordtmann thinks he finds the hitherto undiscovered suffix of the third person dual, *suman* (corresponding to the Arabic *suma*), wherein he makes the tolerably precarious supposition of an original final *n* (nutation) in this suffix.

5. F. Spiegel explains Adar Gushasp (frequently occurring in the Eranian book of kings) as signifying originally a sacred fire, and so, from the myths with which it was connected, much used in comparisons, and also, since it was chosen as protector by living persons, frequently found as proper name.

6. Victor von Strauss and Torney discuss various words used in Chinese to indicate shades of blue and green.

In the Bibliographische Anzeigen Th. Nöldeke, in a notice of Friedrich Baethgen's "Sindban oder die sieben weisen Meister: syrisch und deutsch," discusses the Syrian text, the Greek translation of Andreopolos, the Hebrew, Spanish, and Persian translations, and the Arabic original. In the Syriac he finds no trace of Pehlevi influence, but good proof that it was made from the Arabic. The relations of the great and small Sindbad-book, the Pehlevi from which the Arabic is said to be made, and the Indian from which the Pehlevi probably came, are involved in obscurity. The original Sanskrit form of "Sindbad" (Benfey suggests Siddhapati), Nöldeke leaves undetermined.

W. Schott reviews H. Vámbéry's book on Die primitive Cultur des Turko-Tatarischen Volkes, in which the results are based on linguistic researches. V. finds a well-formed family life (no trace of community of wives or polyandry) in the earliest known condition of the nation. To the title *chagan* (chan, khan) he assigns the signification of "wild boar," but Schott refers it to a root meaning "divide," "decide." V. does not accept the Accadian or Sumerian civilization as a historical fact.

E. Nestle gives a short notice of an edition of the poems of Gregory Bar-Hebraeus, issued at Rome (an indication of a revival of Syriac studies there) by the Maronite Scebabi, who says nothing of the source of his text (Nestle says it is not the MS. brought to Rome by J. S. Assemani.)

IV Heft (Oct. 1879).

1. *Ostindische Kaste in der Gegenwart.* Von Emil Schlagintweit. This article is based on the reports of English census-officers for a number of years, consists, indeed, largely of extracts from them. The conclusions arrived at by the English officers are so various that a complete scientific history of Indian caste cannot be given; but Schlagintweit sums up as follows: Caste is an institution for the maintenance of political authority; it sprang from the relations between the dark-skinned natives and the fair-skinned Aryan invaders. At first intermarriages were general, from which in the course of generations came mixed races of various shades of color. After a while the necessity was felt of checking this intermixture, and marriage with the blacks was forbidden, a definite rank was assigned to each shade of color, and this arrangement was referred to divine prescription. Buddhism set aside the religious sanctity of caste, but could not shake it as a racial distinction; Islam has had to accept it, only using it as a guard against the oppression of the Hindus; Christianity alone has shaken it off, though its earliest representatives (Roman Catholics) tolerated it. Caste-divisions have followed the divisions of occupations, as among Brahmans, peasants, agricultural laborers, shepherds, servants and tradespeople—and tribal divisions, as among the Dravidic peoples of the south. Caste means social division, suspicion, hatred; hence the lack of unity in India, and the ease with which the people have submitted to foreign domination. The hope of the land is in the European culture which strives to root out this pernicious institution. The process of caste-formation has been going on for a long time, is still active, and the number of castes is almost beyond finding out; the English census gives about 2500 main divisions, not reckoning the subdivisions, of which in Madras alone nearly 3900 were found. The Brahmans are now the only undoubted representatives of the Aryan element. Among the Muhammedans there are four principal castes, besides many lesser ones; in the southwest Christian (Roman Catholic) Brahmans were found in 1872 observing certain caste-regulations.

2. *Jugend- und Strassenpoesie in Kairo.* Mitgetheilt von Ignaz Goldziher. Taking occasion from Rev. H. H. Jessup's valuable book on "The Women of the Arabs," in which, in a "Children's Chapter," he gives interesting information about Arab nursery rhymes, but without the Arabic originals, Goldziher communicates a number of children's songs, chiefly gathered by himself from the streets of Cairo. The songs show childish inconsequence, and great variety in the matter, sarcasm, humor, gayety, love, and of course a religious element. Here is something not unlike the religious song of the Southern negro:

If Noah had been struck by the tears of my eye, he'd have sunk;
 If Abraham had encountered my love-pain, he'd have been consumed;
 If the mountains had to endure what I endure, they'd be ground to dust;
 And Moses would faint.

These songs contain many strange interjections, but otherwise the language, as reported by Goldziher, exhibits little that is unusual. In a bit of Ramadân poetry we find the verb *haway* in the sense of "say," "tell," familiar to us in Aramaic, but strange to classical Arabic.

3. Die Apsaras nach dem Mahâbhârata. Von Adolf Holtzmann. The Apsaras are female divine beings of eternal youth and imperishable beauty, corresponding to the male Gandharva. Their number is not given; at the sacrificial feast of the Dilîpa 6000 of them dance. There are various accounts of their origin: according to the Vishnupurâna they sprang from the sea (perhaps an etymological myth, from *ap*, "water," and *sar*, "go," comp. Ἀφροδίτη), but according to the M. they are daughters of Kaçyapa and sisters of the Gandharva, or they are the direct creation of Brahman, from his eyes. In the epos they are properly attendants of Indra, and ordinarily dwell in Indra's heaven, where with the Gandharva they delight the gods with music, song and dance. Later they are found in connection with Çiva and Vishnu. With rare exceptions (a love-affair with Indra is mentioned, and one with Kubera) their lovers are inferior deities and human kings and heroes. The celestial musicians, the Gandharva, are their inseparable companions, and apparently their spouses, though "Gandharva-marriage" is a synonym for a loose union between man and woman; and their unions with men are frequent but transient. They are often sent by Indra to seduce from sanctity some saint of whom the god is jealous; in these villainous expeditions they sometimes succeed (the famous Çakuntalâ was the daughter of the sage Viçvâmitra and Menakâ, the fairest of the Apsaras) and sometimes fail, and are always in danger of being terribly punished by the wrathful saint. The friendly relations between earthly heroes and the heavenly Apsaras continue after the death of the former. In later times the drama was represented as an invention of the heavenly singers, male and female. In the M. there is no trace of a cultus of the Apsaras. The developed Brahmanism of a later period was unfriendly to these beautiful but morally unclean goddesses, and they gradually sank into insignificance; the Indian grammarians place their name among the nouns of which only the plural occurs. The physical-elemental side of the Apsaras found in the Veda-literature (disastrous mists—according to A. Weber the name signifies "formless," from *psaras* = *rápa*) does not occur in the M., whose representation is anthropomorphic reshaping of the old material, such as Homer and Hesiod effected for the Greeks.

4. Nâsir Chusran's Rûsânainâma, oder Buch der Erleuchtung, in Text und Uebersetzung nebst Noten und kritisch-biographischem Appendix. Von Prof. Dr. Hermann Ethé. Dr. Ethé makes it probable that this oldest of the Persian didactic poets was born in Balch, A. H. 394 (A. D. 1004). The poem is characterized by ethical elevation, and is aphoristic and naïve in style, enjoins wisdom, humility, beneficence, early rising, and opposes asceticism and the Dervish; it is bitter against fools, and has much in common with Shakspeare and the Bible. Ethé's text is that of the Gotha MS. with comparison of the Leyden MS., which is a different recension; and of one in the India Office Library (No. 1430, date A. H. 1061), which is midway between these two.

5. Ein melkitischer Hymnus an die Jungfrau Maria. Veröffentlicht von Friedrich Baethgen. (Mit einer Tafel.) The MS. Petermann 28 of the Berlin

Royal Library, from which this hymn is taken, consists of 270 leaves, beginning and end wanting, date not given; Prof. Sachau refers the Melkitic writing to the 13th or 14th century. The MS. seems to have suffered early, and there are traces of two restorers. It contains a collection of hymns to Christ, the Virgin, the Apostles, Saints, for deceased persons, etc., set to the eight church melodies, and designed for the several days of the week; the book belonged to a Melkitic congregation. Some linguistic peculiarities remind us in part of the Syrian-Palestinian dialect: the gutturals are often powerless; the 1 pers. sing. perf. is regularly written with Yud, which is also found in nouns (as mere vowel-letter); final Alaf is omitted in certain demonstratives; verbs First Yud take frequently prosthetic Alaf where the Yud has no consonantal force.

6, 7. Das japanische Schachspiel. Von K. Himly. (Mit einer Tafel.) Einige Worte über das persische Brettspiel Nerd. Von K. Himly. The Japanese, game of chess, says Himly, is the most complicated of the simple and older chess-games proper, and beyond doubt came to Japan from China, though it is now very different from the Chinese game. There is no native tradition either in China or in Japan of a foreign origin of the game. The Persian Nerd is similar to the European Puff or Trictrac; its origin, as well as that of the Chinese-Japanese *swan-liu*, or "Twice Six," seems to be Indian.

8. Ueber eine Handschrift des Mufaṣṣal. Von A. Socin. This valuable MS., numbered 425 in the Hohenzollern Library at Sigmaringen, was presented by H. R. H. Prince Karl of Rumania to his father, and deposited in the library in 1878. It was captured in the late Russo-Turkish war, and seems to have been found at Rahova; an inscription on the MS. further states that the Sherif Emim Shair, body-servant of Ali Agâ, had presented it to Tirnova for the students of science, on the condition that it was not to be removed from the library of the place or sold; the date of the inscription is A. H. 1176 (began July 23, 1762). How the MS. came from Tirnova to Rahova is not known. It is 14 centimetres in breadth, 17 cm. in height, is of cotton-paper, and contains on 270 leaves small 4to the complete text of the Mufaṣṣal. It is well preserved, the writing is a handsome and clear old Neshi, the more important vowel-points are inserted by the first scribe, the place is Herat, and the date the eighth century of the Muhammedan era (fourteenth of the Christian era). Another inscription declares that this MS. had been compared with another, which had been compared with a third, which had been compared with the original MS. of the author, Zamaḥshari. Our MS. contains numerous valuable remarks: all the half-verses cited in the M. are filled out and partially explained, and in addition a number of grammatical elucidations appended.

9. In the Notizen und Correspondenzen Th. Nöldeke makes a contribution Zur Pehlevi-Sprache und Münzkunde, a list of Indian MSS. in the possession of Prof. H. Jacobi in Münster i. W. is given, and A. Müller has a communication on Shemitic verbs $\text{V}''\text{J}$ and $\text{J}''\text{J}$, undertaking to show that originally bisyllabic roots in Shemitic have been formally assimilated to the trisyllabic by strengthening either the vowel on the second (and occasionally the first) consonant: Müller insists on the simplicity of this scheme, but recognizes its difficulties, which he does not here undertake to discuss. Prof. G. Bickell, in a letter to the editors, defends his Hebrew metrical theory against the objections of Schlotmann.

10. In the Bibliographische Anzeigen A. F. Mehren has remarks on the lexicographical Perlenschnüre of Selīm Effendi Anhūrī of Damascus, Beirut, 1878, Heft I, and Fleischer on Ibn Ja'ish's Commentary on Zamachsharī's Mufaṣṣal, edited at the expense of the German Oriental Society by Dr. G. Jahn, Heft III, IV, Leipzig, F. A. Brockhaus.

C. H. Toy.

JOURNAL ASIATIQUE, 1879, March-April.

1. J. Halevy gives a Note supplémentaire sur l'Inscription de Byblos, proposing various new readings and translations, filling out supposed lacunae, and giving a complete text and translation: he reads the name of the king's father Yehudbaal (only one of Baal), makes the offerings a bronze altar, a piece of gold sculpture and a city of gold (a Fortuna), and supposes the king to enjoin on every one who makes additions to the structure to put his (the king's) name on it. He regards the dialect as differing from that of Sidon, and showing a remarkable similarity to the Hebrew, and discusses Phœnician female divinities, especially their independence of the male deities.

2. Notice sur les tribus Arabes de la Mésopotamie. By C. Huart. A translation of a modern Arabic work (1865), with instructive geographical notes.

3. C. de Harlez contributes his third article Des Origines du Zoroastrisme, devoted to the *Monde infernal*, and by an examination of various words and names in the Avesta seeks to show that it is not the result of a religious revolution, nor of a simple development of old Aryan myths, or, more exactly, of the storm-myth ("l'oragisme"), but the product of a combination of primitive or restored natural polytheism, dualism, and an imperfect monotheism.

4. H. Zotenberg gives the conclusion of his Mémoire sur la Chronique Byzantine de Jean, Évêque de Nikiou (Ethiopic translation), full of curious details concerning the Muhammedan conquest of Egypt.

May-June.

1. Leçons de Calcul d'Aryabhata. By L. Rodet. The author does not discuss the questions connected with the Indian origin of the decimal numeration, and a possible Greek influence on Aryabhata (about A. D. 500-550), but limits himself to remarks (in connection with the translation) on the Indian mathematical knowledge of the time.

2. In his Notes de Lexicographie Assyrienne (second article) Stanislas Guyard among other things defends the Assyrian origin of the indefinite pronoun *min*, "whatever" (which he makes a corruption of *mim* = *mimma*), sees in the second element of *sakanakku*, "grand pontiff," and *isakku*, "vicar," the Accadian *akku* (= *aggu*, "great," and renders *gasiri* (in the inscriptions of Assurhanipal) by "gibbets."

3. R. Duval gives a Notice sur la Dialecte de Ma'loulâ, founded on a vocabulary made by Huart from the mouths of the inhabitants, following in general Nöldeke's sketch (ZDMG, XXI) of this Syriac dialect, but making additional remarks suggested by Huart's fuller collection. The language is markedly affected by the Arabic.

4. Poème de Çabi, en Dialecte Chalka. By R. Basset. The text, transcription and translation of a popular Berber Muhammedan poem, with a short sketch of the dialect.

5. Traduction Arabe du Traité des Corps flottants d'Archimède. By H. Zotenberg. The MS. (National Library, Arabic Supplement, No. 952 bis) is dated, says the author, 358 H., and the Arabic text conforms entirely neither to the Greek text nor to the Latin translation.

In the *Nouvelles et Mélanges* there is a notice of Cunningham's *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. I, by E. Senart (who maintains against C. the common Shemitic origin of the two Indian alphabets); an examination of the monosyllabic Rong and Mikir languages (spoken between Nepal and Butan), on the basis of the grammars of Mainwaring and Neighbor, by L. Feer; an explanation of two Assyrian passages, by J. Oppert; a defence (against Delitzsch and Lenormant) of the Shemitic character of *qatu*, by Derenbourg; and an unfavorable notice of Geldner's *Traduction d'Extraits de l'Avesta*, by C. de Harlez.

October-December.

1. Études Bouddhiques. Le Livres des cent Légendes (Avadâna-Çataka). Par M. Léon Feer. (Suite et fin). The object of these Buddhist Studies is to show that there is an intimate connection between the Avadâna-Çataka and the similar collections called Kalpadruma-Avadâna and Ratna-Avadâna on the one hand, and the Dvâviñçati-Avadâna on the other, the first-named standing midway between the other two groups; a comparative table of contents of the three groups is appended. M. Feer has here considered only surviving Sanskrit works, but hopes hereafter to examine those which are preserved in Tibetan translations.

2. Mémoire sur les Guerres des Chinois contre les Coréens, de 1618 à 1637, d'après les Documents Chinois, par M. Camille Imbault-Huart. An interesting narration of the conquest of Corea by the first Mandchu dynasty. The absence of Korean books makes it necessary to have recourse to Chinese authorities, whose accounts, it is possible, have an undue Chinese coloring. The author states that several thousand Coreans have fled from the oppression of their own government to the adjoining Russian territory, and have become Russian subjects, half of them already Christianized. They are described as quiet, simple, modest, industrious folks.

3. Correspondance du Philosophe Soufi Ibn Sab'in Abd Oul Haqq avec l'Empereur Frédéric II de Hohenstaufen. Publiée d'après le Manuscrit de la Bibliothèque Bodléienne, contenant l'Analyse générale de cette Correspondance et la Traduction du quatrième Traité sur l'Immortalité de L'Âme. Par M. A. F. Mehren. Ibn Sab'in (A. D. 1216-1271), born in Spain, but forced, it is said, by religious persecution to leave his country, went first to Tunis, whence he was again driven, and finally found a refuge in Mecca, where he professed his heretical opinions till his death. M. Amari has proved that the Emperor Frederic II was the Christian prince who asked the questions to which this letter is a reply. It is instructive for the history of the times that the philosopher treats the emperor *de haut en bas*, not scrupling to call him an ignorant simpleton over and over again. Ibn Sab'in's philosophy is Sufite mysticism with the then

prevalent Aristotelianism and Platonism as its logical and psychological basis; his argument for the immortality of the soul is that thought is not material.

4. *Matériaux pour servir à l'Histoire de la Numismatique et de la Métrologie Musulmanes, traduits ou recueillis et mis en Ordre par M. H. Sauvare, Consul de France. Première partie—Monnaies.* This article is made up chiefly of citations from native authorities, giving the origin of coined money among the Arabs (under Abd el Malek, A. H. 76), the value of various coins, and the laws controlling the currency.

5. In the *Nouvelles et Mélanges* M. Pavet de Courteille offers some criticisms on Hermann Vámbéry's work: *Die primitive Cultur des Turko-Tatarischen Volkes auf Grund sprachlicher Forschungen erörtert*, Leipzig, 1879. Among other things Vámbéry says that *sarí*, the oldest form of the word for "merchant," means also "wanderer," "stranger," and to-day indicates the Turkish-speaking Iranians of pure Iranian type as the first merchants who had dealings with the Turks. Pavet de Courteille, however, gives good reasons for holding that the word signifies sedentary persons (merchants or agriculturists) in opposition to nomads, and has no ethnical force. For the rest he thinks Vámbéry's book a useful one.

C. H. Toy.

GERMANIA. Vierteljahrsschrift für deutsche Alterthumskunde. Herausgegeben von Karl Bartsch, Wien, 1879.

The twenty-fourth volume shows in its four numbers the honest work we may always expect from the management, and betokens assured prosperity. That hereafter all shorter reviews will be left to a newly started organ, *Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie*, Heilbronn, Gebr. Henninger, we do not like even if the space thus saved, as the editor assures us, should be to the advantage of more detailed criticisms. The average American student of Germanic lore is not blessed with an abundance of means for subscriptions.

The first number of the *Germania* contains contributions from the editor, Dr. Bartsch, *Die beiden literarischen Stellen bei Rudolf von Ems, and Ein altes Bücherverzeichnis.* The first paper discusses the chronological order of Rudolf's poems, Wilhelm and Alexander, and is an answer to an article by J. Schmidt in Paul und Braune's *Beiträge* 3, 140-181, and the second gives a list of 31 volumes formerly in the *Schlosskapelle* at Wittenberg, mentioned in a catalogue of the fifteenth century.

Reinhold Bechstein, editor of Gottfried's *Tristan* in Brockhaus' *deutsche Classiker des Mittelalters*, has an able paper on the passage in *Tristan*:

Dâ von wând'er untæte
Von sinem neven âne sîn

in which he explains the difficulty which R. Sprenger finds in understanding these verses (4th number of *Germania*, 1877), and tries to obviate by a different reading. On page 11, 17th line from above of the article, an error has crept in. It should read *Âne sîn* (mit Absicht, etc.).

Reinhold Köhler contributes a minor article Ueber ein Meisterlied von dem rothen Kaiser, with reference to legends based upon the struggle between Emperor Barbarossa and Pope Alexander III, as they existed in the song and prose of Germany and Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and Felix Liebrecht treats of some fescennine verses occurring in German, English, Italian, Latin and New-Greek, under the heading Die krachende Bettstatt, ein Sprachschwank.

The most important paper of the number is one by Otto Behagel, of Heidelberg, Beiträge zur deutschen Syntax, prompted by an article of W. Scherer in the Ztschft. f. deut. Alt. 22, 321. In a former communication to the same quarterly, Scherer hints at a probable preference of a High-German idiom at the imperial chancery of the Low-German Saxon monarchs, and now finds a sure testimony for a "Schriftsprache" as early as the eleventh century, in the exchanging of the dative and accusative of the personal pronoun by a copyist of the Leiden MS. of Williram's paraphrase of the song of Salomon. S. thinks the writer of that codex received through the influence of the Schriftsprache some idea of the High-German distinction of the cases, not sufficient however to enable him properly to discriminate, and thus he foisted his errors in *mir* and *mih* upon the document. This Behagel concludes to be at any rate a very strange influence of a standard written speech, to cause him who strives to use it to corrupt the correct language of his original MS., and asks whether this usage of the copyist be not capable of a different explanation. B. cites instances where the same form stands for both dative and accusative, from languages which do not come within the scope of Scherer's explanation, and argues that the practice in question in the Leiden MS. need not necessarily have come through an influence of the High-German Schriftsprache, but may rest upon syntactical usage of the transcriber's dialect. In further support of his argument Behagel appeals to living dialects, and adduces a host of examples from various Low-German districts. The valuable and lengthy paper closes with his views respecting this singular usage.

A. Edzardi continues his Beiträge zur Geschichte und Erklärung der Eddalieder, with a review of passages from the Voluspá, Vegtamskviða and Vafþrúsmismál. E. considers Sophus Bugge's elucidations of the Vsp. in the main the best, but regards his change in the order of strophes (followed by Hildebrand and approved by Simrock in his Edda) not justifiable in the face of the testimony of the Codex Regius and Hauksbók. In summing up his arguments against Bugge's opinion, Edzardi ventures upon a very ingenious explanation of the discrepancies in parts of the Voluspá. He believes its present form the result of a combination of a younger Ragnarok song and fragments of an older cosmogonic poem, with a mythological didactic poem put in the mouth of a seeress. This leads him to a conjecture as to the want of congruity in the strophes of the Vegtamskviða. In embodying the Ragn. song with the Vsp., the epic introduction of the former was dropped and formed in turn the basis of the Vgt., now the first five strophes of that poem, to which a later skald added nine of mythological dialogue.

K. Maurer supplies the text of a fragment Zum alten schwedischen Hofrechte, discovered in the Norwegian government archives, communicated to him by

Dr. G. Storm, of Christiania, and according to that gentleman dating from 1400. C. M. Blas furnishes a list of nursery rhymes of Lower-Austria; and Adalbert Baier in a paper Ueber Hartmanns von Aue Heimath und Kreuzzüge, takes up the moot point regarding Hartmann's nativity (Lachmann, Roth, Bech, Rückert, Kurz). From passages in the Kreuzlieder he infers that that minstrel was a Suabian, and took part in two crusades (1189 and 1197). A. Birlinger contributes from a Bavarian MS. of the 15th century a number of curious charms to cure diseases, and W. Loose has a Schwabenstreich from a vol. of 1472 in the Nürnberg city library. Dr. E. Sievers finishes the first part of this number (13 papers) with a communication respecting a comparison of his Heliand text (Cottonianus) with Bartsch's readings, kindly undertaken by E. M. Thompson, of England, upon the request of Sievers. S. hopes that we are now in possession of a fair reading of the Cottonianus.

The second part, devoted to book notices, contains favorable criticisms of H. Osthoff's *Verbum in der Nominal-Composition im deutschen, griechischen, slavischen und romanischen*, Jena, 1878; O. Behagel's *Zeitfolge d. abhängigen Rede im deutschen*, Paderborn, 1878; Kristian Kaalund's *Bidrag til en historisktopografisk Beskrivelse af Island*, Kjöbenhavn, 1877; Henry Petersen's *Om Nordboernes Gudedyrkelse og Gudestro i Hedenold*, Kjöbenhavn, 1876; Bernhard Döring's *Bemerkungen über Stil und Typus der isländischen Saga*, Osterprogramm des Nikolaigymnasiums zu Leipzig, 1877; W. Hertz's and the late Herm. Kurz's translations of Gottfried's *Tristan und Isolde*, Stuttgart, 1877; A. Jeitteles' *Altdeutsche Predigten aus dem Benedictinerstifte St. Paul in Kärnten*, Innsbruck, 1878; and J. Schmidt's *Priester Konrad's deutsches Predigtbuch*, Wien, 1878.

The number closes with a report of the proceedings *Der deutsch-romanischen Abtheilung der XXXIII Versammlung deut. Philologen und Schulmänner zu Gera*, 1878; a notice by W. Hosäus of some German mediaeval MSS. in the Fürst-Georgs-Bibliothek in Dessau, and some minor communications by Möller and Barstch.

The second number begins with a paper of Felix Liebrecht, *Zur schwedischen Volksliteratur*, which adds valuable references to folk-lore not mentioned in Backström's *Öfversigt af Svenska Folkliteraturen*, III Vol. of *Svenska Folkböcker*, Stockholm, 1845; and Fedor Bech publishes *Besserungen und Nachweise zu Müller u. Zarncke's Mhd. Wörterb., Lexer's Handwörterb.* and a number of M. H. G. texts.

Anton Nagele endeavors to show in a lengthy article *Zur Chronologie der Sprüche Walther's von d. Vogelweide*, that the accepted opinion as to the time of the origin of some of the great lyrics Sprüche is open to doubt; and O. Behagel continues his instructive *Beiträge zur deutschen Syntax*, discussing asyndetic constructions of which he gives a long list from the O. H. G., M. H. G., and N. H. G. to the beginning of the seventeenth century. B. subjoins a few critical remarks on readings of the M. N. L. *Osterspiel*, treated with regard to its syntax in a former number.

The discovery made some time ago in the city library at Leipzig of several parchment leaves from the fourteenth century containing fragments of Albrecht v. Scharfenberg's *Tituel*, is made the subject of a paper by G. Milchsack.

Description and text of the fragments are given. It seems that the document served as a cover for the binding of old city accounts.

Karl Bartsch in a communication notices the peculiar use of the diphthongs *ei* and *ai* in the indefinite article as it occurs in the Austrian dialect Heinrichs des Teichners (1350-77) in which the article spelt *ein* stands before accented, while *ain* generally before unaccented syllables, and concludes from it "Dass *ei* angewendet wird bei geschwächter logischer Betonung, *ai* bei betontem *ein*; dass mithin *ai* von beiden Bezeichnungen der stärkere und gewichtigere Diphthong ist."

The first part of the second number closes with minor communications from Bartsch regarding a fragment inserted on the last leaf of the Cologne MS. of Wirnts Wigalois and a Wurmsegen from a MS. in the library of Count Buoncompagni in Rome.

The book-notices commence with a criticism of W. Wilmann's Beiträge zur Erklärung und Geschichte des Nibelungenliedes, Halle, 1877, by Hermann Fischer. F., after rendering homage to the acumen displayed in the work, comes to the conclusion that he cannot agree with the results reached, and in eighty pages (including continuation in the third number of the Germania) explains his reasons for dissenting. The work goes bravely on, for surely this review of Wilmann's book shows that the end of the Kampf um der Nibelunge hort is still far off, and we may expect to see the proud array of some hundred and more gentlemen that in Germany alone have entered the lists with book and pamphlet considerably augmented. Hermann Fischer, the writer of Forschungen über das Nibelungenlied seit Karl Lachmann, Leipzig, 1874, belongs; as regards the Nibelungen question, to the Bartsch school. H. Paul has a favorable criticism of Osthoff and Brugmann's Morphologische Untersuchungen auf dem Gebiete der indogermanischen Sprachen, 1 Vol. Leipzig, 1878. Bartsch reviews the fourth edition of J. Grimm's Deutsche Mythologie, Berlin, 1875-78, Philipp Wackernagel's Deutsches Kirchenlied von der ältesten Zeit bis zu Anfang des XVII Jahrhunderts, 5 Vols., Leipzig, 1864-77, and Philipp Strauch's Offenbarungen der Adelheid Langmann, Klosterfrau zu Engelthal, Strassburg, 1878. H. Lambel favorably criticises L. Blume's essay, Ueber den Iwein des Hartmann v. Aue, Wien, 1879. Two extracts from a Rostock MS. of the fourteenth century finish the second number.

In the third number E. Wilken has a valuable paper on Alliteration, in which he examines at great length the accent theory in alliterative verse as treated in F. Vetter's Zum Muspilli und zur germanischen Alliterationspoesie. Wilken, although agreeing with Vetter in his opposition to the Lachmann theory, which gives to each hemistich of the Hildebrandslied four grammatical accents (applied by Mühlenhoff to the rest of O. H. G. alliterative pieces), does not think that V. has succeeded in bringing conclusive proof for the two-accent theory, and holds that the fundamental questions concerning old Germanic versification are still too unsettled to admit of a positive conclusion on that score.

Under the heading Deutsche Nativität des XII Jahrhunderts, F. König presents us with the text of a fragment probably dating from the end of the twelfth or commencement of the thirteenth century, found in the Munich library, and Bartsch produces the beginning of a Margarethen-Legende found on a leaf of

the Weltchronik of Jansen der Enenkel in the Royal Library at Berlin. B. places the original of the legend in the twelfth century, and supplies a corrected text and remarks.

Fedor Bech follows with emendations Zu Parzival, and Bartsch with some verses of the twelfth century from a Munich MS.

A. Nagele continues from the second number Zur Chronologie der Sprüche Walther's, specially directed against Menzel's views as to the time of Walther's presence at the court of Vienna.

Adalbert Jeitteles, in referring to Birlinger's paper, Bairische Besegnungen (first number), furnishes texts of similar and additional matter from an Innsbruck MS. of the fourteenth century.

Hermann Fischer closes his review of Wilmann's book Beiträge zur Erklärung und Geschichte des Nibelungenliedes, and A. Edzardi examines Ernst Wilken's publications, Prosaische Edda im Auszuge nebst Volsunga Saga und Nornagesthátt, Vol. I, Text, and Untersuchungen zur Snorra-Edda, 1877-78, Paderborn. Edzardi's criticism of the first work is not favorable, but he finds the Untersuchungen "besonnener und brauchbarer."

Hugo Gering's Finnbogasaga hins ramma, Halle, 1879, and Chants populaires flamands avec les airs, notés et poésies populaires diverses recueillies à Bruges, par Adolphe Lootens et J. M. E. Feys, Bruges, 1879, are criticised favorably by Oscar Brenner and Felix Liebrecht respectively.

Otto Behagel reviews L. Bock's Ueber einige Fälle des Conjunctivus im Mittelhochdeutschen, Strassburg, 1878. In examining syntactical peculiarities, two modes of proceeding are possible. The first, the descriptive, notices *when* certain constructions make their appearance first; the second, the historical, shows *how* out of one construction another gradually developed, in other words, this mode traces syntactical peculiarities back to their origin. From the first standpoint Behagel thinks the pamphlet a valuable contribution; not particularly so, however, from the second, contrary to the opinion of the reviewer of the essay in the Augsb. Allg. Zeitung.

The third number closes with short communications from Köhler, Bartsch, Behagel, Hosäus, Birlinger and Freybe.

The fourth number begins with a paper of Reinhold Köhler, Von den zwei Sanct Johanssen. K. shows that the story of the two nuns quarrelling as to the greater sanctity of St. John the Baptist or St. John the Evangelist, and the subsequent vision of the two nuns as it is stated in the poem of Heinzelein von Konstanz (1298), has a corresponding narrative in the Dialogus Miraculorum of Cäsarius von Heisterbach (who died in the fourth decade of the thirteenth century), and there it is said to have happened in a convent of the diocese Treves. This was not known to the editors of Heinzelein (F. Pfeiffer and others). The actual stories only differ in time and circumstance of the vision, and as Heinzelein himself says:

"Daz selbe mære ist niht gestift . . .
Ich las ez eben üz der schrift."

Köhler considers it likely that the Dialogus of Cäsarius is the very 'schrift' referred to by the poet. K. adds that the same story is also related of two clergymen, and in connection with it furnishes matter not heretofore noticed.

A. Nagele has additional matter in support of his views touching Walther v. d. Vogelweide and the imperial court of Vienna, treated in second and third numbers of the *Germania*, *Zur Chronologie der Sprüche Walthers*. The paper is prompted by Dr. Zarncke's essay *Zur Waltherfrage*, read before the philological division of the Royal Saxon Society of Sciences in March, 1878, and fixes the time of a certain transaction between Walther and Bishop Wolfger von Passau.

Emil Weller, in *Nachlese zu Gödekes Grundriss und Weller's Annalen*, gleans a number of poetical productions of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries from Weizel's thesaurus (Leipzig, 1870), W. v. Maltzahn's library and other sources, some of which have not been known.

R. Bechstein points out a serious error of the printer in the splendid collection, *Altdeutsches Liederbuch* (Leipzig, 1877), of Franz M. Böhme, not noticed by either Schnorr v. Carolsfeld or Bartsch in their respective reviews of that work (*Archiv* 8, *Germania* 23). The well-known hymn "Warum betrübst du dich mein Herz," was formerly in all German hymn-books assigned to Hans Sachs, and in Philipp Wackernagel's *Deutsches Kirchenlied*, first edition, 1841, figured under that authorship. Goedeke, in his *Grundriss* (I, 340) first gave clóser attention to this hymn, and says: "Die Ungenauigkeit der Reime weist kaum auf Hans Sachs, etc." "In seinen Handschriften ist es nicht nachgewiesen." In Koberstein, ed. Bartsch (Leipzig, 1872), I, 322, 43 it reads: "Das Lied ist jedoch wohl nicht von ihm," and P. Wackernagel, in his last edition of the *Kirchenlied*, corrects his statement in the first by placing the hymn among those of which the authorship is not known. The printer of Wackernagel's work carried the name Georgius Aemilius Oemler, which correctly headed the preceding columns, to the following containing hymns of doubtful authorship; among them the hymn in question. Böhme, led astray by this error, quotes Oemler as the author. Wackernagel, however, does note the mistake in his own book (page 1184), although not quite correctly, for instead of "Seite 123-128 sind die columnentitel zutilgen," it should read "123-130," etc. The origin of this misstatement with regard to the Hans Sachs authorship lies, according to Wackernagel, with Prof. J. M. Dilherr, of Nürnberg, who, among other errors in his hymn-book of 1654, committed this one also.

C. M. Blaas publishes a Märchen from the Bohemian Forest, *Vom unzufriedenen Wolf*, communicated to him by J. Pranzhofer, seventy-one years old, and a native of those mountains, who had heard it when a child from his grandmother. It resembles the story of the wolf's dream in J. W. Wolf's *Deutsche Hausmärchen*, but is longer and perhaps older, (cf. *Reinardus vulpes*, *Reinecke vos*).

Blaas continues with a minor paper on a passage in Konrad von Meigenburg's *Buch der Natur* (ed. Pfeiffer), concerning the cuckoo's and hoopoo's companionship, which makes one think of the common saying in Low-Germany, "Der Kukuk und sein Küster," made familiar to all Germany through the line in M. Claudius' *Rheinweinlied*, "Dann tanzen auch der Kukuk und sein Küster."

Theodor Gelbe has *Ein Kinderspiel aus dem Elsas*, that in the verses chanted by the children at the play has the following:

"Sperret auf, sperret auf, die Thore auf,
Der König von Sachsen wird kommen."

G. learns that the play is much older than the present Kingdom of Saxony, and very aged persons in Strassburg maintain that the song is very old, that it reaches back several hundred years (?) A king of Saxony in the mouths of Alsatian children! Is this a reminiscence of Marshal Saxe or even of the Saxon emperors?

A. Jeitteles, from his collection of Styrian folksongs (to be published in a few years), follows with some fescennine songs in addition to those given by Liebrecht in the first number of the *Germania*, and R. Sprenger sends *Kleine kritische Beiträge zu den altdeutschen predigten aus dem Benedictinerstifte St. Paul in Kärnten*, (ed. Jeitteles,) zu Freidank und zur Erzählung von zwei Kaufleuten (*Zeitschrift für deut. Philologie*, VII).

Bartsch closes the first part of the fourth number with the beginning and end of a poem found among other Old-German poems in a paper MS. of the fifteenth century in the library of Lord Ashburnham, mentioned by G. Waitz, im neuen Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde. From the burthen of the beginning it seems to refer to Henry the Lion.

The book notices of the fourth number contain favorable reviews by Fedor Bech of Karl Pickel's "Das heilige Namenbuch von Konrad von Dangkrotzheim," in *Elsässische Literatur denkmäler aus dem XIV-XVII Jahrhundert*, ed. E. Martin and E. Schmidt, I Vol., Strassburg and London, Trübner; and by R. Bechstein of B. Bergemann's inaugural dissertation, *Das höfische Leben nach Gottfried von Strassburg*, Halle, 1876. Bechstein further calls attention to the excellent biographical sketch, *Philipp Wackernagel, nach seinem Leben und Wirken f. d. deutsche Volk und d. deutsche Kirche*, by Dr. L. Schulze, Leipzig, 1879.

The fourth number closes with a bibliographical survey, *Erscheinungen auf dem Gebiete der germanischen Philologie im Jahre 1878*, by Karl Bartsch in Heidelberg, assisted by K. Gislason in Kopenhagen, Möbius in Kiel and Södervall in Lund, followed by an index to the 22d, 23d and 24th Vols. of the *Germania*, and a list of contributors and their contributions for Vols. 13-24 of the *Germania*, and for Vols. I-II of the *Germanistische Studien*.

C. F. RADDATZ.

ENGLISCHE STUDIEN. Herausgegeben von DR. EUGEN KÖLBING. I Band. Heilbronn, 1877.¹

The editor and publishers of 'Englische Studien' issued their prospectus in October, 1876, and formulated their design with still greater exactness in the circular dated in December of the same year, and prefixed to the first number of their publication. According to this later prospectus they propose to publish

¹ In pursuance of the plan followed in the case of the 'Revue de Philologie,' and in that of the 'Anglia,' the report of Kölbings' 'Englische Studien' begins with the beginning. A summary of the several volumes of the 'Anglia' will appear in the next number.

B. L. G.

essays in English philology, whether dealing with grammar or the history of literature, unedited texts and such as might be difficult of access, communications about MSS., and the like. Besides, they announce themselves ready to accept longer articles, whether written in German, English, or French. Books, dissertations and programmes are also to be reviewed. Co-laborers are exhorted to render their assistance, that 'Englische Studien' may become at the same time a substitute for the English part of the 'Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Sprache und Litteratur,' and an independent journal of high excellence. Each volume is to contain 2-3 numbers of 10-15 sheets each, and the dates of publication will depend upon the abundance of material.

I. Of seven articles in the first number, five are furnished by the editor, the other two, Nos. 5 and 6, being by Felix Liebrecht and A. Buff respectively.

The first paper is entitled *Zur Textkritik des Ormulum*. Kölbing arrives at the conclusion that the Ormulum is better edited than the Ancren Riwle, but that a number of errors remain to be eliminated. In the course of his investigations, extending over about fifteen pages, he notes several misreadings, for the most part of minor importance, and discovers that White has sometimes mistaken a curl standing over a vowel for a regular breve, when it is in reality a distorted *æ*.

He next discusses The later English Form of the Theophilus Legend. At the beginning Kölbing refers to his article in the *Beiträge zur vergleichenden Geschichte der Rom. Poesie und Prosa des Mittelalters*, Breslau, 1876, entitled 'Ueber die englischen Fassungen der Theophilussage.' The introduction is mainly devoted to a comparison of two versions of the legend, one in Latin prose and the other in French verse, both of which were discovered by the author in the British Museum. There are three MSS. in English, Cod. Harl. 4196, Cott. Tib. E. VII, and the famous Vernon MS. The first and third of these Kölbing prints in full. The Theophilus is found to bear a marked resemblance to Hampole's *Pricke of Conscience*, in respect of metre, style and vocabulary.

The third paper, also by Kölbing, is headed *Zwei Mittelenglische Bearbeitungen der Sage von St. Patrik's Purgatorium*. There are two versions of the legend in Latin, four (possibly five) in French, and three in English. Two of the English versions are printed at length, the third and oldest having been first edited by Horstmann, *Altenglische Legenden*, Paderborn, 1875. The introduction is intended as a sort of supplement to Wright's monograph on St. Patrick's Purgatory, London, 1844. An extended comparison of the various texts is made, with a view to determining the relation existing among the versions, but the results are mostly negative.

Kölbing follows with an article on the Middle English poem, *Lybeaus Discous*. Ritson edited it for the first time in his *Metrical Romances from the Codex Cott. Calig. A. II* in the British Museum. A second copy of the poem exists in the National Library at Naples. This Naples MS. has been compared by Kölbing with Ritson's text, with the *édition princeps* of the French original (*Le bel inconnu ou Giglain, fils de messire Gauvain, par Renauld de Beaujeu*, Paris, 1860), and with the M. H. G. *Wigalois* (ed. Fr. Pfeiffer, Leipzig, 1847). The interdependence of the versions is investigated, and an effort made to determine the value of the Naples MS.

Kölbing next occupies about a page in pointing out the correspondence between On god Oreisun of ure Lefdi and the Anglo-Saxon Phœnix.

F. Liebrecht contributes some interesting notes on Folk-lore, under the following heads: Godiva, Skimmington, Three souls (*i. e.* vegetative, animal and rational), English, Scottish and Irish superstition, and Kiltgang.

The first number concludes with an article in English by A. Buff, entitled The Quarto Edition of Ben Jonson's 'Every Man in his Humour.' Buff's English style is clumsy and unidiomatic, and some of his sentences exhibit an open disregard of grammatical principles.

II. A. Buff opens the second number with an article of twenty-five pages in length, in which he discusses the authorship of a tract commonly ascribed to Sir Walter Raleigh, arriving at the conclusion that it was written by a certain John Keymour.

F. H. Stratmann furnishes some Emendations and Additions to the Old English Poem of 'The Owl and the Nightingale.'

E. M. Thompson supplies three Scraps from Middle English MSS., consisting of a short moral poem, the Apostles' Creed and the Lord's Prayer.

In an article on Chaucer's Legend of St. Caecilia (pp. 215-248), Kölbing advances the proposition that its source is not the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus a Voragine, as hitherto believed. His researches lead him to the conviction that Chaucer made use of a version, the first part of which is almost identical with the corresponding passages of the *Legenda Aurea*, while the second is much fuller and exhibits occasional discrepancies. Kölbing agrees with Ten Brink in believing that this poem (commonly known as *The Seconde Nonnes Tale*) is to be referred to the beginning of Chaucer's second, or Italian period. That Chaucer employed neither of the two English lives of the saint is the opinion of Kölbing; the text of one of them forms the second division of the article. The third part is entitled Chaucer and Caxton, and contains several quotations from the two works, a comparison of which leads to the following probable result: Caxton, at the time of writing his *Golden Legend* in 1483, had not only read Chaucer's poem, but was so thoroughly conversant with it that, in several places, instead of making a new translation, he availed himself of his master's phrases with entire unconsciousness that they were not his own. Kölbing closes with pointing out the necessity for a critical edition of the *Acta Sanctorum*.

J. Koch makes a valuable contribution to Chaucerian criticism. After comparing various passages of the *Knights Tale* and the *Teseide* of Boccaccio, he sums up the results as follows:

1. The description of the Temple of Venus in the Assembly of Foules is (exclusive of the last strophes) an unmodified component of the first draft of *Palamon and Arcite*.

2. Chaucer has inserted in *Troilus and Cressida* those strophes of *Palamon and Arcite* which describe the ascension of *Arcite*.

3. Those passages of the *Knights Tale* which are most immediately dependent upon the *Teseide* are, in all probability, not borrowed directly from the latter, but from the original version by Chaucer, and may therefore pass as modified fragments of the latter poem.

The second half of the essay begins with an attempt to ascertain the chronology of certain of Chaucer's poems. 1381 is assigned as the approximate date of the Assembly of Foules, which is thereupon brought into relation with the negotiations for a marriage between Richard II of England and Anne of Bohemia. Regarding Chaucer's employment of the name Lollius, Koch is inclined to believe that it must be imputed to error or carelessness, and not be regarded as an attempt at deception or mystification. Finally, Koch would deny with Sandras, *Étude sur Chaucer*, p. 135, that Chaucer was acquainted with the *Decameron* of Boccaccio.

C. Horstmann prints *The Vision of Saint Paul* from MS. Vernon Fol. 229. This is a later form of the poem as found in MS. Laud 108, and published in *Herrig's Archiv* for 1873. The dialect is East Midland with Northern admixture. MS. Laud is completed, explained and corrected by the legend as contained in MS. Vernon. Horstmann also contributes *The Legend of Eufrosyne*, from MS. Vernon Fol. 103. His ability and minute accuracy are well known and require no comment.

Francis A. March's paper on *Anglo-Saxon and Early English Pronunciation* follows, being reprinted, with a note of explanation, from the *Transactions of the American Philological Association* for 1871.

F. Bobertag contributes a long article on *Fielding*. His criticism is at the same time sympathetic and incisive.

Under the head of *Book Notices*, Albert Stimming reviews *Theodor Wissmann's King Horn*, originally published in *Quellen und Forschungen*, collected by Ten Brink, Scherer and Steinmeyer, No. XVI.

III. The third number contains, as its opening paper, an article by Francis A. March, entitled *Is there an Anglo-Saxon Language?* Like the paper on *Anglo-Saxon and Early English Pronunciation*, it is reprinted from the *Transactions of the American Philological Association*. Prof. March's reputation, which is deservedly high, will give his views great weight. With *Grein in Anglia I* he defends the use of the expression by convincing arguments.

H. Varnhagen supplies (pp. 379-423) *Contributions to the Exegesis and Textual Criticism of Dan Michel's Ayenbite of Inwyt*. The translator has followed the French original with slavish accuracy. There are three French MSS. in the British Museum, and four prose translations into English still exist, the *Ayenbite* not being counted. Varnhagen's criticisms only touch the more important passages, and chiefly those contained in *Mätzner's Altenglische Sprachproben*.

F. H. Stratmann proposes *Verbesserungen zum Havelok*, to the number of nineteen.

Reinhard Mosen next discusses (pp. 425-456) *Thomas Otway's Life and Works*, with especial reference to the *Tragedies*. Eleven pages are occupied with the story of his life, and the remainder to a consideration of his *Tragedies*, which are taken up in the following order: *Alcibiades*, *Don Carlos*, *Titus and Berenice*, *The History and Fall of Caius Marius*, *The Orphan*, and *Venice Preserved*.

F. Bobertag contributes (pp. 456-480) a very readable article on Pope's Rape of the Lock. Alessandro Tassoni (1565-1635) created the heroi-comic poem. His *Secchia Rapita* appeared in 1616. Boileau followed with *Le Lutrin* (1672-1683), and Pope's burlesque was composed in the year 1712. Tassoni's poem is analyzed at length, and the author proceeds to consider how the new genus of poetry was established by his still greater successors, but breaks off in the middle, reserving the conclusion of his paper for another number.

Under the head of Book Notices, Karl Körner criticises Dederich's *Historische und Geographische Studien zum Angelsächsischen Beowulfliede*, (Köln, 1877), Botkine's *Beowulf* (Paris, 1876), and Sweet's *Anglo-Saxon Reader*, (London, 1876). He finds that Dederich lacks thorough philological training, passes lightly over Botkine's brochure, and praises Sweet's Reader in somewhat measured terms, after criticising a few points in detail. F. Lindner notices Sattler's *Beiträge zur Englischen Grammatik*, and Fitzedward Hall on the English adjectives in *-able*, London, 1877. Kölbing reviews three recent contributions to the history of English literature: Ten Brink's admirable first volume, Morley's *First Sketch*, and Klein's *Geschichte des englischen Dramas*. O. S. Seemann follows with notices of Dowden's *Shakspeare*, a critical Study of his Mind and Art, (London, 1876), and of two German studies of Hamlet, the first by Dr. Hermann Baumgart, and the second by Dr. Heinrich von Struve. F. Bobertag reviews Albrecht Deetz's *Alexander Pope*, (Leipzig, 1876,) and Kölbing closes the Book Notices with a passing mention of *The Choice Works of Dean Swift*, (Chatto and Windus, 1876).

Among the appended Miscellanea is a brief account of Grein's useful but bitter life and the labors which made him eminent, contributed by E. Stengel, of Marburg.

ALBERT S. COOK.

REVUE DE PHILOGIE, IV, I.

I. pp. 1-14. The New Fragments of Euripides and other Greek Poets, by Weil. (See report of Rhein. Museum in this Journal). (1) Cobet, in order to explain the total absence of poetical expressions in the fragment of Euripides, advances the theory that it belongs to a play based upon the occurrences of private life, and that the play, perhaps, in some scenes resembled a satyric drama. Weil takes up this theory, and after a brief discussion concludes that the present fragment is nearer the tragic than the satyric style. He then shows that it must have belonged to one of the plays known to us by name. As the fragment represents a father as annulling the marriage of his daughter, Weil shows that, while under certain circumstances that might have occurred at Rome, there is no evidence that an Athenian father had this power. Hence he infers that the father in this case exercised another power—that of king. From this, and from something which he regards as an allusion to a political offence (showing that the parties were not private citizens), and also from what he considers a threat (in the last verse) on the part of the wife and daughter to commit suicide, he concludes that the fragment belongs to a tragedy proper, which he

thinks is the *Temenidae*—a theory which he briefly defends. Then follows a discussion of the reading of a few passages in the fragment. (2) A fragment of a tragedy in the same papyrus. Discussion of the question whether the fragment is one continuous speech, or is to be divided into two. (3) Various observations on the remaining portions of the papyrus—fragment of a comedy, and two epigrams.

2. pp. 15–16. Note on the Carmen Saliare, in which L. Havet emends some of the glosses in Festus (Müller, p. 205).

3. pp. 17–24. *Lectiones Xenophontae*, by H. van Herwerden. Fifty conjectures and emendations.

4. p. 24. In Quint. X 1, 66. Thurot changes *tragoedias* into *tragoediam*.

5. pp. 25–29. On *-que, -ve, -ne* after short *-e*, by Al. Harant. A comparison of the Latin of certain modern commentators with classic Latin will convince any one that the ancients for the most part consciously avoided this combination. Harant thinks that Quicherat is the only one who has remarked this fact. [It is quite familiar to me, and is alluded to in one of my papers read before the Phil. Association in July, 1879; but I am unable to say whence I learned it. Nearly ten years ago I saw it in the Va. Ed. Journal; but it was not new to me then. I never read Quicherat until two years ago.] Quicherat confines his observation to poets. Harant applies it to prose. [I have done the same, incidentally, for many years.] He finds no exception in Sallust, Velleius Paterculus, Q. Curtius, Pliny the Younger, Florus, Justin, Cicero (Orations), nor in Catullus, Vergil, Ovid, Phaedrus, Persius, Juvenal. In Varto the only exceptions are in quotations. In Terence one, Horace one, Caesar one, Hirtius one, Columella two, Propertius two, Tibullus three, Cato four (*beneque* four times), Nepos five, Plautus fourteen, with *elision in nearly every instance in all these authors*. The following admit it, even without elision: Lucretius twenty-seven, Aulus Gellius forty-four, Bellum Afric. twelve. When there is but one example in a large work we must suspect an error in copying. [What, then, makes the *elision* so universal? H.] The author removes all the instances from Livy but one, and that one occurs in an old formula. In the Augustan age, to judge from the authors examined, the license had virtually ceased.

6. p. 29. Note on Livy, V 42, 6, by O. Riemann.

7. pp. 30–34. King Darius' Accident (Herod. III, 129–130), by Docteur J. Geoffroy. A very acute discussion of the question whether the accident was a sprain or a dislocation, and of the exact import of several expressions in the passage.

8. p. 34. Defense of *-iere* for *-ierunt* in perfects in *-ivi*, by O. Riemann.

9. pp. 35–51. On Cic. de Finibus, by O. Nigoles. Discussion of an imperfect collation of a MS. employed by Madvig in his edition. An article of great importance for editors of this work.

10. pp. 52–58. Appointment of Athenian Archons, by Jules Nicole. M. Fustel de Coulanges maintains that the archons were from the first chosen by lot. Nicole endeavors to show that this cannot be inferred from the passages employed by F. de Coulanges, and replies to his various ingenious attempts to explain away the difficulties, and brings forward from Aristotle tolerably plain

testimony for regular election of archons in early days. He admits, however, that F. de C. has shown that choice by lot was rather aristocratic than democratic. The question when and how the choice by lot began he proposes to discuss in a future article.

11. p. 58. Notes on Grammar, by O. Riemann. (1) Contrary to Zumpt's statement that *inferior, posterior, (superior) always* take the abl., we find *inferior quam* several times in Cicero, and *posterior quam* in Sallust (Jug. 85, 12.) In the latter example the abl., indeed, could not have been used. (2) *Οὐδέτερος* = *οὐδ' + ἕτερος* is opposed to the etymology *οὐδεῖς* = *οὐ + δεῖς*. (3) *τιμωθήσομαι* (found only twice, once in Thucyd. and once in Demosth.) is not to be rejected; for we find *τιμωθ[η]εραυ*, C. I. A. II 576.

12. pp. 59-67. A Friend of the Emperor Claudius, by E. Desjardins. Two sets of fragments of Latin inscriptions of the first century are put together, one set forming the first part of an inscription, and the other forming the latter part of another, a portion common to both indicating that they were in substance the same. Desjardins ingeniously restores both inscriptions, which prove to be in honor of L. Vestinus. Some interesting details.

13. pp. 67-68. A MS. of Corbie, by Omont. Rediscovery and collation of the lost MS. of No. 719 of Riese's *Anthologia Latina*.

14. pp. 69-80 with 91. On the Latin Anthology, by É. Chatelain. Origin of the so-called fragments of Gallus (Riese 914-916). Riese regrets that he admitted these into his collection, believing now with Wernsdorf that they are not ancient. Chatelain shows that they are the work of a forger of the 16th century. Then follows collation of MSS., emendations, &c., for 672, 763, 779, 788.

15. pp. 81-91. Palaeographic Notes, by Charles Graux. (1) A fragment of Sappho in Choricus. (2) Ink with metallic base in ancient times. Graux proves that the principle was known in the second century *before* Christ, blue vitriol being used where we use green vitriol. Many interesting details. (3) A criticism of the fac-similes of MSS. of Wattenbach and Velsen. A serious error pointed out in reference to a Florentine MS. of Plutarch. (4) Demonstration that the only remaining *bombycinus* (see report in last number) of supposed early date does *not* belong to the year 1095, that being the date of the original work. (5) Beautiful restoration of the most important MS. of the Greek military authors, the fragmentary Parisinus 2442 and the fragmentary Barberinus II-97 (in Rome) being found by Karl Konrad Müller to be complementary portions of one and the same MS.

16. pp. 92-7. On the Use of the Words *θέσει* and *positione* in Prosody, by Ch. Thurot. The author shows that *θέσει* and *θέσει (natura, positione)* are derived from the post-Aristotelian philosophy, and the Greek terms always retained their original meanings, while the Latin *positione* at first had this meaning, but lost it in the course of time. The article discusses the whole subject of *position* historically, showing that (as far as the author can learn) until the 10th century the *syllable* and not the *vowel* was always spoken of as being *made* long.

17. pp. 97-9. Apropos of the Auditorium Maecenatis, by G. Boissier. Mau having protested against this designation of the structure in question, and having expressed the opinion that the supposed seats were merely destined for

the reception of flower-pots, Boissier, leaving this special question to archaeologists, produces evidence that public lectures, recitations of poems, &c., were held in theatres, public or private (Hor. Ep. I 19, 41; Ov. Trist. IV 10, 55; Juv. VII 46; Sidon. II 9).

18. pp. 100-104. Supplementary to Frigell's *Collocatio codicum Livianorum, Pars I, libros I-III continens*, by O. Riemann. To be continued.

19. pp. 105-112. Book Notices, by E. C. and O. R.

M. W. HUMPHREYS.

ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR ROMANISCHE PHILOLOGIE. III Band. 4 Heft.

I. Förster, W. Beiträge zur romanischen Lautlehre. *Umlaut* (eigentlich Vocalsteigerung) im Romanischen. A most important contribution to our knowledge of neo-Latin phonetics. A law of vowel change discovered similar to the *umlaut* in Zend, Keltic and German.

This study is divided into two parts, (A) *umlaut* by means of the vowel i, (B) *umlaut* by means of u. In this No. of the Zschft, A alone is taken up under the following three headings, of which No. I is treated in detail, while Nos. II, III are only sketched.

I. Influence of post-tonic on the tonic vowel, whereby the whole vowel-system is pushed up one point on the scale. (Das eigentliche Umlautgesetz.)

II. Analogous influence of certain consonants on a preceding (tonic or pre-tonic) vowel.

III. Supplement (Vocalsenkung), *i. e.* Lat. ē ō, through the influence of following i, fall one point on the vocal scale and become e, o instead of ē. o.

Results of the investigation under I:

- | | |
|-----|--|
| (1) | Vulg. Lat. á (class Lat. ā, ǎ) + i = Romance é + i |
| (2) | " " " é (" " è) + i = " é + i |
| (3) | " " " ě (" " ē, ȳ) + i = " í + i |
| (4) | " " " ô (" " ò) + i = " ó + i |
| (5) | " " " ö (" " ö, ü) + i = " u + i |

II. This consonant may be (1) a nasal, (2) palatal, (3) sibilant. (1) Fr. e + n, *cha-ine*; ð + n, Ital. *lungo*; ð + n, Ital. *cruna*; ü + n, Ital. *pungo*, (2) ʃ in Fr. *mouiller*, (3) *raisin, brebis* (?).

III. Results (1) ē + I = e; (2) ð + I = o, also ū + I = o. Examples (1) *fēria* = Ital. *fiera*, (2) suffix -ōrium -ōria Fr. *glōire* -ōrium, Dürum = *Duro*.

II. A. von Flügel. Ladinische Liederdichter. Review of the leading characteristics of style and composition in the six poets who have given special prominence to modern Ladin literature, viz. Piderman, Sandri, Conradin von Flügel, Pallioppi, Caratsch and Caderas. The modern epoch of Ladin poetry has cut loose from the religious system of the last three centuries. The oldest member of the present school, Piderman, is chiefly known for his *Folks-songs*. His follower, Sandri, stuck closer to the contemplative side of poetic art, and some of his productions, especially his song, *Eu sun una giuvnetta*, became very pop-

ular. A younger contemporary of the latter, Von Flugi (1786-1874), whose poetic creations extend over more than half a century, was the Wm. Cullen Bryant of the Upper Engadine and the first of his country to *publish* a collection of his poems. Pallioppi appeared before the world as poet a couple of decades after Von Flugi, and immediately rose to the highest fame in poetic composition. As a thoroughly scientific linguist he has contributed much to our knowledge of the Ladin dialects; as a perfect master of his own idiom and controlling the most diverse forms of verse, he has shown us in his odes, sonnets and classic-verse measure the highest excellence of thought clothed in terse, pithy language, which, in many cases, can be fully appreciated only by the inhabitants of the Engadine. In 1865 two poets appeared about the same time—Caratsch and Caderas. The former is a jolly, jovial character, full of wit and humor suited almost exclusively to the modes of thought of his home-people in Upper Engadine; the latter is the Heine of E. Switzerland. Meditative, melancholy, often extremely gloomy, he represents the reflective side of the Swiss nature. He is the favorite song-writer of to-day, and his poems are characterized by their sweet melody and lucid diction. Lower Engadine has taken no part in this striking literary renaissance which is so rapidly developing in Upper Engadine.

III. *Jacobsthal, G.* Die Texte der Liederhandschrift von Montpellier H. 196. Diplomatischer Abdruck. The author is a writer on music, not a Romance scholar, and therefore gives us here nothing but an apograph of the celebrated MS. H. 196, Bibliothèque de la faculté de médecine de Montpellier. Ten pages are taken up, before starting us with the text, with numerous details about the size of the MS., the kinds of letters it contains, the signs used in writing, the relations of the musical parts, etc., etc., most of which are much more clearly and succinctly stated in Coussemaker's superb 4to vol., *L'art harmonique aux XII et XIII Siècles* (Paris, 1865), a work devoted almost exclusively to a study of this MS. from a musical point of view. In a treatise entitled *Mensuralnotenschrift des XII und XIII Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1871), Jacobsthal prepared the way for a study of the oldest musical compositions arranged for several voices (*mehrstimmige vocalcompositionen*). It is this study that he has undertaken, based upon the Montpellier MS., and confined to the influence of verse on melodic coördinations or to the articulations of melody as being of a purely technical, musical nature. It is his hope by this preliminary investigation to throw some important light on the origin of metre and rhyme, and on their intimate relations with music proper. Ten Brink and Studemund have looked through the text—a guarantee for the correctness of it wholly sufficient for special Romance students.

As nothing is said here of the particular character of this MS., it may be well to add that the discovery of it is one of the most important of modern times, not only for musical archeology but also for the literature of the middle ages. It is essentially a *codex of music*, with the regular five-line staffs and heavy square notes of the old style, accompanied by interlinear texts as mentioned further on. It was written in the first half of the 14th century, is of 4to size, in vellum, and contains about 600 specimens of language, of which 130 are in Latin and the rest in Languè d'oil (*i. e.* French of the north), whose

authors were mostly Trouvères of Artois, Flanders and Hainaut. The general character of these compositions is the *genre léger*, consisting of strophes and couplets, known as *pastourelles*, *motets*, *chansons*, *rondeaux* and *conducts*. It contains 330 harmonic (vocal) compositions, comprising all the various kinds of vocal music of the 12th and 13th centuries, and all of which are anterior to the last third of the 13th century. We find here 19 four-part, 245 three-part and 66 two-part pieces. Before the discovery of the MS. no four-part compositions were known. Double counter-point, known at this time under the name *repetitio diversae vocis*, was denied to the mid-age musicians by leading writers on music, (cf. Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens*, t. II, p. 381). Here we have three most important examples of considerable length in this sort of musical composition. The Trouvères were regarded only as *mélodistes* (inventors of melody); they are here shown to have been also *harmonistes* (authors of several-part pieces). The MS., moreover, enables us to present a complete work on the origin and first developments of harmony. In the above-mentioned treatise by Coussemaker, he gives us only 51 extracts from the language of the Codex. It is, therefore, a source of congratulation to Romance scholars that they are soon to have the texts in their entirety laid before them in J.'s faithful word-for-word copy.

This MS. belonged originally to the celebrated MS. collection of Bouhier, president of the Dijon parliament († 1746), was first mentioned in *Journal des Savants* for 1842, but its contents not known till 1851, through the distinguished labors of the renowned Théodore Nisard (L'abbé Théodule Normand).

MISCELLANEOUS.

I. *Coromini, K. Graf.* Ueber eine Stelle in Dante's Inferno, (I 28, 29.) According to C. *Ripresi via per la piaggia* means, that the poet started off on level ground. This, however, is in direct contradiction to the following verse, on which v. 29 depends, and which explains the *mode* of the action, *Si ch'è più fermo sempre era'l più basso*. Now, if the words *più basso* mean anything at all, they must refer to one foot being lower than the other during the act of walking. Such thing is inconceivable on a perfectly level plain; besides, verses 13, 14 represent the poet *arrived* (*giunto*) already at the foot of a hill, and v. 31 confirms the idea that he had *actually begun* to mount—(ed ecco, *quasi al comminciar dell'erta*). This new-fangled exegesis is absurd when the situation is carefully considered; the usual one, that the poet is *ascending* the slope, is common sense. Let us stick to it.

II. *Suchier, H.* Zu den 'Mariengebeten.' The learned linguist, Madam Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos proposes a few emendations to S.'s work bearing the above title (Halle, 1877), published in O. Fr., Provençal and Old Portuguese texts. Gröber in his criticism of this work had suggested *aiuda* for *aiuda*, line 25. Madam de V. adds *ata* for *ate*, l. 5.; *soon* for *soom*, l. 15, as being the genuine O. Portuguese forms.

III. *Förster, W.* Romanische Etymologien (fortsetzung). Comprises Nos. 13-24 inclusive of a series of Etymologies begun in *Zschft III 2*. D. S. and L., found below, stand for Diez, Scheler and Littré respectively.

(1) *Encentar* Sp. = insectare from insecō (D. inceptare). (2) *meuble* Mod.

Fr. = originally *mōvilis*, from which, by contraction comes the vulg. Lat. *mō(v)ibilis*. (D. S. L. *mōbilis*.) (3) *Lóbrigo* Sp. = *lūbricus* (D. *lugubris*, with transposition). (4) *Nata* (cream) Sp. = *matta*, *i. e.* a covering (D. *natare*, 'das schwimmende'). (5) *Hoto* O. Sp. (surety, certainty) = *fultus*, vulg. Lat. *folium*: vocalization of *l* gives Port. *foto*, Sp. *hoto*. (D. *fotus*, 'gepflegt'). (6) *Froisser* Mod. Fr. = *frustum* (first suggested by L.) whence Schuchardt got his type-form *frustiare*. The claims of S. ('Anhang,' 59), and also those in Romania III, 328, to being the original proposers of this etymology are false. (7) *Andare* Ital. = *vadere* through Sardin. *vandare*: hence the mixture of Ital. conjugation *andare* with the Lat. *vadere*. *Ambulare* is an impossible etymon phonetically; *addere* improbable in meaning. (8) *Eito* Port. = *actum*: cf. *peito* = *pactum*. (9) *Crucens* O. Fr. = *crudōsum*, not *cruels*, through vocalization of *l*. (10) *Maquiller* Mod. Fr. = O. Fr. *masquillier* from *maschera*. (S.'s *maca* does not exist; L. suggests nothing; D. does not treat the word.) (11) *Putto* Ital. = *pūtūsus*; all R. L.'s attach *bad* meaning to this word. Ital. alone has also a good one: orig. signification must, therefore, have been *bad* (D. S. L. *pūtūsus*). (12) *Nocchiere* Ital. = *navicularius* for Sp. and Ital. forms. *Navicularius* and *naucerus* must both be rejected for Fr. and Prov., which come, perhaps, from an old word found in inscriptions, *nauticarium*.

IV. *Tobler, A.* Romanische Etymologien. Six numbers: (I) *Otage* Mod. Fr. = O. Fr. *ostage*, derivative from *oste* (*hospitem*) with the original meaning of *hostage*. There are two objections to *obsidaticum* as etymon, (1) passage of *d* into *t*. (2) Inexplicable how the R. L.'s fell upon a derivative, not present in Lat., from a word which never belonged to them. (II) *Cuisençon* O. Fr. = *conquisitionem* (*aufsuchung*), from which vulg. Lat. probably has a form *conquins'tjone*. (D.'s Provençal *coensa* not tenable). (III) *Banquet* Mod. Fr. = *dimin.* of *ban* (originally *banc*), the *bans* (*aufgebot*), then a feast (*gastgebot*.) (IV) *Malade* Mod. Fr. = *male habitus* (cf. *cornu* Roman III, 377), etymon supported by verbal derivatives from *malabitus* through the suffix *ic*. *Malabít'jare* gives us Prov. *malavejjar*, *malavejar*. From the verb comes the subst. *malavei*, *malavech*. From the adj. *malaute* comes *malautejar* just as O. Fr. *maladiier* from *malade*. (V) *Fandonia* Ital. = O. Fr. *fantosme* (*phantasma*): original *nt* became *nd* (*fregonde*, *frequentum*). Examples cited where the O. Fr. form has the same sense as the Italian (*bugia*, *favola*). (VI) *Deslear* Prov. = same meaning as O. Fr. *sei desleier* (*Benoit*, *Wace*), 'to break the law': occurs only twice and both times reflexive. [D.'s meaning, 'defame' (in *Verruf* bringen), not tenable.]

A. M. ELLIOTT.

RHEINISCHES MUSEUM, XXXV, I.

I. pp. 1-38. Date of the Founding of Rome, by G. F. Unger. A long and torturing discussion of the most minute particulars, divided as follows: (1) Gründungsdata der vulgären Jahrrechnung. (2) Gründungsdata der wahren Zeitrechnung. (3) Mythisch-mystische Data. The article is of great importance for investigators of the subject, but for all others it is very uninviting; and yet it contains, here and there, isolated facts of great interest. One of

the chief objects is to show that 120 years (the assumed duration of one generation) enters directly or indirectly as a factor into most of the prehistoric periods according to the Romans.

2. pp. 39-55. On the Genuineness of the Phoenix of Lactantius, by Hermann Dechent. After alluding to the views of Riese and others, the author discusses: (1) the sources; (2) the relations of the author of the Phoenix to Christianity; (3) the question who that author really was. He shows that the author draws many of his ideas from the Bible, and that he views many things from the Christian standpoint. He also points out many correspondences between the poem and the prose works of the Christian father Lactantius, and concludes that he was the author. The article closes with an explanation of the passages which seem to indicate a heathen author, and a discussion of the exact date of the composition.

3. pp. 56-68. Contributions to the History of Greek Literature, by A. Daub. Article based on Suidas and Eudokia, comprising the following heads: (1) The historian Damastes and the sophist Polos. (2) Remarks on the life and writings of Pamphila. (3) On the writings of the rhetor Leon of Alabanda and the sophist Leon of Byzantium. (4) A work of the grammarian Diogenian. (5) Two works of Ephoros. (6) On the title of a work of Nikolaos Damaskenos. (7) Sopatros the comedian and Sopatros the *παρωδός*. (8) On some comedies of Sannyrion. (9-15) Emendations to Suidas.

4. pp. 69-73. Glossemata Latina, by Bücheler. A discussion of certain points connected with the book of Martyrius on B and V (Keil, *grammat. lat.* VII, p. 165 ss.), with brief discussion of Umbrian *bus kaleduf* and Oscan *casnar*.

5. pp. 74-97. New Fragments of Euripides and other Greek Poets (Blass) with a supplement (Bücheler). Weil has published (with partial photographs) a papyrus, written on both sides. On the front side is found: (1) 44 iambic trimeters of a lost play of Euripides; (2) 46 other trimeters by another hand; (3) by still another hand, some accounts of things delivered to the *Διδυμοί* in the Serapeum at Memphis. The other side contains: (1) a second copy of the same fragment of Euripides, by another hand; (2) 20 elegiac verses. The accounts with the *Διδυμοί* fix the date with some certainty at B. C. 161. The article before us then gives: (1) the text of the fragment of Euripides as restored by Weil and further improved by Blass, with MS. readings, and a discussion of Weil's views as to the proper location of the fragment (Eur. *Temenidai*); (2) a similar treatment of the remaining 46 trimeters which include (a) 8 verses, (5-13) of the *Medea*; (b) 23 trimeters of a lost tragedy, metre Aeschylean; (c) 15 trimeters of a lost comedy; (3) the epigrams, two of ten verses each, which are assigned in the MS. to Poseidippos. The fragment of 44 trimeters is assigned by the papyrus to Euripides, and the versification seems to corroborate that authorship. Some of these fragments are almost hopelessly corrupt, apparently from ignorance of Greek on the part of the copyists.

6. pp. 98-104. In *Herodianum Technicum Critica* (edidit Petrus Egenolf). Dindorf's edition of Herodianos' work *περί μονήρων λέξεως* is based upon a copy of the MS. made by O. D. Bloch, and after him no one examined the MS. (cod. Hauniensis, n. 1965). The article points out a vast number of instances

in which the MS. is misquoted. In one instance (9, 21) Bloch conjectured *ειπερ*, which was exactly the MS. reading before him!

7. pp. 105-9. On the Letters of Seneca, by O. Ribbeck. Contributions to the purification of the text.

8. pp. 110-130. Description of Statues by Christodoros and Pseudolibanios, by Konrad Lange. This article is exceedingly interesting for archaeologists. The author shows that in the *εκφράσεις* of the above writers, the statues were, in many instances, entirely misunderstood and falsely named. A mere abstract of this article could be of but little interest.

9. pp. 131-151. When was the Phaidros of Plato composed? by H. Usener. The author corrects the false reading in Laertios Diogenes III, 38 (*λόγος* into *λόγος*) with MSS., and so removes much of the weight of this testimony for the early composition of the Phaidros; and, on the other hand, he maintains that the testimony of Cicero (Orat. 13, 42) for late composition is of little value. But the date can be fixed without direct testimony. The allusion in the work to Isokrates as being *ἐτι νέος* shows that it was written at an early date. The favorable character of the prophecy in this passage shows that it was not made *ex eventu*; for after Isokrates published his oration against the Sophists, Plato was no longer his friend. A close scrutiny of these facts with what is known of the movements and doings of Plato and Isokrates, places the composition of the Phaidros between 403 and 399. A thorough discussion of the relations to each other, and the pursuits, etc., of Lysias, Isokrates, and others, with the aid of allusions to Lysias in the Phaidros, narrows the date down to 403 or the early half of 402.

10. pp. 152-156. Miscellaneous. (1) On Aristotle, by N. Wecklein. Half-dozen emendations and conjectures to the Rhetoric. (2) C. Vibinius Rufinus, by Jos. Klein. An inscription found at Mainz, last summer, enables us to fill a gap in the list of imperial legates in upper Germany: *C. Vibinius Rufinus*, A. D. 42-45.

M. W. HUMPHREYS.

PHILOLOGUS: ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR DAS KLASSISCHE ALTERTHUM, herausgegeben von ERNST VON LEUTSCH. Göttingen, 1879. Vol. XXXVIII, 3d and 4th Parts.

The delay in the coming forth of these parts has been caused, we are sorry to see by the note on p. 855, by the illness of the editor.

The 4th part, pp. 585-778, is taken up by the 2d and concluding part of Boyesen's Bibliographic Survey of Greek Literature from 1867 to 1876. Beginning with Horapollon it goes to Zosimus. It will, of course, be very useful to Greek students, and seems, in the main, full and accurate. The titles of some American editions are, however, left out, a common fault in German bibliography.

Of long essays in these two parts, there are four: by Ahrens, on an Olympian Inscription; by Eichhorst, on the Discussion of the Article by Apollonios Dyscolos; by Unger, on the Attic Archons from Ol. 119, 4 to 123, 4; and by Herbst, on the time of Thucydides' composition of the earlier books of his history.

In textual criticism there are conjectural emendations to Seneca and to Valerius Flaccus in Latin, and to Euripides in Greek.

In Seneca, de Tranq. An. 2, 6 (not 2, 5 as printed), Eussner changes *parum leves* into *pariter leves*, a change that seems to remove a clear thought in order to make room for an obscure one. He is more fortunate in 10, 3; here he points out the shattered condition of the antithesis *aliorum aurea catena est, aliorum laxa est*, and proposes to restore it by reading *atque laxa*. The fault is obvious here, and the conjecture reasonable.

In Valerius Flaccus, Köstlin makes a fresh attack upon the difficult passage in VII, 55, seq. By changing the *aut ego* or *haud ego* of the text, v. 57, into *quamque ego* he works out an altogether different thought. The change is violent, and the thought thus secured does not seem so fit as that of Nisard's text.

In Euripides, Wecklein brings forward a number of conjectures, the fruit of sound sense and of careful reading of his author.

In Heracl. 906-909 (Nauck), he changes τῶν ἀδικῶν παραρῶν | φρονήματος ἀεί into φρονήματ' ἐς ἀεί. The sense thus gained is clear and strong, but the notion of a gradual humiliation, as expressed in the text, seems more in accord with the context. Has this change ever been proposed before? It is curious that the common English translation by Buckley, published in 1854, is an exact rendering of Wecklein's conjectural reading.

In Iphig. A. 1002 seq., he changes *ικετέοντες ἤξετε* into *ικετέοντε θ' ἤξετε*. Neither the use of the masc. pl. for the fem., nor the simple *τε* without correlative in 1003 is sufficient warrant for this change.

The comparison of Fr. 977 (955 in Wagner) ἀφρονον σπέρμα with ἀραιόν-γένος of Hipp. 1415, is ingenious and convincing. It gives the probable source of the fragment, and points to a change made in the text by the poet himself, under hostile criticism.

In Fr. 1039 (875 in Wagner), he changes *ἐξῶθεν τίς ἐστι* into *ἐξῶθεν τίθησι*. This is pleasing and plausible: yet the text is not so difficult as to make any change necessary. The real difficulty of the text, as felt by Halm, the absence of the exclamatory ὡς in the 2d line, is not touched by this conjecture.

By comparison between Xen. Symp. VIII 34 and Plat. Symp. 182, A., and between Xen. VIII 23 and Plat. 181, B., Rettig seeks to prove, in addition to other proofs already brought forward by him, that the Symposium of Xenophon was written before that of Plato. The coincidences here are too slight and the argument on them too thin to help a conclusion that seems on other grounds certain.

The elaborate essay of H. L. Ahrens on a lately-discovered Olympian Inscription, edited by Kirchhoff and numbered 111, is of great interest. Besides many acute remarks of high authority on questions of Elean dialect, it contains an ample discussion of a large class of Greek words and a new theory of their etymology. As for the inscription itself, it cannot be held that either Kirchhoff or Ahrens has succeeded in bringing it into readable shape. Whatever allowance we moderns may make for the intellectual power of the average Greek, no Greek, without the suggestions and explanations of modern philology, could have made out the recondite meaning that is read into the mutilated stones by modern professors. Yet each step of the discussion is full of knowledge and of

sagacity. Χαλαδριουρ for Χαλαδρίους is reasonably interpreted as name of the people of a place in Elis, Χαλάδρα for Χαράδρα, not heretofore known to geographers. συλαι as dialectic form of optative of συλάω is rejected in favor of συλαίη. The interpretation of μεδαμοι δοκειοι by Kirchhoff as μετὰ δάμω δοκίοι is justly rejected as impossible syntax; and *ue* for μή is defended as possible in the Elean dialect instead of μά. The omission of the article before δάμω, as the official designation of the people, is justified by the usage of inscriptions. *Φερεν* is plausibly explained as ancient digammated form of *ερρειν*; but the phrase thus constructed by Ahrens *ερρειν πρὸς Δία*, as form of outlawry, is, we think, improbable and false. But the gist of the essay lies in the interpretation of the word *Φρατρα* for *ρήτρα* as 'agreement, treaty,' and in the etymology brought forward to support this meaning. Into connection with this word and this meaning he seeks to bring *ρήσις* (cf. Hom. Od. φ. 290), *ρήτός* (cf. Hom. Il. φ. 455), *ειρημένος* (cf. Thuc. I 140), *ρήσασθαι* wherever used, and finally *ειρήνη* itself. All these words he seeks to detach from the root *εῖρ* or *Φερ* (to speak), cf. Curtius Gr. Et. p. 320 seq., and to derive from a root *ΦραF* or *ρα*, meaning to *cease*. This root he considers synonymous with *παυ*, and cognate with O. H. G. *raua* (rest). To illustrate the development of meaning, he traces the Latin *pax* = *ειρήνη*, through *paciscor*, back to root *pac* or *pakv* identical with the root of *παύω*, and compares Greek *πάξ* with interjectional use of Latin *pax*. The argument is here in many places very thin, and we may still prefer the development of all the words in question from the root *Φερ* (speak). But the discussion of the passages, as they occur, is of the deepest interest, and the argument against the accepted etymology of *ειρήνη*, apparently accepted by Curtius himself, is of the greatest power. Very convincing, especially, is the interpretation of the Cretan *Ὀράτριος Ζεὺς* as *Φράτριος Ζ.* (*o* for *F*), as the god that presides over treaties of peace.

Eichhorst discusses (pp. 398-422) the treatment of the Article by Apollonios Dyscolos. After regretting the loss of Apollonios' special treatise, he gives in clear and interesting outline the views of that grammarian, as given in the 1st book of his syntax, on the uses and classification of the article. The essay is full of curious facts, and brings out into clearness the strange union of childish simplicity with profound penetration that marked the work of the Greek grammarians. The name τὸ ἄρθρον, derived from ἄρτάω, was defined by Apollonios as that which was fastened on to the case, πάντοτε ἐναρμόνιον πτωτικῶ. Aware of the connection between article and pronoun, he tries first to distinguish the one from the other. How imperfectly he succeeded in doing this is proved by the fact, so prolific of syntactical confusion, that he claims for the article, as distinct from the pronoun, two forms: *ὁ, ἡ, τό* and *δε, ἧ, δ* (Relative). To these two, as one part of speech, he assigns the 4th place among the parts of speech, after the Participle and before the Pronoun. His reasons for giving it this particular place are a quaint illustration of the grammatical reasoning of the time (cf. p. 401). His next care is, as against Tryphon, to prove by a long argument that *ὦ*, as prefix of the Vocative, is not a form of the article. Never probably were so many reasons, good and bad, brought forward to prove so clear a point. Later on, a similar argument is constructed to demonstrate that the *ὁ* in *ὄμοιος* is not an article. The essential characteristic of the article he finds in its power of ἀναφορά or ἀναπόλησις, that is, 'of bringing back before the mind the

conception of some 3d person already mentioned.' By this, the person or thing named at first without article acquires the article when it appears again in the discourse. Here, although expressed in strange form, there is a sagacious grasp of that defining power of the article which is the basis of our modern treatment. From this he proceeds to a classification of the article's uses: 1st, *κατ' ἐξοχὴν* as *ὁ ποιητής* for Homer; 2d, *κατὰ μοναδικὴν κτήσιν* as the expression of possession; 3d, *καθ' ἀπλὴν ἀναφοράν*, to define the thing as already mentioned. In his illustrations he gives discussion to many delicate points of usage that still have importance for modern grammarians. From the *ἀναφορά* he explains the absence of the article in *ὄνο ἀνθρώποι*, and its presence in *ἀμφότεροι οἱ ἀνθρώποι*. He explains the familiar difference between *ὁ Ἀρίσταρχος* and *τὸ Ἀρίσταρχος*. He upholds the two meanings of the attributive participle, *ὁ τυραννοκτονήσας*, in such a way as to show that he anticipated modern grammarians in distinguishing the generic article from the individual. He argues, again against Tryphon, that in the articular Infinitive the article does not change the nature of the Infinitive itself. Here his argument, clear and strong, is still worthy of careful study. He lays down the rule for the use of the article with the Partitive Genitive, and points out the double irregularity of Homer's *Νεστωρίδαι* II. XVI 317. From this idea of the divided whole, he draws with beautiful simplicity the rule, so often misstated even now, for the use of the article with *ἄλλος*. In discussing these and many other points, his ample knowledge and clear perceptions make his remarks very weighty. We are glad to see that Dr. Eichhorst promises another paper on this subject.

Unger discusses at great length (pp. 423-502), the order and exact dates of the Attic Archons from Ol. 119, 4 to Ol. 123, 4. The essay is worked up chiefly from the newly discovered inscriptions that have added so much to our knowledge of this obscure period. From these, by very intricate combinations of chronology, Unger seeks to clear up several disputed points of history, and especially to fix the principle according to which the leap-years came in the Attic calendar. The calculations are so complicated, and the results so many and so minute, as to be unfit for abstract.

Herbst, in a long article (pp. 502-584) of extraordinary power, discusses and determines, as we think, the time at which Thucydides composed those books of his History that narrate the war down to Nikias' peace. Ullrich, more than thirty years ago, put forward the theory that these earlier books were written during the years of that peace, and written, of course, in ignorance of the later phases of the war. Against this theory, which has been accepted by many scholars, Herbst argues here with such force of reasoning as, we think, to close the question. According to him, the great war, although conceived and narrated by Thucydides, as a whole, was divided for convenience' sake into three parts: 1st, the ten years' war down to the peace of Nikias; 2d, the period of latent war while the nominal peace lasted; 3d, the period from the fresh outbreak to the end.

But although Thucydides thus divided the one war into three periods, he composed his whole history in the years that followed the close of the twenty-seven years of war. Right at the beginning, in the first sentence of the first chapter, he announces his intention of narrating the whole war. But from the 2d Book on to the 23d chapter of the 4th Book, he treats of the Ten Years' War

as a separate part of the whole, so that within these books the words *ὁ πόλεμος* or *ὅδε ὁ πόλεμος* refer not to the whole, but to this part. Even, however, in narrating these ten years, he shows in many ways a full knowledge of the seventeen years that came afterward, and he conceives of all the events of the earlier period in their relation to the events of the later periods. These are the final results of the essay (cf. pp. 534, 545, 583), and they are attained by a most brilliant analysis of the narrative itself and of the peculiar Thucydidean diction. The almost faultless argument is of necessity so complex, and it depends so much upon the accumulation of details, that it cannot be abridged. Nowhere, not even in Classen, have we seen a more exact and comprehensive knowledge of the usages of Thucydides' style. Especially to be noted in his discussion of the crucial passage in II 1, init. is his convincing argument against Classen that the famous *ἐν ᾧ* is not to be taken in a conjunctive sense but as an ordinary definite relative to the antecedent *πόλεμος*. From here on he analyzes with unfailing accuracy all the passages in which the historian shows, in telling the earlier events of the war, his full knowledge of all the later events. Of the linguistic facts brought to light, perhaps the most important are the distinction made by Thucydides between *οὗτος ὁ πόλεμος* and *ὅδε ὁ πόλεμος* in the distinctly subjective character of the latter (= this war that I am relating), and the distinction made between *ὅδε ὁ πόλεμος* and *ὁ πόλεμος ὅδε*, by the presence in the former of a distinct antithetic reference. After finishing this minute analysis of separate passages, Herbst rises into a masterly criticism of the historical method of Thucydides and to an eloquent estimate of the intellectual power of the great historian, pp. 566 seq. Especially original and useful is his theory of the relation between the speeches and the narrative parts of the history. All tends to a triumphant vindication of the unity of the work: every detail shows that Thucydides in composing every sentence calculated its references both to what preceded and to what was to follow.

THOMAS R. PRICE.

LANX SATURĀ.

In the dedication of a work crowned by the Berlin Academy occur the following bits of Latinity, which are evidently due to the influence of the Greek authors, with whom the successful essayist seems to be only too familiar. Or perhaps, as Lucullus deliberately barbarized his Greek (Cic. ad Att. I 19, 10) to show that his work was a Roman's, so our writer purposely neglects normal Latin to show himself a Grecian. Else what good warrant for—

Interim *me* ut periculum facerem facile persuasisti (*ἐπεισάς με*)

Memineris velim *quod* (*μνησθαι ὅτι*) haud raro sum expertus?

LUDI MAGISTER.

An esteemed correspondent, very much dissatisfied with results obtained by teaching ancient Greek through modern, writes to ask whether this is really the most excellent way. This is a pedagogical rather than a philological question, and cannot be answered categorically without doing injustice to some teachers

who are profoundly versed in both languages, or, to make every conceivable concession, in both dialects. It may be said, however, that a Greek of to-day is more apt to fall into certain errors than one who approaches immediately the classic tongue. So even an imperfectly trained Hellenist would hardly be guilty of calling the style of the extant fables of Aesop "perfect," nor would he say that they "abounded in all the idiomatic usages of the Attic dialect." He would not select the Septuagint as a model on which to base conversational exercises. He would not use *δοτις* for *δς*; he would have some notion of the limits of *οὐ* and *μή*; he would not prefer *κελεύω* with the dative nor *φημί* with *δοτις*; he would not indulge in *μήποτε γενού* nor in *ήρησας*. In short, he would avoid a number of the mistakes into which Professor Timayenis¹ has fallen by over-familiarity with the current language. To be sure, this negative advantage would be outweighed by the consideration that the modern Greek has by an unparalleled miracle preserved the genuine pronunciation intact, whereas English in a few centuries has drifted far from the original utterances; and by the further consideration that almost every schoolboy has occasion to visit the Levant frequently in the course of an ordinary life, while an accurate knowledge of the ancient tongue is a secondary matter in education. But, as I said before, that is a pedagogical question upon which this journal cannot enter.

There is no more dangerous amusement than one to which certain Dutch critics are very much addicted. I do not object to their scribbling on the margins of their editions of classic authors. That is comparatively harmless, and sometimes good may come of it. Indeed, every scholar has more than once found a decided advantage in the freshness of vision, which is thus fixed by a marginal note. But it is little short of a crime to gather up these notes in a drag-net and dump them out without any subsequent revision. A notion, which may seem very happy at the time, often turns out to be a most infelicitous blunder. Mehler, one of the contributors to the *Mnemosyne*, sometimes indulges in this national pastime of fishing up conjectures with very poor results. Among other examples of piscatory art (*Mnemosyne* VI 4, p. 388), which I used some months since as warnings to young critics, is his emendation of *Iliad* B, 291, a difficult passage:

ἡ μὴν καὶ πόνος ἐστὶν ἀνηθέντα νέεσθαι

With a whoop of exultation which would do credit to a Comanche, Mehler writes:

ἀνηθέντ' ἀνέχεσθαι,

which never occurred to any of the great critics, simply because the great critics knew their syntax too well to combine *ἀνέχεσθαι* with an aorist participle.

Again, in Lucian's *Vera Historia* A, 22: *διὰ τούτων ὀχετοῦσι καὶ κλησιάζουσι ταῖς ἐαυτῶν γαμέταις* (*sic*) Mehler proposes *οἰροῦσι*; not so bad, if Lucian were not in the habit of doubling. But it is diverting to notice that Mehler writes four times *ταῖς γαμέταις* with wrong accent and wrong gender. In his exceeding desire to be clever he has forgotten the story: *γάμος γὰρ τοῖς ἀρρεσὶ χροῖνται κτέ.* So much for his acquaintance with an author whom he calls *veteres deliciae meae*. In V. H. B 45 Mehler desires to change *φέρουσι* into *φύουσι*. If any change is needed, *φοροῦσι* would be more natural, but here *φέρουσι* might very

¹ *Aesop's Fables*, etc. By T. T. Timayenis. Boston: John Allyn. 1879.

well stand, even according to Cobet's dictum: *φέρειν* dicimur *onera* et quidquid pondus habet. The fun would consist in lugging these parts of the body not as members but as instruments. Another specimen of Mehler's familiarity with his *veteres deliciae* is shown by his note on Hermot. 1, ἀθλιον εἶναι ἐν τῷ πολλῷ τῶν ιδιωτῶν συρφετῷ παραπολλόμενον (so the best reading: M. has παραπολούμενον) ἢ εὐδαιμονῆσαι φιλοσοφῆσαντα. For παραπ. M. would read περιπολοῦντα: Beatus est qui inter philosophos versatur, infelix non is qui ἐν τῷ πολλῷ ιδιωτῶν συρφετῷ παραπολείται sed qui inter incultam profanamque plebem versatur. On which it may be remarked that the misfortune consists in wasting one's life in the midst of such a rabble—cf. Epicur. ap. Stob. Flor. 16, 28: ὁ δὲ πάντων βίος μελλησμῷ παραπόλλνται, and Luc. himself Anach. 13 (II 891); and Mehler has forgotten—dare I say that he had not yet read?—what Lucian says below, p. 61, ἐν τῷ συρφετῷ παραπολείσθαι (better παραπολέσθαι). At least he has not touched the latter passage. I do not think, then, that περιπολοῦντα is anything but an idle notion, which should have been dismissed as soon as formed: but I would not object to παραπολλόμενον.

"Mr. Paul Drysen proposes to present to the American reader one of the most famous works of antiquity: the Greek Anthology. . . . Their fourteen hundred short poems or epigrams . . . have been translated in the metres of the originals: copious explanatory notes have been added. . . . The author thinks that the time has come to publish what he has so far achieved," (the Sepulchral and Erotic and Dedicatory Epigrams), and issues a circular inviting subscriptions. Few teachers will perhaps be able to pay \$10 for a translation of a part of the Greek Anthology, but it is to be hoped that when Mr. Paul Drysen, 267 Seventh Avenue, New York, publishes his work, he will not deal too severely with those journalists who illustrate their pages by specimens of what he has so happily called his "profitable but not lucrative toil." It has been a difficult task to choose among the samples arrayed in his circular. Besides, our more critical readers may object to any space thus given up to merely literary matters, and, if Mr. Drysen did not promise us "original philological researches" in his forthcoming work, it might be necessary to apologize for this gratuitous notice. Still, room must be made for just one:

Κριναγόρου.

ἀργιρέν σοι τόνδε, γενέθλιον ἐς τεὸν ἡμᾶρ
 Πρόκλε, νεβσηκτον δουρατῆν κάλαμον,
 εἰ μὲν ἐνσχίστοισι διάγλυπτον κέραεσσι,
 εὐ δὲ ταχυνομένην εἶροον ἐς σελίδα
 πέμπει Κριναγόρης, ὀλίγην δόσιν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ θυμοῦ
 πλείονος, ἀρτιδαεὶ σύμπνοον εὐμαθίη.

CRINAGORAS.

Proclus, to-day's thy birthday; allow me to send thee the silver
 Pen enclosed as a gift. 'Tis an elastic, but strong,
 Bright but durable pen, with cleverly sharpened points, well
 Able to run at full speed over many a page.
 Please accept it. Crinagoras sends this trifle. Perhaps it
 Will in thy newly-acquired art be of service to thee.

Classical scholarship permeates every department of English literature, from *Paradise Lost* to *Pinafore*. So some one has detected in the song of the Ruler of the Queen's Navee a reference to Plaut. *Asin.* 2, 4, 20: *iussin in splendorem dari bullas has foribus nostris?*

Apropos of Professor Allen's useful little book, 'Remnants of Early Latinity,' just published by Ginn & Heath, Boston, it may be interesting to note that M. Bréal, at a recent meeting of the French Institute (Jan. 30, 1880), presented a paper on the ancient Latin text, known as the 'Song of the Arval Brothers.' According to the *Revue Critique* (Feb. 9), M. Bréal remarks that the text is preserved for us by an inscription of the time of the Emperor Heliogabalus, which forms part of the proceedings of the fraternity of the twelve Arval Brothers, reorganized under the empire. The text is given as having been sung at a ceremony in May of the year 218, by the twelve Arvals, who read the text of it from little books, *libelli*, prepared beforehand. It is from one of these *libelli* that the text was copied on the marble slab, which has preserved it for us. M. Bréal thinks that the books themselves had been copied from an ancient inscription preserved in the archives of the fraternity. The inscription dated back probably to the second century before our era, which explains the mixture of archaic and modern forms found in it; for example *lases*, for the classic *lares*, alongside of *incurrere*, where we find *r* in place of *s* between two vowels. Finally, the ancient Latin of this song was not at all understood by the copyists of the time of Heliogabalus, who grossly corrupted the text. The song consists of five verses, which, in the inscription of the archives of the brothers, were probably each written once. In the text which has come down to us, however, each is repeated three times, and the word *triumpe*, which comes after the last verse, is repeated five times. Now the fourth of these verses thus repeated did not, according to M. Bréal, originally form part of the song, but was an indication of the established order, marking an action to be performed by the Arval Brothers at that point of the ceremony. It was then through mistake that the copyists of the year 218 repeated this verse also three times, and that the Arvals sang it as the rest. The song is only a litany, in which invocation is made for the prosperity of agriculture, to a number of gods of ancient Italy; the *Lares*, *Marmar* or *Mamers* (the Oscan *Mars*), the Latin *Mars*, *Berber* (perhaps still another reading of the name of Mars), and the *Semones* or gods of the seed-time. M. Bréal gives the following reading and translation of this text:

ENOS (cor. ENOM) LASES IUVATE.
 NEVE LVE RVE (cor. ARVE) MARMAR SINS (var. SERS, cor. SEIRIS) INCURRERE. INPLEORES (*lacuna?*).
 SATVR FVPERE (cor. SATA TVTERE) MARS. LIMEN SALI (cor. CLEMENS SATIS) STA BERBER.
 SEMYUNIS ALTERNEI ADVOCAPIT CUNCTOS.
 ENOS MARMOR IUVATO.
 TRIVMPE.

This becomes in classic Latin:

"Eia! Lares, juvate. Neve luem arvis, Marmar, siveris incurrere. Implores . . . Sata tutere, Mars. Clemens satis sta, Berber. Semones alterne invocabit cunctos. Eia! Marmar, juvato. Triumphé."

In the expression *clemens satis sta*, the word *sta* is to be taken in the sense of *be*: "be thou favorable to the crops, Berber!"

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Thanks are due to Messrs. B. Westermann & Co., New York, for material furnished.

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Introduction to the Study of Sign Language among the North American Indians, etc. By Prof. Garrick Mallery, Bvt. Lt. Col. U. S. Army. Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of Ethnology. 1880.

The editor of the American Journal of Philology takes this, the first opportunity after his return from Europe, of thanking Professor Charles D. Morris publicly for his valuable aid in seeing the second number of the Journal through the press, and for his generous assumption of the entire work of editing the present issue. Like thanks are due to Dr. Wm. Hand Browne, who has conducted the business of the office during the absence of the editor far better than his inexperienced principal could have done. The editor has also great pleasure in announcing that he has been so fortunate as to secure the help of several English scholars of high attainments and wide reputation, and that papers are in preparation for ensuing numbers of the Journal by such men as Campbell, Robinson Ellis, Mayor, Nettleship.

we are dependent upon a single manuscript. If we may judge by his own utterances, his pretensions to scholarly endowment must have been small. He goes about his business in the truly destructive spirit of utilitarian learning. Festus, 218 (Müller): "*cuius (Verrii) opinionem neque in hoc neque in aliis compluribus refutare mihi nunc necesse est, cum propositum habeam ex tanto librorum eius numero intermortua iam et sepulta verba atque ipso saepe confidente nullius usus aut auctoritatis praeterire, et reliqua quam brevissime redigere in libros admodum paucos.*" Festus, it will be seen, has a pedantic contempt for all information not useful in his own time, and no scruple in setting up his own judgment against that of Verrius Flaccus. And thus he has evidently omitted much which in the second century would perhaps have been thought

profitless, but which in the nineteenth would be regarded as invaluable. Like a true pedagogue, he has no misgivings. He has none of the perhaps exaggerated but still salutary reverence for Latin antiquity which is so conspicuous in other writers of the second century, such as Fronto and Aulus Gellius, nor does he give any proof of independent critical power. His work is merely an affair of scissors and paste, in which conceit and incompetence are perhaps equally blended.

It is the Nemesis of free speculation, science, and literature, that they are born of practical necessities, and only continue to exist by stooping to serve them. One trembles to think what might have been the fate of Vergil and Horace had not their poems been early converted into lesson-books for schoolboys. The great work of Verrius suffered severely under the operation to which Festus subjected it; but its life was probably saved thereby. And Festus was in his turn overtaken by a righteous retribution at the time of the Carolingian revival. His book was then further abridged by Paulus, who, in the dedication of his epitome to Charles the Great, states that he has passed over everything superfluous and unnecessary which the prolixity of Festus had suffered to remain.

How much Festus omitted from the original work of Verrius Flaccus cannot be ascertained. But a comparison between Festus and Paulus in the passages common to both shows that a not inconsiderable number of glosses which still remained in Festus were left out by his epitomator. In the glosses which he retained Paulus seems to have made it his chief business to cut away the references to old Latin authors which Festus had still allowed to remain in illustration of the articles of Verrius. But this was not all. There are cases in which it can be shown that the epitome of Paulus sometimes attributes to Verrius views which we know from other sources that he did not hold. Thus on p. 2 Paulus says on the word *amoenus* "*amoena* dicta sunt loca quae ad se amanda adliciant." But from Isidore XIV 9, 33, we learn that Verrius Flaccus derived *amoenus* from *munus*: "*amoena* loca dicta Varro ait eo quod solum amorem praestent et ad amanda adliciant: Verrius Flaccus, quod sine munere sint, nec quicquam in his officii, quasi *amunia*, id est sine fructu," etc. In the same way on p. 17 Paulus gives an account of the name Angerona, which it appears from Macrobius (Sat. I 10, 7) was the one accepted, not by Verrius Flaccus, but by Julius Modestus. It is sufficiently evident therefore that the epitome of Paulus gives but an inadequate idea, in

point both of compass and of matter, of the work which it is supposed to represent.

About the life of Verrius Flaccus himself we know no more than what is stated by Suetonius in the seventeenth chapter of his treatise *De Grammaticis*. He was a freedman, and obtained renown chiefly by his method of teaching. This seems to have been neither more nor less than the introduction of the principle of competition. "To exercise the wits of his pupils," says Suetonius, "he used to pit against each other those of the same age, give them a subject to write upon, and reward the winner with a prize, generally in the shape of a fine or rare copy of some ancient author. For all this he was chosen by Augustus as tutor to his grandchildren at a salary of about £1000 a year (centena sestertia), on the condition of his taking no other pupils. From this time onwards he resided on the Palatine and gave his lectures in the *atrium* of the house of Catulus. He died an old man in the reign of Tiberius. He had a statue erected to his memory at Praeneste, where he had set up, engraved on marble, a calendar of his own arrangement.¹ His character and manner of study were attacked, we know not for what reason, by a contemporary scholar Scribonius Aphrodisius, a slave and pupil of Horace's master Orbilius. From all this it would appear that Verrius Flaccus was favored by most of the outward circumstances that a scholar could wish for, leisure, long life, a competence, general appreciation, and good society. Besides his encyclopaedic work, the *De Verborum Significatu*, of which I wish to speak in detail in these essays, he wrote books *rerum memoria dignarum*, of which Gellius (IV 5, 6) quotes the first, and of which Pliny has apparently preserved something. He also wrote a treatise *De Obscuris Catonis*, which is cited by Gellius (XVII 6, 2), and another on Etruscan antiquities (Scholia Veronensia on Aen. X 183 and 200). We also hear of a pamphlet on the god Saturnus (Macrobius I 4, 7; 8, 5), and of letters (*epistolae*) on literary subjects (Servius on Aen. VIII 423.)

The abridgments of the *De Verborum Significatu* which I mentioned above are now most familiarly known to scholars in the edition published by Karl Otfried Müller at Leipzig in 1839. Not so much has been done since that time as might have been expected for the criticism of Festus and Paulus, although a great deal of attention has been given to later glossaries. I was led towards the

¹ The remains of this calendar are edited in the first volume of the Berlin *Corpus Inscriptionum*.

end of 1876, while studying the criticisms on Vergil in Macrobius, in the opinion that some of those which relate to Vergil's employment of rare or antique expressions may be ultimately traced to Verrius Flaccus; and this occasion induced me to investigate the relation of some other later Latin writings to the same author, and ultimately to enquire in detail into the general character of the *De Verborum Significatu*, the authorities on which it is mainly based, the form in which it is composed, and its general scope and aim. I found that although Miller is to all appearance right in his main ideas as to the composition of the work, and more right, probably, than some recent scholars have been disposed to allow in his view of the relation of the glosses of Festus to those of Placidus, much still remains to be said both on the original work of Verrius and on the remains of it which, in my opinion, may be discovered in later writers, notably in Quintilian, Gellius, Nonius, Macrobius, and Placidus.

I hope to contribute something in these two essays towards an elucidation of both these points, and propose in the first to say a few words on the composition and general character of the *De Verborum Significatu*, so far as they can be inferred from the abridgments through which alone we know anything of it.

It is a characteristic of the literature of the Augustan age, in its various branches, that it tends to sum up the results arrived at separately by writers of previous generations. In the sphere of style this epoch produced classical masterpieces, the works of Vergil, Horace, Livy and Ovid; in that of philology and antiquities it produced works of reference, such as those of Hyginus, Fenestella, and Verrius Flaccus. The work of Verrius Flaccus may fairly claim to be called an encyclopaedia. Its title, *De Verborum Significatu*, gives but an inadequate idea of its contents, which embrace not only lexicographical matter, but much information on points of history, antiquities, and grammar, illustrated by numerous quotations from poets, jurists, historians, old legal documents, and writers on religious or political antiquities.

In ancient Italy the connection between literature and scholarship was organic, the study of philology having been almost as old as the creation of a national poetry. Livius Andronicus and Ennius¹ were not only poets, but interpreters of Greek. And their own

¹ Suetonius De Grammaticis I: "Antiquissimi doctorum, qui idem et poetae erant et semigraeci, Livium et Ennium dico, quos utraque lingua domi forisque docuisse adnotatum est, nihil amplius quam Graecos interpretabantur," etc.

works also soon began to be used as quarries for the scholar. In the train of the early masters of Latin poetry, Plautus, Naevius, Ennius, and the early tragedians and satirists, followed a crowd of interpreters who devoted themselves to the exposition of their works. This fact is partly due to the very nature of poetic diction; but there were also peculiar circumstances in the case before us which encouraged the growth of a science of interpretation. Since Plautus and Ennius hardly any Latin poetry was written without a study of Greek; and Italian style became more and more colored with a tinge of Greek language and inflection. Thus it came about that the Latin poets, whether they admitted Greek words into their verses, or gave new life to dying Italian words which the new fashion was banishing from common use, were not always easy to understand. A double interest was growing up among the literary public. There was a desire to understand the older poets; there was also a desire to follow and continue their work as step by step was built up the fabric of Italian literature. Their productions were soon used as materials both for the education of youth and for the study of the professed scholar. Thus we find Octavius Lampadio busy with Naevius; Q. Vargunteius and Pompilius Andronicus with Ennius; Aelius Stilo, Volcatius Sedigitus, Servius Clodius, Aurelius Opilius, Sisenna and Varro with Plautus; Laelius Archelaus, Vettius Philocomus and Curtius Nicia with Lucilius. The study of grammar, which had been much furthered by the labors of the poets Accius and Lucilius, was developed by Julius Caesar, Varro and Nigidius Figulus. It is less remarkable, owing to the obvious practical necessities of the case, that a long line of interpreters of Roman law can be traced as far back as the end of the third century B. C. At the head of this line stand the names of Publius and Sextus Aelius Paetus (consuls respectively 201 and 198 B. C.) Finally, the encyclopaedic labors of Varro, ranging from history, law and antiquities to poetry and grammar, embodied in various works much of the material amassed by previous scholars.

The work of Verrius Flaccus is, so far as I know, the first attempt in the history of Latin literature at compiling an encyclopaedia of scholarship in the form of a dictionary alphabetically arranged. But long before his time it would appear that smaller works of the same kind had been attempted in the shape of glossaries to poets and legal documents. References to such works are to be found in the *De Lingua Latina* of Varro. In discussing the word *tesca*, Varro (Ling. Lat. VII, 10) quotes the opinion of persons *qui*

glossas scripserunt: and in the same book (107) on the word *per-sibus* he says *sub hoc glossema callide subscribunt*. It should be observed that in the seventh book of the *De Lingua Latina*, where Varro is discussing poetical words, there are in some passages distinct traces of an alphabetical arrangement. From § 9-12, for example, we have *templum tesca tueri*: from § 43-51 *ancile catus cobium cortina duellum Iugula supremum tempestas*: from § 88-92 *alcyon comiter capio cicurare ferme*: from § 98-101 *cerno frequens fossari mussare*. This fact seems to point to the conclusion that Varro was drawing upon glossaries alphabetically arranged, written either to single poets or to several in combination. But we have further indications of the existence of such works. Verrius Flaccus (Festus 181 M.) quotes a *liber glossematorum* by Ateius Philologus, a celebrated scholar of the Ciceronian age, and elsewhere mentions *glossarum libri*. Santra, a scholar of the same period as Ateius, wrote an important etymological treatise *De verborum antiquitate*, which it is natural to suppose must have been of a lexicographical character. About the same time Aelius Gallus compiled a great work, *De significatione verborum quae ad ius civile pertinent*. And there may, indeed there must, have been many *compendia* or handbooks of interpretation or etymology in circulation for the purposes of ordinary education and reading. Festus, 210, has made mention of *commentarii quidam*. *Glossae antiquitatum, glossae veterum*, are also mentioned by Julius Cominianus, a grammarian of the fourth century (Charisius 229, 242, Keil).

Even in the ruins in which it lies, it is easy to see how large must have been the proportions of Verrius Flaccus' work. Festus speaks of reducing a great number of books to a few. This means, not that Verrius' work was not arranged alphabetically, but that each letter was divided into books, which Festus reduced until no more than one book was left for each letter. This agrees with Festus' own quotation (326) from Verrius' *fifth book* of words beginning with the letter *P*. Whatever the number of books under each letter, Festus reduced them in every case to one, in which it is now barely possible to trace the lines of any division at all.

Some idea of the original extent of the work of Verrius Flaccus, and of what it has suffered at the hands of Festus and Paulus, may be gathered from the quotations of Gellius. In V 18 of his *Noctes Atticae*, Gellius quotes a remark of Verrius on the difference between *annales* and *historia* which is not in Festus at all; in V 17 we have a citation from a very full account of the phrase *dies*

atri or *nefasti*, originally given in Verrius' fourth book; and in XVI 14 an account of the etymology of *festino*, which must have belonged to the note preserved by Festus 234, but which has disappeared from the epitome. In the same way Gellius XVIII 7, 5, quotes a *liber* of Verrius Flaccus (did this belong to the *De Verborum Significatu* ?) in which the meanings of *senatus civitas tribus* and *decuria* are discussed at length, but of which Festus has preserved no trace. Even the fuller notes of Festus himself sometimes preserve a surprising number of examples, which give a tantalizing idea of the fullness of learning which we have lost.

Turning now to the works of Festus and Paulus, let us ask what they tell us of the scope and intention of their original. As I said above, the title of Verrius' work *De Verborum Significatu* might lead us to expect that its purpose was simply lexicographical in the narrower sense of the word. But this is not the case. There is a great number of articles which would now be relegated to a dictionary of history or mythology; others would be regarded as belonging to a dictionary of antiquities. Such are under the letter *A* the notes on *Ambrones*, *Ausonia*, *Ameria*, *Anxur*, *Ariminum*; under *B* those on *Beneventum* and *Bruttates*; under *C* those on *Collatia*, *Capua*, *Caecilius*, *Calpurnius*; under *M* those on *Misennum*, *Messapia*, *municipium*, *Mamilius*, *Mamertini*; under *R* that on *Roma*; under *S* that on *Saturnia*; and many other instances of the same kind might be added.

Again, there was a great deal of discussion on points of grammar and orthography. Such are the remarks on the gender of words, as under *A* on *armentum*; under *C* on *contio*, *contagio*, *clunes*; under *D* on *demus* and *demum*; under *F* on *frons*; under *M* on *parens* and *crux* (p. 151); p. 198 on *obsidio* and *obsidium*; p. 250 on *amnis*; p. 286 on *agnus*; p. 313 on *stirps*. Verrius noticed also such points of form as the declension of nouns, comparison of adjectives, and conjugation of verbs. Instances of this are his remarks (p. 4) on the defective *ambest*; p. 27 on *aliae* and *alius*; p. 81 on *exercitior* and *exercitissimus*, *exfuti* and *effusi*; p. 92 on *falsius* and *falsior*; p. 103 on *im* = *eum*; p. 107 on *incensit* for *incenderit*, *inceptit* for *inceperit*; p. 154-5 on *magnificior* and *munificior* for *magnificentior* and *munificentior*; p. 163 on *neminis* from *nemo*; p. 181 on *ocius* and *ocissime*; p. 247 on *pecuum* from *pecus*; p. 286 on *repulsior*, *ratissima*. There is also evidence to show that he must have given a great deal of attention to points of orthography. On p. 15, for instance, we find a notice of the spelling

conseptum for *conceptum*; on p. 72 of *antaeum* and *pernaeum* for *antacaeum* and *pertaesum*; on p. 99 of the wrong *beae*. According to Charisius, Verrius Flaccus asserted that *swarae* should be spelt with an *a*, not with an *e*; that *alica* had *oe* \bar{i} ; that *manibiae* should be written *manibiae*; that *nomenclae* should be spelt without a *a*. Charis. 58, 96, 97, 106 Keil). Charisius has also preserved observations of Verrius on the gen. pl. of *perna*, the gender of *laxae*, the forms *lacte*, *labra*, *labia*, and the acc. pl. *swar* for *swar* (111, 101, 102, 103, 119). Notwithstanding the frequency of these grammatical remarks (and more might be added to the list), the work of Verrius was in the main a Latin lexicon: the first, I suppose, that was ever written. The chief authorities from which illustrations were drawn are, so far as can be learned from our abridgments, the following: the *Carmina Satorum*, the laws of the twelve tables, the *libri pontificum* and the *carmina* of Marcius; the poets Livius Andronicus, Naevius, Ennius, Plautus, Caecilius, Pacuvius, Accius, Afranius, Terence, Lucilius, Atta, Titinius, Hostius, Turpilius, Novius, Pomponius, Lucretius, Catullus, Varro, Vergil and Ovid; the historians Cato, Sisenna, and Sallust; the orators and rhetoricians Cato, Scipio Africanus, Annius Luscus, Gaius Gracchus, Laelius, Scipio Aemilianus, Sulpicius Rufus, Cornificius, Cicero and Calidius; the scholars and antiquarians Fabius Pictor, Cincius, Aelius Stilo, Aurelius Opilius, Varro, Ateius Philologus, Ateius Capito, Antistius Labeo, Aelius Gallus, Veranius, and Valgius Rufus.

Among these authors the most frequently quoted are, I think, Accius, Afranius, Caecilius, Cato, Ennius, Lucilius, Naevius, Pacuvius, Plautus, and Varro.

The list ranges from the earliest monuments of Latin literature to the Augustan age; the citation latest in date being from Ovid, from whom our abridgments have preserved only one instance.

Let us now enquire how far the work of Verrius was original, and to what extent he drew upon previous authorities.

As Verrius wrote a book upon Cato, and also one upon orthography, it is reasonable to suppose that his numerous quotations from Cato and the remarks on orthography of which I have given examples, are the result of his own researches. Müller thinks that the notes upon Cato were taken by Festus from the treatise of Verrius *De Obscuris Catonis*, and inserted by him in his abridgment of the *De Verborum Significatu*. We have nothing here but conjecture to guide us; but it would seem more natural to

suppose that Verrius included his own notes on Cato in his greater work. Had Festus taken as much trouble as Müller's theory would imply, he would probably have informed his readers of the fact. Verrius may have written his special treatises, such as the *De Orthographia* and the *De Obscuris Catonis*, while his great work was in progress or even before it was begun, and afterwards embodied their contents in it.

So much, therefore, of Verrius' work is probably original, or at least independent. I am disposed to think the same of the notes on Vergil. Nothing would be more natural than that Verrius should add instances from a recent poet, one of whose most prominent characteristics was a love of reviving old words. And I do not know that there is any evidence that any one before Verrius Flaccus wrote glossaries or a glossary to Vergil. It would be interesting to know what were the sources of his notes on Catullus, Lucretius and Cicero; whether they were his own, or drawn from commentators or index-makers now forgotten. It is certainly strange that Festus and Paulus have not preserved a single note from Varro's *Saturae*. This, however, I am disposed to think, is an accident. For some of the lexicographical notes in Nonius, which can, as I hope to show in my second essay, be proved to come from Verrius Flaccus, are illustrated from the *Saturae*, and I infer therefore that Verrius had many instances from them collected either by himself or by others.

With regard to the older poets, Livius Andronicus, Naevius, Plautus, Ennius, Caecilius, Afranius, Terence and Lucilius, we may be morally certain that Verrius, whether he had made an independent study of these writers or not, drew largely upon the works of the commentators and glossographers who had illustrated them. Besides the *glossematum scriptores* whom he cites in the note on the word *naucum* (Festus, 166), he several times mentions Aurelius Opilius, the commentator on Plautus. The note on *examussim* (Festus, 80) can be shown by a comparison of a passage in Charisius (p. 198 Keil) to have been taken from Sisenna's Plautine commentaries. Numerous quotations from Lucilius are preserved by the epitomators. These may have been collected by Verrius himself, but we should remember that we know of three scholars who had worked at Lucilius before him, Laelius Archelaus, Vettius Philocomus and Curtius Nicia. We have the evidence of Verrius himself that he drew largely upon the works of Aelius Stilo, the master of Varro, from whom (Festus, 210) he quotes a comment on the

carmen saliare, another (p. 290) on the twelve tables, and others (pp. 359 and 372) on the comedians and on Plautus, and to whom he often refers on questions of etymology and interpretation. On similar questions we often find him citing the work of Santra *de antiquitate verborum*. Ateius Philologus is used in the same way; on one occasion (Festus, 181, s. v. *ocrem*) his *liber glossematorum* being specially referred to. He received assistance also from his contemporaries the poet-scholar Valgius Rufus, Ateius Capito and Sinius Capito. As Festus does not name any definite works by Sinius Capito, we may perhaps conjecture that his contributions were paid in the way of personal intercourse or correspondence. On matters of law it is common for Verrius to cite Antistius Labeo, the work of Aelius Gallus *de significatione verborum quae ad ius civile pertinent*, and the legal commentaries of the augur Messala. Antistius Labeo, Ateius Capito and Veranius are also referred to on questions of religious usage. Points of historical antiquity are often illustrated from the writings of the antiquarian Cincius. The numerous notes on the names and early history of Italian cities I should suppose to be derived from the *Origines* of Cato; and it is also possible that Verrius obtained some assistance on these points from his contemporary Iulius Hyginus, who, in his book *De urbibus Italicis*, had treated the same subject.

It is hardly necessary to say that Verrius drew largely upon the stores of historical and antiquarian information collected by Varro. But he quotes Varro more as an antiquarian than as a scholar. That the *Antiquitates* and the books *Rerum Humanarum* were used may be perceived even from the abridgment of Festus; but from the *De Lingua Latina* there are hardly any quotations. Too much stress should not be laid on this fact alone, considering the fragmentary character of the *compendia* by Festus and Paulus. Müller, indeed, goes so far as to assert that Verrius had not even read the *De Lingua Latina*. We are, perhaps, hardly warranted in drawing so extreme a conclusion; but a detailed comparison of the *De Lingua Latina* and of Festus, where the two works treat of the same words, puts it beyond dispute that Verrius Flaccus, though using the same authorities as Varro, was quite independent of him in his treatment of questions connected with the interpretation of words. I have examined a great number of passages in Varro and Festus which bear upon this point, and have found that in many cases their notes are independent, and in many more not only that they are independent, but that Verrius must have added matter and quotations which are not in Varro.

A remarkable difference between Varro and Verrius is to be observed in the matter of etymology. To judge from the epitome of Paulus, it would certainly seem as though Verrius had a predilection for deriving Latin words from Greek. It would be rash, perhaps, to infer that such was really the fact; for it may be merely that Verrius was careful to mention a Graecizing etymology whenever such a one had been proposed by any respectable authority. Be this, however, as it may, there can be no doubt that Verrius is much more partial to the Graecizing process than Varro. There seem to have been two main schools of etymology among the Romans, one of which preferred explaining Latin words by a Latin origin, while the other was fond of referring them, where possible, to a Greek source. Varro, if we may judge by the *De Lingua Latina*, belonged decidedly to the former class. Thus we find that in discussing the word *amnis* Verrius connects the Latin preposition *am* with the Greek ἀμφί, which Varro does not; and the like is the case with the words *angulus*, *agnus*, *annus* and *orator*. Who were the representatives of the Graecizing school of etymology before Verrius Flaccus it is not easy to ascertain with certainty. The notes in Festus on *dativus* (p. 68), on *nuptiae* (p. 170), and on *spinturnix* (p. 333), show that Santra was not averse to the Graecizing method, and Aelius Stilo (p. 174 *si lectio certa*) is said to have compared *novalis* with νεός, and (p. 206) to have derived *petaurista* from πρὸς τὸν ἀέρα πέτασθαι. In other cases, however, the etymologies cited from Aelius Stilo show no trace of this tendency. The name which survives as most definitely representing the Graecizing school is that of Hypsicrates, "cuius libri sane nobiles sunt super his quae a Graecis accepta sunt" (Gellius XVI 12, 6). This Hypsicrates is quoted by Varro, *De Lingua Latina* V 88, and also by Verrius Flaccus (Paulus s. v. *aurum*). There is another scholar mentioned by Gellius as pushing the Graecizing method to an extreme, even to the extreme of deriving *generator* from γενέσθαι. This was Cloatius Verus (Gellius XVI 12), the author of a treatise in several books bearing the title *verborum a Graecis tractorum*. Teuffel conjectures that Cloatius Verus lived in the time of the Antonines (Gesch. der Röm. Lit. § 338, 5). There seems to be no ground for this supposition beyond the fact that he is quoted by Gellius, and I think it is therefore worth while to ask the question whether Cloatius Verus is not the same as the Cloatius quoted several times by Verrius Flaccus on matters relating to sacrifices. One of Cloatius' etymologies, that which connected the

words *alucinatio* and *elucus*, and both with the Greek ἀλβεῖν (Gellius l. c.) is still to be found in Paulus; p. 24 "*alucinatio* erratio"; p. 75 "*elucum* significat languidum et semisomnum, vel ut alii volunt *alucinatore* et nugarum amatorem, sive *halonem*." But it is no doubt rash to hazard a conjecture on so uncertain a matter.

I now come to a point the full consideration of which will, I think, be found to throw a great deal of light on the manner in which the work of Verrius Flaccus, and indeed a large part of similar work in antiquity, was composed.

Müller, in the preface to his edition, has observed four points in the arrangement of the books as we have them in their abridged form. (1) Each book may be divided into two parts, in the first of which regard is paid not only to the first letter of each word, but also to the second, and sometimes to the third. (2) The same word is often interpreted twice over, the writer sometimes giving different explanations in the different places. A word so repeated may occur in the first and the second part of each book, but never occurs twice in the first part. (3) In the second part of every letter we find a series of glosses illustrated from Cato, some from Plautus, and some remarks on religious law arranged together. (4) At the beginning of some letters we find words of religious signification placed apparently by way of good omen, as *Augustus* at the beginning of *A*, *Lucetium Iovem* at the beginning of *L*, *magnos ludos, Meltom*, and *Matrem Matutam* at the beginning of *M*, *naenia* at the beginning of *N*. This arrangement is not always preserved in our epitome, a fact which Müller puts down to the havoc made by Festus with the original work.

Müller also notices that the quotations from the contemporaries of Verrius Flaccus, Veranius and Antistius Labeo, are to be found at the end of the letters in which they occur, *M, O, P* and *R*. And he infers from this that these citations, like those from Cato, were inserted by Festus from other works of Verrius Flaccus.

The facts elicited by Müller are undeniable, but they are not all. There is another fact which has apparently escaped his notice, and which goes far, in my opinion, toward justifying us in raising the question whether he has hit on the true explanation of the arrangement of the articles in Festus.

There are some traces even in the epitome of Paulus, and many more in the larger work of Festus, that Verrius arranged his glosses under each letter *in successive series, each of which consisted of several glosses headed by citations from the same author*. Müller

noticed that many of the letters in Festus and Paulus are concluded by a series of examples from Plautus and Cato. But I wish to point out that not only in the second part and at the end of the letters, but in the first part and throughout them, there are distinct traces not only of Cato and Plautus, but of many other authors, having been used in the same way. At the risk of being tedious I must go into the details of a phenomenon which has so important a bearing on the problem before us. Taking the letter *A*, I have observed that on p. 4 Ennius is quoted twice, on p. 11 Livius Andronicus twice, on p. 27-28 Plautus twice, on p. 29 Naevius twice. Under the letter *B* on p. 35-36 there are six quotations from Plautus. Under *C* on p. 45 there are two quotations from Plautus, on p. 59 two from Ennius and four from Cato, on p. 60-63 twenty-four from Plautus, and on p. 62 two from Ennius. Under *F* on p. 92 there are three quotations from Cato. Under *G* on p. 96-97 there are two from Plautus. Under *I* on p. 108 there are two from Pacuvius, p. 109-110 two from Plautus, and p. 113 two from Plautus. Under *M*, p. 123, there are two from Ennius, p. 125-7-8 three from Plautus, p. 138-141 two from Aelius Stilo, p. 144 three from Ennius, p. 152 three from Cato, p. 153 two from Ennius, p. 154 six from Cato, p. 157 several from books of augural discipline. Under *N*, p. 161-2, Plautus is quoted four times, Livius Andronicus twice and Cato thrice, p. 165-66 Plautus six times and Ennius thrice, on p. 169 Plautus four times and Cato thrice, on p. 170 Plautus twice and Afranius twice, on p. 174 Livius Andronicus twice and Accius twice, on p. 177 Caecilius and Ennius each twice and Cato twice. Under *O* on p. 178 Ennius is cited twice, p. 181 Plautus twice, on p. 152-5 Cato thrice, p. 198-201 Ennius four times, on p. 201 C. Gracchus twice and Cato thrice. Under *P*, p. 205, we have two avowed and probably more unavowed citations from the *Carmen Saliare*, on p. 206-209 two from Lucilius, on p. 211-13 three from Lucilius, p. 215-217 five from Plautus, p. 217 two from Naevius and as many from Pacuvius, on p. 229 three from Caecilius, three from Plautus and two from Pacuvius, on p. 233-4 several from books of law and antiquities, on p. 234-7 six from Cato, on p. 238 two from Ateius Capito, on p. 241-2 three from Ennius, p. 242 thirteen from Cato, p. 245 several from books of augury and law. p. 249 two from Ennius, 249-253 several from Antistius Labeo, p. 253 two from Cato and others from books on augury, and p. 254 is taken up with notes on antiquities. Under *Q*, p. 257, there are two citations from Ennius, p. 258-9 two from

Ennius and as many from Plautus. Under *R*, p. 270-273, we have four from Lucilius, p. 273 two from Plautus, p. 270-274 three from Pacuvius, p. 274 two from Plautus, p. 277 three from Plautus, two from Lucilius and as many from Afranius, p. 277-8 three from Ennius and several from books of antiquities, p. 278-81 four from Pacuvius, p. 281 two from Accius, p. 281-2 five from Cato, p. 282 two from Plautus, p. 285-6 four from Ennius, p. 286 five from Cato, p. 289-90 several from books of religious antiquities. Under *S*, p. 291-3, we have several quotations from books of antiquities, on p. 294 Lucilius is quoted twice, p. 294-8 Plautus four times, p. 298 Ennius four times, p. 298-301 Lucilius twice, p. 301 Ennius twice, p. 301-2 Plautus four times, p. 302-305 Plautus five times and Ennius thrice, p. 306 Plautus four times, p. 309 books of antiquities, on p. 310 Lucilius and Plautus each twice, p. 313-14 Ennius three times, p. 314-17 books of antiquities, p. 317 Caecilius twice, p. 317-18 books of augural discipline, p. 318 Cato twice, p. 321-2 Naevius and the twelve tables each twice, p. 329-30 Ennius six times, Plautus thrice and Pacuvius twice, p. 333 Ennius twice and Plautus twice, p. 334 Afranius twice, p. 336 9 Ennius thrice, p. 339 Caecilius twice, p. 343-4 books of antiquities, p. 343 Ennius and Pacuvius each twice, p. 344 Cato eight times, p. 348-51 Antistius Labeo seven times, p. 351 Ateius Capito twice. Under *T*, p. 351, Varro is cited twice, p. 351-2 Ennius four times, p. 352 Pacuvius twice, p. 355 Plautus twice, Afranius twice and Caecilius twice, p. 355-6 Pacuvius three times, p. 356 Ennius three times, p. 359-63 Ennius four times, p. 366 Plautus twice. Under *V*, p. 368-9, we have three quotations from Plautus, p. 369 two from Cato and two from Ennius, p. 372 two from Plautus and as many from Pacuvius, p. 375-6 four from Ennius, p. 378-9 six from Cato. It should also be observed that the citations from the poets usually come together, and the same is true of those from the orators and the books of historical or religious antiquities.

Müller has shown that in several cases where a quotation from Plautus or Cato does not appear in the epitome of Paulus or Festus, the word annotated occurs in the works of those writers, and that we may therefore reasonably infer that if it occurs in a series of words which are undoubtedly from Plautus or Cato, it was probably illustrated, in the original work of Verrius Flaccus, from the works of one or the other. Thus Müller has added the name of Plautus to three glosses now unnamed, in Paulus p. 35-36, and nine to the list of fifteen p. 60-63. A similar process should be applied, so far

as possible, to the citations from other authors, before this part of our subject can be pronounced exhausted.

Arguing on the facts before him, Müller concluded that Verrius jotted down his notes and extracts on separate sheets, in no definite order, and thus gave them to his scribes to arrange and copy. The inference seems to me rather to be this: that Verrius took one author at a time, or commentaries on him, and arranged the notes which he made or extracted in alphabetical order, and that the whole of each letter is an aggregate of such separate series of authors. No doubt Varro pursued the same method in the seventh book of the *De Lingua Latina*, only on a much smaller scale. For in this book, which is devoted exclusively to the consideration of words used by the poets, we find a decided tendency to place together quotations from the same author. In § 6, 7, 8, 9 there are two from Ennius, and so in § 12-13; in § 14-15 there are two from Accius, in § 19, 20, 21 three from Ennius, in § 22, 23 two from Pacuvius, in § 32-33 two from Ennius, in § 35, 36, 37 three from Ennius, in § 41-46 four from Ennius, in § 48, 49 two from the same author, in § 54-58 five from Plautus, in § 61-64 four from Plautus, in § 66-70 five from Plautus, in § 77-79 three from Plautus, in § 87-88 two from Pacuvius, in § 95-96 two from Matius, in § 98-99 two from Plautus, in § 100-101 two from Ennius, in § 103-106 four from Plautus and two from Ennius, in § 108 twelve from Naevius.

It has been said before that each letter in the work of Verrius was originally divided into several *libri* or books. I hardly know whether it is possible to trace any sign of this division in the fragmentary work which we now possess. It is, however, worth noticing that in several letters there is more than one series of quotations from the same author; thus under *N* we have a first Plautine series p. 161-2, and a second p. 165, and on p. 162 a first Catonian series, and a second p. 169. So under *O* there are two series from Ennius, the first p. 187, the second p. 198, and the same phenomenon recurs elsewhere. May we infer that in these cases Verrius was making extracts from different glossaries, in each of which he found series of quotations from the same authors? And is there any connection between these different series and the separate *libri* into which the letters were divided? There are numerous instances in Paulus and Festus of a word being commented on twice. This phenomenon is easily explained by the facts to which I have already endeavored to call attention. The

double glosses owe their existence to the accident that Verrius found a word first in one and then in another author; thus *patulus bos* is mentioned in a Plautine series p. 221, and in another p. 229.

The method of arrangement according to authors meets us again in the works of the philological writers of the second and third centuries A. D., Aulus Gellius, Julius Romanus and Nonius; and I hope also to be able to show that there are traces of it in some of the Vergilian criticisms of Macrobius. This fact must be taken into consideration in investigating the authorities used by these writers, and may sometimes be found of importance in determining their relation to Verrius Flaccus.

But before attempting to trace the fortunes of Verrius' work in the first five centuries A. D., it will be well to say a word or two on its position in Roman literature, and on its value for the purposes of Latin scholarship in our own day.

In the *De Verborum Significatu* the first systematic attempt was made in the history of Roman literature to form an alphabetical encyclopaedia of interpretation, grammar and antiquities. Previous scholars had amassed an enormous amount of information upon separate subjects, but in a form that was neither attractive nor always easily accessible to the literary world. Varro, the greatest of Roman scholars and antiquarians, wrote in a style and adopted an arrangement which made reference to his work exceedingly difficult. The advantages of an alphabetical arrangement in the case of a work of general reference, such as that of Verrius Flaccus was intended to be, need not be pointed out.

But, as we have seen, Verrius did not strictly observe an alphabetical order beyond the first letters of the words. His book still bore traces of its origin from separate commentaries, treatises and monographs. Under every letter there are the clearest indications, where the hand of the epitomator has left anything but the barest skeleton, that the same authors were cited in single series. It would appear further that each letter included more than one series from the same author, and was divided, in some manner which we cannot now ascertain, into separate *libri* or sections. Thus the *De Verborum Significatu*, though in its general character an encyclopaedia, did not altogether lose the interest attaching to a literary production.

When we examine the relation of Verrius' work to that of the scholars into the fruits of whose labor he entered, we find that he is by no means to be set down as a mere compiler. There can hardly be a doubt that the notes upon Cato were the result of his

own studies, and this was probably the case also with his notes on Vergil, and perhaps with those on Cicero, Lucretius and Catullus. That he had views of his own on points of grammar and etymology is proved by the statements of later writers, who mention his name with respect as that of an independent authority. And it would thus be unjust, taking all things into consideration, to deny him a place among the best writers of the great literary epoch to which he belonged.

And, as far as we know, his work was never superseded or displaced except by abridgments of itself. This fact is due partly to its real merits and its wide compass, partly to the course of literary history. The work of Verrius belongs to a time when the science and art of grammar were as yet not quite definitely separated from the cognate branches of literature. There must have been many notes of Verrius Flaccus, if we may trust his epitomators, which in a later age would have been relegated from a dictionary to a grammar. In the hands of the scholars of the first century, such as Remmius Palaemon and Valerius Probus, grammar was developed into a separate art, and no subsequent attempt was made, on a scale worthy of the enterprise, to reëmbody the results of grammatical study in a comprehensive lexicon.

In its relation to modern philology, the work of Verrius may be considered from two points of view, as a quarry of information for the student of Latin, and as offering several unsolved problems for constructive criticism. As a quarry of information it cannot be said even yet to be exhausted. The difficulties of Latin etymology are immensely increased by the fact that many important Latin words seem to have attained to their ordinary usage quite independently of their possible cognates in the kindred Indo-germanic languages. For most of the important occasions of life the Italians developed a vocabulary of their own long after their separation from their brethren of India, Greece, and the North and West of Europe. It is therefore often merely a barren toil to set Latin words side by side with their supposed cognates, unless we also take care strictly to interrogate the Latin language itself as to the sense in which the Italians generally accepted and employed them. Yet how little do we really know of this general acceptance and usage! How can we estimate adequately the loss which Latin letters have sustained in the destruction (to take a single instance) of most of the works of Varro! All the more need in an age like ours, in which the spirit of research is happily alive, to cling to such relics as we still

possess of Italian antiquity. For the student of this subject Verrius Flaccus is still a great authority, and the words even of Paulus must often be conned and conned again before the mind of the etymologist or antiquarian can be made up.

This being so, it is clear how important a problem it is for the critic to constitute what remains of the text of Verrius Flaccus on a sound basis. Something remains to be done even with the epitomes of Paulus and Festus. But there is a more difficult and delicate problem, the partial solution of which is not, I think, beyond the reach of modern scholarship. This is to determine to what extent the glosses in Paulus and Festus can be supplemented by the remains of the original work of Verrius which may be found in later writers, *who drew, not upon the abridgment of Festus, but upon other excerpts or abridgments*, or upon the *De Verborum Significatu* itself. In a second paper I hope to be able to point out generally the line which such an investigation should follow, and in particular to notice some of the quotations from Verrius which are to be found in Quintilian, Pliny, Suetonius, Gellius, Nonius, Macrobius and Placidus.

HENRY NETTLESHIP.

II.—THE HISTORY OF *COINCIDE* AND *COINCIDENCE*.

Little has been accomplished thus far by students of English in tracing the evolutions of individual words and special forms. The application of Comparative Philology has tended to elucidate the etymology of English; but the critical investigation of single words, the date and the mode of their introduction into our tongue, the rise and the decadence of special formations, have received little consideration from students of English, compared with the minute and patient study bestowed upon the accident and the syntax of the ancient languages.

The words *coincide* and *coincidence* seem to have an historical development worthy of diligent investigation, and one presenting several points of interest to students of linguistic science, as well as special students of the English tongue. Their introduction into modern cultivated speeches is, in the *first instance*, probably to be attributed to the influence of Medieval Latin, more than to the action of mathematical nomenclature upon literature and upon current speech. From the language of philosophy they seem to have passed into the vocabulary of scholarly English writers during the first half of the XVII century; and at a time almost coincident with this, that is during the great revival of mathematical study in England, they were probably appropriated by writers upon this science to express a geometrical conception, which before this period seems to have been represented by the Latin words *congruere* and *congruens*. The terms appear to have found their way into English through two separate channels, philosophy and science, although there is strong reason for supposing that their first introduction was under the auspices of philosophy, they having been translated from Bacon's Latin, or from the Latin of some other philosophical writer; and that having effected an entrance in this way, their growth and development were stimulated by the action of mathematical nomenclature upon the literary dialect. The mere fact that *coincident* is familiarly used by Jeremy Taylor in 1642, the year in which Newton was born and when Barrow was but twelve years of age, lends a strong coloring to this supposition.

I have taken considerable pains to ascertain if the terms *coincide* and *coincident* are employed by the oldest reputable writers upon the science of geometry. In the first place I consulted the Latin translation of two or three books of Euclid, executed by Boethius, "the last of the Romans," about 500 A. D. I find, after a careful perusal, no instance of either word, though the term *incidens* (Propositions A and B) occurs, and may perhaps be considered a presage of *coincidens*. Then I read through the Latin text of Euclid (the edition that I used followed the text of Commandine and was dated Oxford, 1715). The word does not occur in its verbal, noun, or adjective form, but *congruere* and *congruens* are employed in places where the English translators use *coincide* and *coinciding*. If any one desires to test the accuracy of this statement, let him compare the IV Proposition, 1st Book of the Latin text of Euclid, with the same proposition as rendered into English, and he can ascertain its correctness for himself. In addition to the translation of Euclid by Boethius, and the complete translation, I also consulted a Latin commentary upon the works of Archimedes, executed in the early centuries, but discovered no trace of the word in any of its forms. The absence of the terms from the Latin translations of Euclid, most of which were executed long after the words had become recognized forms in Medieval Latin, induced me to suspect that the philosophic, and not the mathematical sense, was the first in point of time, and that the terms having been coined by some Medieval Latinist, had been appropriated by geometers to represent a well known geometrical conception. That technical terms, as well as other words, have their vicissitudes, and that they do not always remain the exclusive property of a special science, but pass with facility from one into another, is clearly pointed out by Robert Boyle in his comments upon the use of *scholium*, and illustrated by Henry More's employment of the same word. The earliest instance of the use of *coincide* and *coincidence*, *i. e.* in their Latin form, that thus far I have been able to discover is found in the philosophical writings of Roger Bacon, whose marvellous command of Medieval Latin, and whose rich and strangely modern vocabulary, should commend his works to the diligent perusal of the student of language as well as science. I purpose to give in chronological order an outline of the origin and development of *coincide* and *coincidence*, tracing their transition from the Latin of science and philosophy into the scholarly prose of English during the middle

of the XVII century, and their introduction into the vocabulary of mathematical science about the same time; and then to follow their fortunes through the XVII and XVIII centuries, down to the *coincident* death of Adams and Jefferson on the 4th of July, 1826, an event which exercised a marked influence in extending the current usage of the words, drawing them out of their still scholarly seclusion and rendering them familiar household terms in American English. I have given the dates of the compositions in which the words occur, so far as I have been able to ascertain or fix them, from the earliest examples I have discovered down to the latest stage of their development, in 1826.

Roger Bacon, *Opus Tertium*, page 78, 1268-9: "Sed in nulla natura *coincidunt* agens et materia sicut partes ejus, ut ipsemet docet, secundo Physicorum. Nam ibi dicit quod materia non *coincidit* cum efficiente in eodem secundum numerum, nec secundum speciem, sed forma bene *coincidit* cum efficiente in eodem secundum speciem."

Opus Majus, page 423, 1268-9: "Quum igitur auctores varii, ut Alhacen, libro de aspectibus, et alii perspectivi, et etiam naturales, ut Seneca et alii in libris naturalibus, volunt species distingui in medio; intelligendum est hoc modo, scilicet quod a rebus veniunt species per lineas principales distinctas usque ad locum mixtionis, et deinde ulterius tendunt per diversas vias et distinctas, loquendo de lineis principalibus, quamvis accidentales minus *coincident* a loco mixtionis in partibus medii et oculi, et adhuc haec *coincidentia* reputatur distinctio, eo quod fortitudo principalis multiplicationis occultat aliam aut corrumpit penitus."

Opus Majus, page 303: "Haec *coincidentia* cum colore et figura et caeteris visibilibus."¹

In Stephen's *Thesaurus of the Latin Tongue* we find a distinct explanation of the medical use of *coincidentia*, although, somewhat strangely, there is no allusion to its philosophical significance. Stephen, in his *Thesaurus*, explains *coincidentia* as follows: "Affectus oculorum medicis est, ubi in meatum, qui a basi cerebri veniens, oculo videndi facultatem tribuit, humor adaperto vel rupto vase incidit, obturat eum: unde cum dolore visus offenditur. Haec ex *Isagoge Galen adscripta*."

Upon referring to *Dunglison's Medical Dictionary* I find the following explanation: "*Coincidence*, used by some to translate

¹Other examples of these words may be discovered in Roger Bacon, but those cited are sufficient to illustrate.

paremptosis, used by Galen to denote the occlusion of *foramen opticum*, by a humor proceeding from the base of the brain, and occasioning blindness." Stephen makes no allusion to any mathematical or philosophical use of the word. It is evident that both *coincide* and *coincidence* are employed by Roger Bacon with a moral rather than a mathematical significance. In Stephen's Aristotle I have observed the use of the verb in several places: Liber II, chap. XII, page 165, Analytica Post.; Analytica Priora, pages 39 and 40.

The verb seems to have passed from Latin into French during the XIV century, and is found in the writings of Nicolas Oresme, one of the versatile, encyclopedic scholars of the middle age. Though not unacquainted with the works of Oresme at first hand, I have not been able to obtain access to that particular treatise in which the word *coincider* occurs, and I am consequently obliged to content myself with a quotation from Littré, in which he cites from Oresme the passage that I am prevented from verifying: "*Coincider et estre semblable en aucunes choses.*"

In the scientific writings of Sir Francis Bacon, embracing the interval from 1605, or about that period, until 1620 and 1623, the verbal form of the word occurs several times. Aphorisma et Consilia, Vol. III, page 793: "*Quae intentiones in idem coincidunt.*" De Augmentis Scientiarum, Liber VII, 723: "*Illud interim paulo attentius notandum est, Bonum Actionum Individuale a Bono Communionis prorsus differre, quanquam nonnunquam ambo coincidunt.*" De Fluxu et Refluxu Maris, Vol. III, page 52: "*Etenim spatium sexhorarium et diurni motus quadrans, quod spatium (ut diximus) in motu isto maris invenitur cum ea differentia quae coincidat in mensuram motus lunae.*"

I have now traced the Latin use of the words, so far as I have been able to follow it, from the earliest instances that I have discovered, that is, those of Roger Bacon, in his great philosophical treatises, dating from the third quarter of the XIII century down to the first quarter of the XVII, when we find the verb form repeatedly employed by the Lord Chancellor Bacon, in laying the groundwork of that superb philosophy of which distinct intimations and forecasts are to be found in the *Opus Majus* and the *Opus Minimum*. It is during the first half of the XVII century that *coincide* and *coincidence* begin to find their way into English prose. The word is found in Shakespeare or Milton, nor is either form in the oldest regular English dictionary, that of Minsheu.

published in 1617, the year after Shakespeare's death. Neither are the words found in Skinner's Dictionary, published in 1671, nor in Junius's Dictionary, published in 1743, though they had been employed by reputable writers, in some of their forms, for at least a century before this last date, 1743. The first English dictionary which contains the words is probably that of Bailey, which gives *coincidence* or *coincidentness*, both in its technical and tropical sense; also *coincide* and *coincident* with the same latitude of meaning.¹ The words are a striking illustration of the fact that a term may be long accredited and sanctioned by reputable writers before it is recognized by lexicographers and ensconced in their dictionaries. It is exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to fix with absolute precision the date at which a certain word is introduced into a language, or to ascertain the particular passage in which it first occurs. It may be feasible, if the date is defined by some striking event, some notable *coincidence*, a scientific or literary controversy, a social or political revolution that suddenly rivets a word upon a language by superseding the ordinary processes of naturalization. Most verbal growths are not visible until after the accomplished result; so shadowy and delicate are changes in sound, as well as sense, that they oft-times elude the most vigilant inquirer, until the tentative is succeeded by the established, and observation of processes gives way to analysis of results. So far as the particular words under discussion are concerned I am inclined to think that their first literary application in English, in any of their forms, is to be traced to the theological treatises of Jeremy Taylor.² This conjecture is supported upon internal grounds, by the circumstance

¹ In Scott's Revision, 1755. I have not seen the earliest edition, 1721.

² Since this article was written I have discovered another instance of the use of *coincident*, which is probably earlier than the first example cited from Jeremy Taylor (1642). In "Tracts for the Times," No. 78, page 433, I find a quotation from Thomas Jackson, one of the most eminent theologians of the Anglican Church in the XVII century—Jackson's Works, Vol. III, page 888. Jackson died in 1640, and Taylor's *Episcopacy Asserted* was published in 1642. The use of *coincident* by Jackson occurs in one of his latest works, and the first example of it in Taylor is found in one of his earliest works, most probably his very earliest, so that the two instances are not separated by a great interval. I am unable to verify the quotation from Jackson, as I have not had access to his works, but there is no reason that I know of to doubt the accuracy of the Tractarians. The quotation is as follows: "Whether these three members be different or subordinate, and oft-times *coincident*, I leave to be scanned by logicians." Vol. III, page 888. *Episcopacy Asserted* was probably written some time before 1642.

that few writers of the XVII century had a profounder acquaintance with Latin literature, scientific as well as theological, than Jeremy Taylor, and none, except Sir Thomas Browne, indulged himself with more luxuriant freedom in the use of latinized terms. He who would understand the exuberant richness of XVII century English should devote his days and nights to the volumes of Taylor.

The earliest use of the word in English prose that I have thus far discovered, is found in Taylor's "Episcopacy Asserted" (Taylor's Works, Vol. V, page 72), published in 1642. "That is *coincident* with the other power of jurisdiction which *de facto*, and at least by a human right, bishops had over presbyters."

Also page 88, Episcopacy Asserted: "It hath obtained in all antiquity that pastors and bishops are *coincident*."

The first example of *coincidence* that I have discovered in English is found in one of Sir Matthew Hale's Moral Essays, written probably between 1660 and 1670: I am unable to ascertain the precise date either from the essay itself or from Lord Campbell's biography. Hale's Works, Vol. I, page 353: "Although the paschal feast was not limited to any certain day of the week, yet the *coincidence* thereof to the seventh day of the week made an admirable harmony in the *incidence* of times. . . . Whereby there happened a *coincidence* of two great matters, namely, the day of the resurrection and the day of the mission of the Holy Spirit. So the *coincidence* and communication of both these days gave testimony and attestation, each to other."—Hale's Essay on the Day of Pentecost, Vol. I. The correlation between *coincidence* and *incidence* in the third passage cited is striking and suggestive, showing that the words retained a trace of their technical significance.

I purpose to arrange in chronological order the instances that I have discovered of the use of these words, showing their gradual growth and naturalization in English, from the date of their probable introduction by Taylor and Hale, during the first fifty or sixty years of the XVII century, down to the death of Adams and Jefferson, July 4, 1826. These two extremes may be assumed as the *terminus a quo* and the *terminus ad quem* of our investigation into the evolutions of these words in the English tongue. In some few instances I have been unable to fix with precision the date of the production in which they occur. This is notably true of Sir Matthew Hale's Essay on the Day of Pentecost, which I have fixed, upon internal grounds, between 1660 and 1670. Hale died in 1676.

Jeremy Taylor, Episcopacy Asserted, page 72, Vol. V, 1642:

“That is *coincident* with the power of judging which *de facto*, and at least by a human right, the bishops had over presbyters.”

Episcopacy Asserted, page 88: “It hath obtained in all antiquity that pastors and bishops are *coincident*.” 1642.

Sir Matthew Hale's Essay on the Day of Pentecost, Vol. I, page 353, 1660–70: “Although the paschal feast was not limited to any certain day of the week, yet the *coincidence* thereof to the seventh day of the week made an admirable harmony in the *incidence* of times. . . . Whereby there happened a *coincidence* of two great matters, namely, the day of the resurrection and the day of the mission of the Holy Spirit. . . . So the *coincidence* and communication of both these days gave testimony and attestation, each to other.”

Jeremy Taylor, Vol. V, page 620, Of the Divine Original, Warranty, and Institution of the Holy Rite of Confirmation, 1664: “I shall not need to make use of the fancy of the Murcosians and Calabarsians, who, turning all mysteries into numbers, reckoned the numeral letters of *περιστέρα*, and made them *coincident* to Alpha and Omega.”

Robert Boyle's Works, Vol. V, page 239, A Free Inquiry into the Received Notion of Nature, written in 1666, published in 1682: “Which effects luckily happen to be *coincident* with the patient's recovery, rather than to have been purposely and wisely produced in order to it.” Page 221, same: “It is but an adjunct or a concomitant of the effects (however *coincident* with the successive parts of time, and in some way related to it), being indeed produced by other agents, that are their true and proper efficient.”

Henry More, Appendix to the Antidote against Atheism, cap. iii, page 188. More died in 1687. This was *probably* written between 1660 and 1670: “Which is a perfect contradiction, and against the definition of an angle, which is not the *coincidence* but the inclination of two lines.” Here the technical sense of *coincidence* is strictly preserved.

Bentley's Folly of Atheism, page 4, 1692: “All such wicked principles are *coincident* and all one in the issue with the rankest atheism.”

Bishop Berkeley's Works, Vol. IV, page 442, 1705: “Complacency seems rather to determine, or precede, or *coincide* with and constitute the essence of volition, than uneasiness.”

¹ See also Bentley's Dissertation upon the Epistles of Phalaris, Vol. II, p. 5.

Nicholas's Literary History, Vol. I, page 201, 1709: "How unexpectedly things *coincide* and coöperate towards the main design."

Wollaston's Religion of Nature, section 7, page 150, 1724: "His own happiness *coincides* with the general happiness, and more convenient wellbeing of the kingdom or commonwealth." Section 1, VIII, page 20: "Moral good and evil are *coincident* with right and wrong." Section 2, XIV, page 40: "Something which is consistent and *coincident* with this." Section 3, XII, page 51: "This obedience or practice of reason *coincides* with the observation of truth."

Bolingbroke's Writings, page 415, Vol. V, probably written between 1727-30: "For this purpose a system has been invented by crowding profane into the extent of sacred chronology, and by making as many anecdotes of the former as can be made, seem to *coincide* with those of the latter."

Butler's Analogy, page 293, 1736: "Evidences arising from various *coincidences*, which support and confirm each other." Page 220: "If the natural and revealed dispensation of things are both from God, if they *coincide* with each other, and together make up one scheme of Providence."

Bolingbroke's Essay on Human Knowledge, Bolingbroke's Works, Vol. V, page 271, probably between 1740 and 1750: "I should be glad to find how happily these doctrines *coincide* with that ancient opinion."

Dr. Jortin's Tracts, Vol. II, page 526: "Many of these *coincidences* (between Shakespeare and the Greek tragedians) or allusions appeared; but Thirlsby dropped his design and I mine." Probably between 1750-1760.

George Washington's Correspondence, 1774: "I heartily *coincide* in the opinion."

Campbell's Philosophy of Rhetoric, page 49, 1776: "Nothing can be more *coincident* than this with the principles which I have endeavored to establish." Page 303: "This, it may be thought, *coincides* with the pleonasm already discussed."

Johnson's Lives of the Poets, Life of John Dryden, page 76, in Matthew Arnold's Six Lives, 1777-80: "The Spanish Friar is a tragi-comedy, eminent for the happy *coincidence* and coalition of the two plots."

George Washington's Reply to the Address of the American Senate, 1789, Washington's Correspondence: "The *coincidence* of circumstances which led to this auspicious crisis."

Jefferson's Works, Vol. VII, 1816, page 9: "I have no motive to withhold my opinion, and the less from you, as it *coincides* with your own." Vol. VII, 338, 1824: "Where sciences are to be arranged in accommodation to the schools of an university, they will be grouped to *coincide* with the kindred qualifications of professors in ordinary." Vol. VII, 439, 1826: "It was the more satisfactory to me, as it *coincided* with the moderate views to which our endowments as yet confine us."

Daniel Webster, Oration upon the Death of Adams and Jefferson, 1826, Vol. I, 114: "The great objects of life were accomplished; the drama was ready to be closed. It has closed; our patriots have fallen; but so fallen, at such age, with such *coincidence*, on such a day, that we cannot rationally lament that the end has come, which we knew could not be long deferred." Page 116, Vol. I: "There were many points of similarity in the lives and fortunes of these great men. They belonged to the same profession, and both were learned and able lawyers. . . . Both were not only decided but early friends of independence. Where others doubted, they were resolved; where others hesitated, they pressed forward. They were both members of the committee for preparing the draft of the Declaration of Independence; both have been public ministers abroad; both Vice-Presidents and both Presidents of the United States. These *coincidences* are now singularly crowned and completed. They have died together, and they died on the anniversary of liberty." Page 118, Vol. I: "While still indulging our thoughts on the *coincidence* of the death of this venerable man with the anniversary of independence, we learn that Jefferson, too, has fallen, and that these aged patriots, these illustrious fellow-laborers, have left our world together."

The point that we have now attained may be regarded as marking the last stage in the development of these words. The *coincident* death of Adams and Jefferson, upon the semi-centennial of American independence, exerted a decided influence, as Marsh has pointed out (Lectures on the English Language, pages 272-273), in drawing these words out of their scholarly or literary use and in giving them a current circulation in popular speech. They are still employed in their technical sense, but their popular acceptance has constantly gained ground, and few words originally derived from the vocabulary of science or philosophy are more thoroughly engrafted into familiar English. Probably coined or constructed by the medieval Latinists, they passed from the vocabulary of philosophy into the

vocabulary of learned and scholarly authors during the first half of the XVII century, and were apparently introduced into the nomenclature of English mathematicians about the same period. The words occur in all their forms in the Latin mathematical treatises of Isaac Barrow, who died in 1677, and are frequently employed by Barrow's illustrious contemporary and successor, Sir Isaac Newton. The verbal form is found in the Latin mathematical treatises of Hobbes, published in 1655, who also employs *congruere*, a clear reminiscence of the Euclidean nomenclature. Hobbes' Works, Vol. I, page 254: "Per extensionem *congruant et coincidunt*." The words won their way steadily to a recognized place in English during the last half of the XVII century and the first half of the XVIII. They are rarely found during this period, except in the writings of the scholarly and elevated school of prose authors. The notable *coincidence* alluded to above impressed the noun form more firmly upon current American speech; the verb seems to have been further advanced in development, as may be inferred from its familiar occurrence in the ordinary correspondence of Washington and Jefferson. The words retain their technical, scholarly and popular use. Mathematicians employ them in undiminished vigor; critical and exegetical writers speak of "undesigned *coincidences*" in Scripture, *e. g.* Prof. Blount;¹ and quacks and charlatans herald the merits of their ingenious contrivances or their vile concoctions in the stately language of Roger Bacon and Jeremy Taylor.

H. E. SHEPHERD.

¹*Coincidence* is a favorite term with writers upon circumstantial evidence. See an essay on this subject in the *British Quarterly Review*, April, 1880, in which the word is most generously employed.

III.—THE 'ABLAUT' OF GREEK ROOTS WHICH SHOW VARIATION BETWEEN *E* AND *U*.

The researches of comparative philologists have for the past few years been directed very largely to a closer study of the vocalism of the Indo-European languages, and have had the effect of almost totally overthrowing the labors of the preceding period in the same direction. The final opinions on vocalism of Schleicher, as laid down in the third edition of his 'Compendium' p. 10 ff (1870, edited by Leskien and Joh. Schmidt), and of Curtius in the fifth edition of his 'Grundzüge der Etymologie,' 1879 (Bk. I § 7), may be regarded as the ripest expressions of the views of the old school.

The treatises of Verner, Brugman, Fick, Collitz, De Saussure, Johannes Schmidt, etc.,¹ contain more or less directly and explicitly the opinions of the new school, and these opinions are now generally accepted in Germany.

1. The brilliant discovery of Verner, in which he successfully explained almost the last remaining exception to the first 'rotation

¹ KARL VERNER: Eine Ausnahme der ersten Lautverschiebung; Kuhn's Zeitschrift XXIII 97-130.

KARL BRUGMAN: Nasalis sonans in der indo-germanischen Ursprache; Curtius' Studien IX 287-338.

KARL BRUGMAN: Zur Geschichte der stammabstufenden Declinationen; Curtius' Studien IX 363-406.

KARL BRUGMAN: Zur Geschichte der Nominal-suffixe *-as*, *-jas* und *-vas*; Kuhn's Zeitschrift XXIV 1-89.

KARL BRUGMAN: Die achte Conjugations-classe des altindischen und ihre Entsprechung im griechischen; Kuhn's Zeitschrift XXIV 255-288.

KARL BRUGMAN: Ueber einige griechische Praeteritalformen mit *a* vor der Personalendung; Bezenberger's Beiträge II 245-255.

AUGUST FICK: Zum aorist und perfect Ablaut im griechischen; Bezenberger's Beiträge IV 167-191.

HEINRICH COLLITZ: Ueber die Annahme mehrerer grundsprachlicher *a*-laute; Bezenberger's Beiträge II 291-305.

HEINRICH COLLITZ: Die Entstehung der indo-iranischen Palatal-reihe; Bezenberger's Beiträge III 177-234.

FERDINAND DE SAUSSURE: Mémoire sur le système primitif des voyelles dans les langues indo-européennes; Leipsick, 1879.

JOHANNES SCHMIDT: Zwei arische *a*-laute und die Palatalen; Kuhn's Zeitschrift XXV 1-179.

of mutes' of Grimm's law, was not of merely local importance. In explaining the exception he proved indirectly that *the accent of the Rig Veda in its broad outlines was once the accent of every Indo-European language*; that therefore it is a correct method to search for the effects of this accent where tradition has failed to bring it down to historical times (as in the German languages), or where it has been driven out by a new system (as in Greek).

2. The accentuation of the Veda is wedded to a phenomenon which penetrates the entire language. The syllable upon which the tone rests has a fuller vocalization than the others, especially those immediately preceding the tone. This causes the so-called strong and weak forms *é-mi* and *i-mds*, *ta-nó-mi* and *ta-nu-mds*, *pád-am* and *pad-á*, etc. Tracing these weak forms and distinguishing them from the strong ones not only on Indian ground but also in the European languages (a process rendered safe by Verner) led Brugman to *the discovery of lingual and nasal vowels* on a level with Indian *r* and *l*, occurring in every language of the family in parallel and identical formations, and manifesting therefore a phenomenon of the original I. E. language. Excepting *r* and *l*, in India the lingual and nasal vowels lack separate alphabetic signs and are expressed by certain fixed groups of letters. So Greek *ap* and *pa* represent Indian *r*, Gr. *al* and *la* = Ind. *l*; so Sk. *a* and *an*, Gr. *a* and *av*, are the expedients by which nasal vowels (*ṛ*, *ṝ*) are rendered, see p. 292 ff.

3. The time-honored opinion, which explained the European vowels *ä*, *ê*, *ö* (*a*, *e*, *o*) as later modifications of an original I. E. *ā* which had been preserved intact in the Indo-Iranian languages, thus received its first shock; for it appeared that Sanskrit *ā*, when in connection with nasals it represented a nasal vowel, was a sound historically different from *ā* in other connections; while Greek *α* in connection with linguals as well as nasals was not the residue of the assumed original I. E. *ā*. This led Brugman to characterize European *ä*, *ê*, *ö* as *Indo-European*, an assumption which was destined to be verified from a totally different direction.

4. *This proof came from the Indo-Iranian palatal series*: Sk. *c*, *j*, *jh*, Zd. *c* (*sh*), *j* (*zh*), which is a modification of the first Indo-European guttural series *k'*, *g'*, *gh'*. The close study of these inaugurated by Ascoli, Fick, and Hübschmann led at last to a recognition (simultaneous, as it seems, in various quarters, see p.) of the fact that they owe their origin, not as had been previously assumed to parasitic palatal vowels sounded after them,

but simply to the fact that a palatal vowel actually following the guttural changed it to a palatal, and that this palatal vowel was often in Indo-Iranian written *ā*, corresponding to European *e*; that therefore *this Indo-Iranian ā had at the period in which the palatals originated still a physiological value, which is best expressed by a^e.* So Brugman's assumption that the European triad *ā, ē, ō* was more original than the Indo-Iranian *ā* became an assured fact of science.

5. In what follows, the new acquisitions which have been thus briefly indicated will be brought to bear upon the subject announced at the head of this article. As an independent inference from these new facts we draw attention to the theory of the Indo-European root as laid down in the first section of this article. The treatises mentioned at the foot of page 281 will not be cited again, except where some special point is referred to.

I.

Close observation will not fail to teach that the root as assumed now for the separate languages of the I. E. family, as well as for the so-called original I. E. language, is based upon no definite principle; that its relation to the individual words to which it belongs or from which it is abstracted is arbitrary; and that grammatically speaking it fails to serve the purpose for which it is suggested, that, namely, of indicating a fixed element belonging in common to a certain body of words, varying only as affected by inflectional elements, according to tangible, well-authenticated laws of the language.

For the sets:

βάλλω	κλέπτω
ἔβαλον	ἐκλάπην
βέλος	κλέπεις
βολή	κλοπή

it is customary to speak of roots *βαλ* and *κλεπ*, apparently the characteristic elements of the two present formations *βάλλω* and *κλέπτω*, and we might be led to think that it is the present which must furnish the root.¹ But in the sets—

λείπω	ἐλεύ(θ)-σομαι	λαγγάνω	λανθάνω
λέλοιπα	ἐλήλουθα	λέλογχα	λέληθα
ἔλειπον	ἤλουθον	ἔλαχον	ἔλαθον

¹ Curt. Et^h. p. 53, would assume couplets of roots for these sets, *βαλ, βελ* and *κλεπ, κλαπ*, giving precedence to that form which occurs in the larger number of formations.

we are accustomed to find the roots $\lambda\pi$, $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\upsilon\theta$, $\lambda\alpha\chi$ and $\lambda\alpha\theta$, the essential parts of the respective second aorists, the weakest form of the root. This would, however, if consistently carried out, lead to a root $\pi\rho\alpha\theta$ for the group represented by $\acute{\pi}\acute{\epsilon}\rho\theta\text{-}\omega$, $\kappa\omicron\rho\theta\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\omega$ and $\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\pi\rho\alpha\theta\text{-}\omicron\nu$; to a root $\pi\rho\alpha\delta$ or $\pi\alpha\rho\delta$ for the group represented by $\acute{\pi}\acute{\epsilon}\rho\delta\text{-}\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$, $\acute{\pi}\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\kappa\omicron\rho\delta\text{-}\alpha$, $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\rho\alpha\delta\text{-}\omicron\nu$ or $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\rho\delta\text{-}\omicron\nu$. Further, if consistent, we must assume a root $\pi\tau$ for the group represented by $\acute{\pi}\acute{\epsilon}\tau\text{-}\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$, $\acute{\kappa}\omicron\tau\text{-}\mu\omicron\varsigma$, $\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\pi\tau\text{-}\acute{\omicron}\text{-}\mu\eta\nu$; a root $\sigma\chi$, contained in $\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\sigma\chi\text{-}\omicron\nu$, a root $\sigma\kappa$ in $\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\sigma\kappa\text{-}\omicron\nu$; a root $\pi\lambda$ in $\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\pi\lambda\text{-}\epsilon\text{-}\tau\omicron$; a root $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\rho$ in $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\rho\text{-}\acute{\omicron}\text{-}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$; further a root $\tau\mu$ in $\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\tau\epsilon\text{-}\tau\mu\text{-}\omicron\nu$; a root $\phi\nu$ in $\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\pi\epsilon\text{-}\phi\nu\text{-}\omicron\nu$; a root $\chi\lambda$ in $\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\acute{\chi}\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\chi\lambda\text{-}\epsilon\text{-}\tau\omicron$, etc., for all these are on a level with $\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\pi\iota\theta\text{-}\omicron\nu$, $\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\lambda\alpha\theta\text{-}\omicron\nu$, etc., or

$$\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\pi\rho\alpha\theta\text{-}\omicron\nu : \acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\pi\iota\theta\text{-}\omicron\nu = \acute{\pi}\acute{\epsilon}\rho\theta\text{-}\omega : \kappa\epsilon\iota\theta\text{-}\omega.$$

The most striking example of the difficulty above delineated is presented in the very old words $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\mu\iota$ and $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\mu\acute{\iota}$. These are non-thematic (root) presents and exhibit forms of the root in the singular which are different from those of the dual and plural.

	$\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\text{-}\sigma\iota$: $\acute{\iota}\acute{\alpha}\text{-}\sigma\iota$	=	$\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\text{-}\tau\acute{\iota}$: $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\acute{\iota}$	(= $\sigma\text{-}\epsilon\nu\tau\iota$) Doric
Sk.	$\acute{\alpha}\iota\text{-}\tau\iota$ ($\acute{\epsilon}\tau\iota$)	: $\acute{\iota}\text{-}\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota$	=	$\acute{\alpha}\sigma\text{-}\tau\iota$: $\acute{\sigma}\text{-}\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota$	
Goth.			=	$\text{is}\text{-}\text{t}$: $\text{s}\text{-}\text{ind}$	
Lat.			=	$\text{es}\text{-}\text{t}$: $\text{s}\text{-}\text{unt}$	

If we assume ι as the root of $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\text{-}\mu\iota$, we must accept σ as the root of $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\mu\acute{\iota}$ ($\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\text{-}\mu\iota$).

This is not all, however. As it is accepted by most linguists that roots are but abstractions from the facts of languages, that they are mere grammatical preparations, we might be content to accept roots of the form $\sigma\chi$, $\chi\lambda$, $\phi\nu$ and even σ , as we accept $\pi\iota\theta$ and $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\upsilon\theta$, provided that they successfully furnish that characteristic element in a group of words which is sought after. This is, however, not the case. The root $\phi\nu$ by itself utterly fails to account for $\phi\alpha$ of $\acute{\pi}\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\phi\alpha\text{-}\tau\alpha\iota$ and $\phi\alpha\text{-}\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, and $\phi\omicron\nu$ of $\phi\acute{\omicron}\nu\text{-}\omicron\varsigma$; and it would therefore be necessary to assume several roots $\phi\nu$, $\phi\alpha$, $\phi\omicron\nu$; and this last is generally seen in intimate contact with a form that has an ϵ , in this case contained in $\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$ (= $\theta\epsilon\nu\text{-}\gamma\omega$) see p. 305; so $\tau\alpha$ in $\tau\alpha\text{-}\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ (on the same level with $\phi\alpha\text{-}\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$) necessitates an additional $\tau\epsilon\nu$ ($\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$), $\tau\alpha\nu$ ($\tau\alpha\nu\text{-}\acute{\omicron}\text{-}\pi\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$), $\tau\omicron\nu$ ($\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu\text{-}\omicron\varsigma$); the root hitherto designated as $\mu\epsilon\nu$ ($\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\text{-}\text{...}$) must be supplemented by $\mu\omicron\nu$ ($\mu\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\mu\omicron\nu\text{-}\alpha$), $\mu\alpha$ ($\mu\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\mu\alpha\text{-}\tau\omicron\nu$), $\mu\alpha\nu$ ($\mu\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\mu\alpha\text{-}\nu\text{-}\acute{\iota}\alpha$) and $\mu\nu$ ($\mu\acute{\iota}\text{-}\mu\nu\text{-}\omega$); the roots $\pi\iota\theta$ and $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\upsilon\theta$ by $\kappa\epsilon\iota\theta$, $\kappa\omicron\iota\theta$ and $\acute{\iota}\lambda\omicron\upsilon\theta$, $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\upsilon\theta$.

of some fixed, reasonable principle, supported by wide analogies,

not sporadic, not making its appearance arbitrarily here and there, can be found by which the many forms of the root as shown above can be derived from one, we shall be content to accept that one as *the root* κατ' ἐξοχήν. The attempt has been made on Greek ground only in the case of roots of the type πιθ and ἐλυθ. The theory of *guna*, created by the Hindu grammarians, has explained πιθ-ω and ἐλεύ(θ)-σομαι as containing a form of the root in which an additional strengthening or extending element had developed itself owing to accentual stress. On Indian ground the rule had a wider range than on Greek, on account of the existence of distinct written characters for the lingual vowels ṛ and ḷ. The Hindu theory strengthens ṛ in dṛc and ḷ in kḷp to ar and al in darc and kalp, as well as bhid and budh into bhaid and baudh. Even so far the Greek follows, but with difficulty; Sk. d-dṛc-am is sound for sound = ἔ-δραx-ον; shall we say that δερx and δορx in δέρx-ομαι and δέ-δορx-a are the result of *guna* from δραx, as Hindu grammar explains darc in da-darc-a (= δέ-δορx-a) from dṛc? Or are βελ, βολ the result of *guna* from βαλ (ἔ-βαλ-ον), κλεπ, κλοπ from κλαπ, etc.?

From this point the *guna* theory begins to become difficult on Indian as well as on Greek ground. Roots containing *nasals*, if they are to be treated in the same way as those containing *linguals*, would compel us to assume that *man* and *tan* are results of *guna* from *ma*, *ta*, for these are on the same level with dṛc and kḷp, as the following proportion shows:

$$\begin{array}{l} dṛc-tds \quad \text{and} \quad kḷp-tds \quad : \quad ma-tds \quad \text{and} \quad ta-td-s = \\ darc- \quad \quad \text{and} \quad kalp- \quad : \quad man- \quad \text{and} \quad tan- \end{array}$$

In Greek we must, to be consistent, assume that μεν, μων are gunated μα, πενθ, πονθ gunated παθ, etc.; for—

$$\begin{array}{l} \tilde{\epsilon}\text{-παθ-ον} \quad : \quad \text{πείσομαι (πενθ-σ)} \quad \text{and} \quad \text{πέ-πονθ-α} = \\ \tilde{\epsilon}\text{-δραx-ον} \quad : \quad \text{δέρx-ομαι} \quad \quad \quad \text{and} \quad \text{δέ-δορx-α} = \\ \tilde{\epsilon}\text{-πιθ-ον} \quad : \quad \text{πει(θ)-σομαι} \quad \quad \quad \text{and} \quad \text{πέ-ποιθ-α, etc.} \end{array}$$

Yet the *guna* theory can be urged as far as this if necessary. As will be shown below (p. 292 ff) the sound-groups ρα in δραx-, λα in κλαπ-, αλ in βαλ, ρα and αρ in ἔ-πραθ-ον and ἔ-παρθ-ον are in reality precisely equal to the vowels ṛ and ḷ in Sk. (cf. ṛṛḷ in the Avesta), and owe their composite character to the inadequacy of the Greek alphabet to express by separate characters all the sounds which the language possessed; and it would therefore still not be impossible to assume that the accentual stress, which is the supposed

cause of *guna*, developed, out of the semivocalic sounds *r* and *l*, *ar*, *ra* = *ρ* and *al*, *la* = *λ*, the fuller sound groups *ar* and *al*, *ερ* (*δρ*) and *ελ* (*δλ*). And in the same way we may deal with the nasal roots in Sk. as well as in Gr. upon the basis of the insufficiency of the alphabets, which the course of this article will have occasion to reveal in more than one direction. So in Sk. as *ta-tds*, *ma-tds*, *bad-dhds* and *ḡrab-dhds* really contain nasal vowels¹ (see p. 297), which are on a level with the lingual *r* and *l*; so also the Gr. *a* in *ἔ-παθ-ον*, *μέ-μα-τον*, *φα-τός* and *τα-τός* in reality represents a nasal sound; and the assumption of *πενθ*, *πινθ*, *μεν*, *μιν*, etc., as gunated forms of *παθ* (= *πνθ*), *μα* (= *μν*) would be quite as well justified as the gunated roots *darḡ*, *deḡr* from *dḡc*, *drax* (= *δρx*).

The soundness of the foregoing processes would be guaranteed by the character of linguals and nasals throughout our family of languages. These have a well-known tendency, everywhere authenticated, to develop vocalic elements in their neighborhood (*svarabhakti*), and a form *dḡc*, *mḡ*, *drx*, *μν*, if granted to start with, would quite as naturally be strengthened by the accent into *darḡ*, *man*, *deḡr*, *μεν*, as *bhid*, *budh*, *λεπ*, *φυγ* into *bhaid*, *baudh*, *λειπ*, *φευγ*.

From this point the *guna* theory fails totally. We have seen that if we assume roots *λεπ*, *πυθ*, *δρx* (*δραx*), *xλπ* (*xλαπ*), etc., we must also assume roots *πτ*, *σχ*, *σπ* and *σ*. Shall we say that *πετ* is the gunated form of *πτ*, *σεχ* of *σχ*, or *εσ* of *σ*? It is surely a false method to assume even in theory that a group of sounds, in itself unpronounceable, was thus raised to a real existence by receiving the accent; moreover, if we do start with such a group, it would still be necessary to prove that accentual stress will change *πτ* into *πετ* or *σπ* into *σεπ*, or finally *σ* into *εσ*; surely a difficult task to perform.

The Gothic, which has preserved original variations of root-vowels better than any other I. E. language, is perfectly at one with Greek and Sanskrit in objecting to the weakest form as the root of words and explaining the other forms by *guna*. We can here also assume roots *stig* and *bud*, and say that *steig*, *staiḡ* and *biud*, *baud* are gunated forms; we could under pressure put up with roots *bund* (= *bḡd*), *mun* (= *mḡ*), *vairḡp* (= *vḡp*), *stul* (= *stl*), and regard *bind*, *band*, *min*, *man*, *vairḡp*, *varḡp* and *stil*, gunated forms; but shall scarcely concede that *ita* contains *i* and *i(s)m guna* of *s*, etc.

orphological value of such forms might, if in transliteration an attempt
ind' the *devanāgarī* alphabet were made, be more exactly expressed
mā-tds, etc., in the way in which nasal vowels are transcribed in Zend.

The difficulties described have led to arbitrary, inconsistent, and in many cases insufficient roots in grammars and lexicons for the special languages and in comparative treatises for the so-called I. E. language.

Looking at random through a number of pages of Curt. Etym.⁵ (1879) we find for the group of words treated under nr. 354 the roots *πενθ* and *παθ*; for 637 the root *βαλ*; for 633 root *τρεπ*; for 615 root *ι*; for 564 root *έσ*; for 230 the roots *τα*, *τεν*, *ταν*; for 128 the roots *γεν*, *γα*; for 429 the roots *μεν*, *μαν*. The inconsistency of a root *βαλ* side by side with *τρεπ*, of *ι* and *έσ*, need no more be pointed out. Nor is it clear what is meant by assuming two roots such as *παθ* and *πενθ*, or three such as *τα*, *τεν* and *ταν*; if we have a root *γα* (*γεν*, *γα*) for such a form as *γέ-γα-τον*, why do we not find *μα* (in addition to *μέν*, *μαν*) for *μέ-μα-τον*? In fact Curtius gets at his roots by hardly anything else than by grasping at random one or more forms belonging to a certain group, removing the inflectional elements, and putting the remainder down as root or roots.

The Hindu grammarians are inconsistent because they do not in every possible case regard the weakest root-form as the root. In accordance with *ric*, *budh*, *dr̥ç*, *kr̥*, *çru*, etc., they should have *sthā* or *sthi*, *dha* or *dhi* instead of *sthā* and *dhā*.

The St. Petersburg Sanskrit lexicon everywhere rejects the weak form of the root, excepting those that contain *i* or *u*. So it gives us as roots *sthā*, *dhā*, *dhar*, *darç*, *kar*, *man*, etc., but also *bhid*, *budh*, *çru*, etc. But if the root appears unmodified in the passive participles *bhin-nds*, *bud-dhds* and *çru-tds*, why does it not in the pass. participles *dh̥r-tds*, *ma-tds*, etc.? On the other hand, if it assumes *darç* as the root of *dr̥ç-tds*, it should also give *bodh* as the root of *bud-dhds*, etc., etc.

Grassmann felt this difficulty when he decided that the suffixless verbal adjective coincided with the root (Grassmann, Wörterbuch z. Rig Veda, Preface pp. v and vi). He recognized the principle that the root of one group of words must be consistent with that of another; that if such forms as *bu-budh-imd* and *rik-tds* would yield the root on removing inflectional elements and euphonic modifications, *da-dr̥ç-imd* and *kl̥p-tds* must yield it under the same circumstances; but when he assumes roots such as *gir*, *kir*, *tir*, *tur*, etc., he fails to remove the accidental modifications by which the verbals which yield him these roots are affected. The sound-groups *gir*, *kir*, *tir*, etc., are modifications of *gr̥*, *kr̥*, *tr̥*, etc. before vowels (*gir-dti* = *gr̥-dti*; *tir-dte* = *tr̥-dte*; cf. *sr̥j-dti*) or at the end of a

word.¹ If Grassmann had abstracted his root from all weak formations in each group of words instead of restricting himself to the suffixless verbal, he might have obtained a result scientifically more satisfactory, though still not correct.

Still more serious is another difficulty in the way of the *guna* theory. Roots with the vowel *i* and *u* seem to present but one form of *guna* as long as we remain on Indian and Iranian ground; *ric* becomes *raic* and *budh* becomes *baudh*. But *raic* = Gr. *λεικ* and *λοικ* = Goth. *leib*² and *laib*: shall we then recognize two kinds of *guna* in Greek and German? Hitherto, to be sure, the two forms *λεικ* and *λοικ* were regarded as variations in two different directions of an original *λαικ* = *raic*; in the same way Goth. *leib* and *laib* were viewed as the result of a division of *laib* = *raic*; all this falls to the ground to-day, because *raic* covers two forms, which may be differentiated by writing *ra'ic* (= *λεικ* = *leib*) and *raic* (= *λοικ* = *laib*), as will be shown on p. 301 ff. The vowel variation of the couplets *λεικ-λοικ*, *ελευθ-ελουθ*, *γεν-γον*, etc., reaches back to the earliest period of our family of languages, as far as the deepest investigation of scholars has pierced. It is the keynote, the starting-point from which the vocalism of every I. E. language must be investigated. This fact decides the fate of *guna*; which, though it never had been proved, still seemed to explain the phenomena of *i* and *u* roots, as long as philology dealt with but one original strong form which had the vowel *i*. Then it was merely a question of quantity and weight, and accentual stress offered a plausible explanation. To-day it is still a question of quantity, but also one of quality. The accentual heightening, if it still be accepted, must have also possessed the power of changing *λεικ* into *λεικ* in certain fixed positions (see p. 314 ff) and *λεικ* into *λοικ* in certain others (p. 318 ff); a fact which it is impossible to prove.

The last consideration forces upon us a solution of the problem as far as logic and grammar are concerned. Whenever the question of priority arises between a root-form *λεικ* on the one hand and *λεικ-λοικ* on the other, the weak form must be regarded as a reduction.³ *λεικ* as well as *λοικ*, if occasion for reduction or weakening should present itself, would both naturally reduce to *λεικ*, while there

¹ The modification at the end of a word is often avoided by adding *t*: *δαί-τ*, *ἀγ-τ*, *ἀγγ-τ*, etc.

² *leib* in pronunciation has the value of *ai*.

³ This term is purely relative and provisional; we will below take occasion to put the phenomena, which here give rise to it, in a different light.

is no reason to assume that *λειπ* can be heightened by the effect of accent into both *λειπ* and *λοιπ*. It is therefore the converse of *guna* which grammar must see in verbal formations when strong and weak root-forms alternate with one another. So in the non-thematic presents ἵ-μεν: εἶμι; ἐντί (σ-εντι): εἶμι (ἔσ-μι); Sk. *s-ánti*: *ds-mi*; *vid-mds*: *véd-mi*; Goth. *s-ind*: *i(s)-m*; Lat. *s-unt*: *es-t*; the root, as it appears in the first forms, can *without inconsistency* be regarded by grammar as a reduction of the second owing to the shift of accent from the root to the inflective element. Similarly the perfect is a non-thematic formation, and had originally, in all languages of the family, forms for the singular active which had the accent on the root, therefore also a strong form of the root;¹ the dual and plural active as well as the middle shift the tone from the root to the suffix, and therefore have the weak form of the root (identical with the weak form of a non-thematic present). In Sanskrit and German this original condition has been preserved with almost ideal regularity: Sk. *bi-bhaid-a*: *bi-bhid-ús*; *va-udrt-a*: *va-udrt-ús*; *vaid-a*: *vid-ús*; Goth. *bait*: *bit-un*; *varþ*: *vairþ-un*; *vait*: *vit-un*, etc. In Greek this relation has been largely disturbed; but still a respectable body of perfects have preserved traces of it: ἔ-(F)οικ-α: ἔ-(F)ικ-τον; μέ-μον-α: μέ-μα-μεν (= με-μν-μεν), ὀδ-α: ὀδ-μεν, etc.; in the same way we have the reduction from *ū(η)* to *ā* in λέ-ληθ-α: λέ-λασ-ται; πέ-φην-α: πέ-φαν-ται, etc.; see p. 324.

It has been stated above and will be proved below (pp. 301 ff and 307) that the root forms *λειπ* and *λοιπ* are on the same level as far as claim to the name of root is concerned. Historically speaking, they run parallel with one another from the earliest period upon which investigation has cast light. Grammatically speaking, the one occurs in formations as legitimate, primary, and important as the other. From the standpoint of physiology of sound there is nothing which would give precedence or priority to either *λειπ* (Sk. *ra'ic*, Goth. *leib*) or *λοιπ* (Sk. *raic*, Goth. *laib*).

If then the root is to be looked for in the strong forms, the result is a double root where there exist two strong forms, a single root where there is but one. We should arrive then at such roots for the Greek: πετ-ποτ, δει-δοι (in δέ(γ)-ος and δέ-δοι-χα); χευ, χου (in χί(F)-ω and χυ(F)-εύς); λειπ-λοιπ; ἔλευθ-ἔλουθ; μεν-μον; στελ-στολ, κενθ-πονθ, etc.; single roots λᾶθ, λᾶβ, φᾶ, στᾶ, etc. The *weakest* form πτ, δι, κλυ, λιπ, ἔλυθ, μν, στλ, πνθ, λᾶθ, φᾶ, στᾶ, etc., has pro-

¹ Wherever the variation *ε*:*ο* appears in a root, it is the strong form which has *ο*: λέ-λοιπ-α, μέ-μον-α, etc.

visionally been termed a *reduced* form. It will not require very keen perception or close scrutiny to perceive that the term '*reduced*' is false. We must here watch lest grammatical method and terminology obscure the facts of language. In $\lambda\text{-}\mu\epsilon\nu$: $\epsilon\lambda\text{-}\mu\iota$ ι is no more a reduction from $\epsilon\lambda$, than $\epsilon\lambda$ the *guna* of ι ; they are forms as perfectly independent of one another as $\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\pi\omega$ and $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\iota\pi\alpha$, as $\beta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ and $\beta\omicron\lambda\eta$. When the form $\lambda\text{-}\mu\epsilon\nu$ (originally $\lambda\text{-}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$) came into existence it *did not start from an accented base* $\epsilon\lambda$, which lost its accent, with it an ϵ , and became ι ; all that can be said is that words of this group when they have the accent on formative elements appear with the radical or significant element ι , when they have the accent on the root, with one of the two radical elements $\epsilon\lambda$ or $\omicron\iota$. In corroboration of this it is to be especially noted that there are formations reaching back to the earliest times which have the weakest form of the root, but are utterly independent of any strong form; so the adjective formation in u ($\upsilon\text{-}\varsigma$): Sk. $d\eta\tau\eta\text{-}\acute{u}\text{-}s$ sound for sound = $\theta\eta\rho\alpha\sigma\text{-}\acute{\upsilon}\text{-}\varsigma$ and ($\theta\alpha\rho\sigma\text{-}\acute{\upsilon}\text{-}\varsigma$ in) $\theta\alpha\rho\sigma\text{-}\acute{\upsilon}\text{-}\nu\omega$; Sk. $\tau\eta\eta\text{-}\acute{u}\text{-}s$ = Goth. $\rho\acute{a}\upsilon\text{r}\text{-}u\text{-}s$; so the abstract formation in ti : Sk. $b\eta\tau\text{-}t\acute{i}\text{-}s$ = Lat. $for\text{-}(t\acute{i})\text{-}s$ = Goth. $(ga)\text{-}baur\text{-}p\text{-}(i)\text{-}s$; so the participle in td (verbal in $\tau\acute{o}\text{-}\varsigma$): $ta\text{-}t\acute{d}\text{-}s$ = $\tau\alpha\text{-}\tau\acute{o}\text{-}\varsigma$ are original I. É. formations, which have the tone on the suffix, therefore the weak root-form, but are totally independent of strong formations of any kind (see p. 325 ff).

If what we have stated is in accordance with the facts, the idea of a single root falls to the ground. We have in word-groups which show the variation between ϵ and \omicron a root-system consisting of three forms, two strong ones and one weak one; in all other word-groups a root-system of two forms, a weak one and a strong one. Designating the first class by AA, the second by BB, we have:

CLASS AA.		CLASS BB.	
Strong Forms.	Weak Forms.	Strong Forms.	Weak Forms.
I. $\mu\epsilon\nu$	III. $\mu\nu$	I. and II.	III.
II. $\mu\omicron\nu$		$\sigma\acute{u}$	$\sigma\acute{u}$
I. $\pi\epsilon\iota\theta$	III. $\pi\iota\theta$	I. and II.	III.
II. $\pi\omicron\iota\theta$		$\theta\eta$	$\theta\epsilon$
I. $\pi\epsilon\tau$	III. $\pi\tau$	I. and II.	III.
τ		$\lambda\acute{u}\theta$	$\lambda\acute{u}\theta$
	etc.	etc.	etc.

root-forms are modifications of these ground-forms; e. g. $\mu\alpha\text{-}\tau\omicron\nu$ and $\mu\alpha\nu\text{-}$ in $\mu\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ (= $\mu\alpha\nu\text{-}\gamma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$) are but modifi-

cations of $\mu\nu$, having their cause in the character of the inflectional elements which appear in connection with the root; in the same way $\tau\rho\alpha\varphi$ and $\tau\rho\varphi$ in $\xi\text{-}\tau\rho\alpha\varphi\text{-}\omega\nu$ and $\tau\rho\varphi\text{-}\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ are but graphical expedients for rendering the sound-group $\tau\rho\varphi$ ($\tau\rho\varphi$) in the root-system $\tau\rho\epsilon\varphi$, $\tau\rho\upsilon\varphi$, $\tau\rho\varphi$, etc. Hereafter we will designate a root-form like $\mu\epsilon\nu$, $\chi\epsilon\upsilon$ or $\chi\epsilon(F)$, $\pi\epsilon\iota\theta$, $\pi\epsilon\tau$, etc., as ablaut I; $\mu\omega\nu$, $\chi\omega(F)$, $\pi\omega\iota\theta$, $\pi\omega\tau$, etc., as ablaut II; $\mu\nu$ ($\mu\alpha$, $\mu\alpha\nu$), $\chi\nu$, $\pi\iota\theta$, $\pi\tau$, etc., as ablaut III. It now behoves us to prove the facts which in the course of this deduction have been taken for granted, before accepting this sweeping innovation and its far-reaching consequences.

II.

From the first days of the comparative study of the I. E. family of languages up to the year 1876, it was held almost without a dissenting voice¹ that the body of short vowels which the so-called original I. E. language possessed consisted of a , i , u . Of these a was supposed to have remained unchanged in the Asiatic division of the family, the Indian and Iranian languages; while in the European languages it had in a large proportion of cases been weakened into e and o , the sounds holding physiologically a middle position respectively between a and i and a and u . An exhaustive investigation of this supposed breaking up of I. E. a on European ground was made by Curtius in 1864.² It resulted in establishing the fact that the deviation of a into e occurred on the whole in the same words and formations in all of the European languages; that it could not have taken place in each one of them independently of the others; that therefore a common European language must be assumed; from this the several European languages had separated, as the Iranian and Indian languages had done from a common Indo-Iranian language. On the other hand the coloring of a into o had taken place later and separately in the several European branches, because the o of one branch does not accord with the o of another.

Fick in his book 'Die Spracheinheit der Indo-Germanen Europas' makes use of Curtius' results in the same direction; he also holds to an I. E. a which in Europe divided itself into a and e ; of these two, a again was resolved in the separate European branches into a and

¹ See 'Morphologische Untersuchungen,' von Osthoff und Brugman, III 91 ff.

² Die Spaltung des a -lautes; sitzungsberichte der königlich. sächsischen Academie der Wissenschaften, 1864.

o. The vowel system of Schleicher, which on the whole is artificial (comp. 10 ff), does not deviate in any material respects from those above mentioned, as far as the short vowels are concerned.

Two points which are the result of this system of short vowels are to be carefully noted :

1. In Sanskrit *a* is throughout the language one and the same vowel, being everywhere the direct descendant of the original Indo-European *a*.

2. Greek *ā* represents throughout the language what has been left undisturbed of the original I. E. *a* ; a large part of this latter having been changed to *ε* and *υ*.

The first serious attack upon this system of short vowels struck at the two rules which have been deduced. In Vol. IX of Curtius' Studien there appeared the famous article by Karl Brugman entitled 'Nasalis Sonans,' etc., which for the first time definitely proved the negative of these two rules. It will not be necessary to go through Brugman's proofs. Though his article furnished the key to the understanding of the I. E. linguals and nasals, and more or less directly has formed the basis for most of the successful investigations on vocalism since that day, principles which are laid down there can now be presented in a more comprehensive fashion, owing to further investigations by Brugman himself and by others.

Brugman starts with the discussion of an interesting fact which Sievers teaches in his 'Lautphysiologie,' p. 26 ff. He observes that in the usual pronunciation of words containing nasals (*n, m*) and liquids (*r, l*), these are pronounced both as vowels and as consonants. As vowels they form in connection with one or more consonants a distinct syllable, just as any other vowel. So in 'sieben mal acht' (*sie-bn*), 'wir ritten nach hause' (*rit-tn*), 'tädeln' (*tän-dln*), 'wandern' (*wan-drn*); English examples would be: 'the father is' (*fa-thr*), 'ankle' (*an-kl*), 'heaven' (*hea-vn*), 'handsome' (*han-sm*), etc. On the other hand the consonantal pronunciation of linguals and nasals is seen in 'beritt-ne' : 'beritten' (*berit-tn*); 'ath-me' : 'a-thm'; Engl. 'ank-let' : 'ankle' (*an-kl*), etc. The alphabets of these languages fail to furnish separate characters for these two classes of sounds ; a fact which of course in nowise throws a doubt on their existence.

The Vedic and Sanskrit, as is well known, do possess distinct characters for lingual vowels, which are transcribed in the manner in which we have differentiated them in German and English from their corresponding consonants : viz. *r* and *l*.

The change between the lingual consonants and lingual vowels is quite analogous to that between *y* and *i* and *v* and *u*; before vowels there always appears the consonantal pronunciation *r* and *l*, *y* and *v*; before consonants the treatment of the linguals, though in principle the same as that of the dental and labial vowels, is characterized by a smaller degree of sensitiveness than these. While the latter always appear as *i* and *u* before consonants, *r* and *l* are changed to their corresponding vowels only when preceded as well as followed by consonants, or in the beginning of a word when followed by a consonant. A few examples will suffice. As the weak forms of the perfect of the verb *nī*, 'to lead,' appear as *ni-ny-* before endings beginning with a vowel, so do the weak forms of the verb *kar* appear as *ca-kr-* in the same connections: *ni-ny-d*, *ni-ny-ús*, *ni-ny-é*: *ca-kr-d*, *ca-kr-ús*, *ca-kr-é*; but between consonants the semi-consonantal elements of these roots appear as vowels: *nī-tá-s*, *kr-tá-s*, *gru-tá-s*; so also the same change is seen in *i-mds*: *y-anti*;¹ in *ca-kr-md*: *ca-kr-ús*; in *tu-ḡtu-md*: *tu-ḡtu-ús* (for *tu-ḡtu-ús*); cf. *cā-kḷp-ré*.

The difference between *r* and *ṛ* is clearly expressed in Zend, though not by a distinct character for *ṛ*. This is regularly rendered by the group *ērē* (where the *ē*'s can hardly have had more than the value of two *sh'va*'s: *kīrē-ta* = Sk. *kr-tá-s*; *pērēḡ* = Sk. *prch*; cf. the definition given by the Prātiçākhyas of the value of Sk. *ṛ* = $\frac{1}{2} a + \frac{1}{2} r + \frac{1}{2} a$).

The Sanskrit does not possess distinct characters to express nasals between two consonants (nasal vowels); these, however, indicate their presence by very distinct and peculiar phenomena. As we have *y*: *i*; *v*: *u*; *r*: *ṛ* and *l* to *ḷ*, we have also *n*: *ṇ* and *m*: *ṃ*. *ṇ* and *ṃ* appear almost always as simple *ā*, sometimes as *ān* (*ām*); this *ān*, which is the phonetic equivalent of *ṇ*, can be differentiated from *an* = *a + n* by the aid of the Greek; while the latter *an* corresponds to Gr. *ev* or *ov*, the former appears in Greek also as *av*, occurring there as well as in Sanskrit only in formations which require the weak form of the root (ablaut III). So *mān-as* (*an* = *a + n*) = *μév-ος*; *mā-mān-tha* (*an* = *a + n*) = Gr. *μει-μον-α*; but *mān-ye* for *mṇ-ye* corresponds to Gr. *μαίνομαι* for *μῆ-γομαι*.

A fine example of *ṇ* in Sanskrit and its double treatment is

¹To write *i-dntu* (R. V. VIII 60, 10), etc., does not render correctly the actual physiological value of the form; *y-dntu* is the correct and common method.

offered by the verb *han*; as we have *i-uds*, *i-thds*, *i-lds*, *i-mds*, *i-thā*, but *y-dnti*, we have a theoretic conjugation: *ghṇ-uds*, *ghṇ-thds*, *ghṇ-lds*, *ghṇ-mds*, *ghṇ-thd*, but *ghn-dnti*, which appears as *han-uds*, *ha-thds*, *ha-lds*, *han-mds*, *ha-thd*, but *ghn-dnti*. The consonantal *y* before a vowel is matched by the consonantal group *ghn* in *ghn-dnti* before a vowel; the vowel *i* before consonants in the other weak forms corresponds to *ghṇ* before consonants; the treatment of this *ghṇ* varies according to the nature of the consonant following: it becomes (*g*)*ha*' before full consonants (*t* and *th*); before semi-consonants (*m* and *v*) it develops an additional vocalic element, written *ā* but having physiologically much less weight than *ā* (= Gr. *ε*) in *hḍn-mi*, as the pronunciation of *hḍn-mi* against *han-mds* (if attention is paid to the accent) will readily show. The single paradigm of *hḍn-mi* vindicates and explains upon a satisfactory physiological basis the existence of the vowel *ṇ* by the side of the consonant *n*. An instance of the appearance of *m* and *ṃ* is offered by the root *gam*. Its weak forms are *gm* before vowels and *gm̄* before consonants; *gm* appears in *ja-gm-ús*, *gm-dn*, etc.; *gm̄* appears as *ga* before a full consonant in *ga-lds* (cf. *ha-lds*); in *ga-chāmi* (cf. *yu-chāmi*, *ya-chāmi*, etc.), in the form of *gam* before a semi-consonant in *gam-yās* (2d sing. opt.; cf. *i-yām*, *s-yām*, *han-yām*, etc.)

There appear then in Sanskrit instead of merely the sounds *y-i*, *v-u* as mediators between vowels and consonants, the very considerable body which is made up by these and the linguals and nasals in addition. The Sanskrit system of semi-consonants is as follows:

Consonants:	<i>y</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>m</i>
Vowels:	<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>ṛ</i>	<i>ḷ</i>	<i>a, an</i>	<i>a, am</i>

This proves the contrary of rule 1 deduced on page 292. Sanskrit a is not everywhere the same sound and not everywhere the direct representative of Indo-European a. The I. E. a will suffer further infringements in the course of our discussion, until it will have shrunk into comparative insignificance.

This variable function of semi-consonants is by no means restricted to Sanskrit. In every language of the family these sounds occur, but with still less perfect systems of expression. In Sanskrit there are at least distinct characters for lingual vowels; in the other languages these as well as the nasal vowels lack single characters, and are everywhere expressed by combinations similar to those

¹ Cf. the note on page 286.

which are found for nasal vowels even in Sanskrit. The following is the system for the Greek :

Consonants :	(<i>y</i>) ¹	(<i>F</i>) ²	<i>ρ</i>	<i>λ</i>	<i>ν</i>	<i>μ</i>
Vowels :	<i>ι</i>	<i>υ</i>	<i>αρ, ρα</i>	<i>αλ, λα</i>	<i>α, αν</i>	<i>α, αμ</i>

Note. The consonants *ρ, λ, ν* and *μ* are occasionally split into *αρ, αλ, αν* and *αμ*; a phenomenon quite parallel with the breaking up of *y* and *v* in Sanskrit into *iy* and *uv*. So we could and should have second aorists *ἔ-βλ-ον, ἔ-κν-ον, ἔ-τμ-ον, ἔ-δρ-ην*, etc., as we have *ἔ-σχ-ον* and *ἔ-πτ-ό-μην*; but we have *ἔ-βαλ-ον, ἔ-ξαν-ον*, etc. So we could have in Sanskrit *di-dy-ús* and *ju-hv-é*, where we have *di-diy-ús* and *ju-huv-é*. In a number of instances a vowel is necessarily developed even before a suffix beginning with a vowel on account of an accumulation of consonants before the suffix too difficult to pronounce; so in *ἔ-πταρ-ον* for *ἔ-πτρ-ον, ταν-ύ-* for *τν-ύ*; Sk. *cu-crv-é* for *cu-crv-é, ci-cry-é* for *ci-cry-é*. Probably such forms as these furnished the starting point for the introduction of this vowel in connections where it was not phonetically necessary. A form *ἔ-πταρ-ον*, etc., would give rise to *ἔ-βαλ-ον, ἔ-δάρ-ην*, etc., as *cu-crv-é, ci-cry-é*, etc., to *ju-huv-é, di-diy-ús*, etc.

The following is the system for Gothic and High German :

Consonants :	<i>j</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>m</i>
Vowels :	<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>	Goth. <i>aúr</i>	Goth. <i>ul</i>	<i>un</i>	<i>um</i>
			H. G. <i>or</i>	H. G. <i>ol</i>		

The following is the system for Latin :

Consonants :	<i>j</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>m</i>
Vowels :	<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>or(ur)</i>	<i>ul(ol)</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>em</i>

The coincidence in the various languages of the family of the consonant rows, as also of *i* and *u* of the vowel rows, is a well-established fact of comparative philology. For the Greek we have below worked up as nearly as possible the entire material as far as lingual and nasal vowels are concerned. In the arrangement of the evidence we take Greek or Sanskrit as our starting point, according as the one or the other happens to have forms which are found in the other related languages. We will restrict our enumeration to forms which seem clear beyond a doubt.

I. A few old substantives of various formations :

With ling. vowels : *καρδ-(ia)* and *καρδ-(ia)* = Lat. *cord-*. Sk. *rksh-a-* = *ἄρξτ-ος* = Lat. *ursus (urcs-us)*. Sk. *kṛm-i-s* = Goth.

¹ In *δέ(γ)-ος*; cf. *δέ-δοι-κία*; *κέ(γ)-ομαι*; cf. *κει-μαι*.

² In *χέ(ξ)-ω*; cf. *χέβ-ω*; in *κλέ(ξ)-ος* = Sk. *kráv-as*.

vaúrm-(i)-s. Sk. *ūr-ḡá* (for *vr-ḡá*, as *pūr-ḡá-s* for *pr-ḡá-s*) = Goth. *vul-la* (for *vul-na*, as *ful-l(a)-s* for *ful-na-s*). Sk. *vṛk-a-s* = Goth. *vulf-(a)-s* = *lúk-o-s* for *Flax-o-s*; the *F* imprinted its labial quality upon the *a*, changing it to *u*. With nasal vowels: *κατ-όν* = Sk. *cat-dm* = Goth. *hund-* = Lat. *cent-um*.

II. Abstract nouns in *ti*:

With ling. vowels: *δάρ-σι-ς* = Goth. *(ga)-baúr-þ(i)-s*. Sk. *bhṛ-ti-s* = Zd. *berē-ti-* = Goth. *(ga)-baúr-þ(i)-s* = Lat. *for-(ti)-s*. Sk. *mṛ-ti-s* = Lat. *mor-(ti)-s*.

The Sk. abounds in words of this formation: *ṛ-ti*, *ṛsh-ti*, *sṛ-ti*, *sṛṣ-ti*, etc. (Lindner, Altindische Nominalbildung, 77). The Greek has the following in addition: *κάρ-σι-ς*, *στάλ-σι-ς* and *ἀγαρρίς*· *ἄθροισις* (Hesych.) for *ἀγαρ-σι-ς*; Goth. in addition: *paúrþ-l(i)-s* and *(fra)-vaúrh-l(i)-s*. With nasal vowels: Gr. *τά-σι-ς* = Sk. *ta-ti-s* = Lat. *ten-ti-(on)*. Gr. *βά-σι-ς* = Sk. *gd-ti-s* = Goth. *ga-gum-þ(i)-s*. Sk. *ma-ti-s* = Lat. *men-(ti)-s*, *men-ti-(on)* = Goth. *(ga)-mun-d(i)-s*. Gr. in addition *ράψις*; cf. *ρομφ-εύς*.

III. Adjectives in *u*.

With ling. vowels: Gr. *θρασ-ύ-ς* and *θαρσ-υ-* (in *θαρσ-ύνω*) = Sk. *dhṛṣ-ú-s*. Gr. *βραδ-ύ-ς* = Sk. *mṛd-ú-s*. Gr. *βραχ-ύ-ς*, to be compared with Goth. *maúrǵ-jan*, 'to shorten'. Gr. *πλατ-ύ-ς* = Sk. *prth-ú-s*. Sk. *tṛsh-ú-s* = Goth. *paúrs-u-s*. Gr. in addition: *κρατ-ύ-ς* and *καρτ-υ-* (in *καρτ-ύνω*); *ταρφ-ύ-ς*. Sk. in addition: *ἡτ-ú-s*, *ῥj-ú-s*, *ῥbh-ú-s*, etc. (Lindner, p. 61). Goth. in addition: *tulg-u-s*.

Formations in which a lingual consonant is resolved according to the note on p. 295: *βαρ-ύ-ς* = Sk. *gur-ú-s*. *πολ-ύ-ς* = Sk. *pur-ú-s* = Goth. *fil-u*; the *u* of *πολύς* due to the labial initial; cf. *λύκος* above.

With nasal vowels: *δασ-ύ-ς* = Lat. *dens-u-s*. *ταχ-ύ-ς* = Sk. *tdk-u-s*; cf. Zend *tañc-ista*. *ελαχ-ύ-ς* = Sk. *ragh-ú-s* = Lat. *le-v-(is)* (for *lenh-u-(is)*?). *παχ-ύ-ς* = Lat. *ping-u-is* = Sk. *bah-ú-s*; cf. *báñh-iṣṭa*. Gr. in addition: *βαθ-ύ-ς* and *ἐπαθον*; cf. *βένθ-ος* and *πένθ-ος*. According to the note on p. 295: *ταν-υ* (in *τανύ-πτερος*) = Sk. *tan-ú-s* = Lat. *ten-u-(is)*.

IV. Participles in *td* and *nd* (Gr. verbals in *τό-ς*). *βλασ-τό-ς* = Sk. *vṛd-dhd-s* (Curt. Et. nr. 658). *βρο-τό-ς* and *μορ-τό-ς* = Sk. *mṛ-tid-s*. Sk. *pṛr-ḡd-s* (= *pr-ḡd-s*) = Goth. *ful-l(a)-s* = *ful-n(a)-s* = Gr. *πολ-λο-* in *πολ-λοί* (= *πολ-νο-*); the labial character of the root-vowel in the last two examples is due to the labial initial. The base *πολ-υ-* is a different formation; see above. Sk. *dṛṣ-td-s* = Germ. *torh-td-s*. Sk. *bhṛ-td-s* and *vṛt-td-s*; cf. Goth. *baúr-an(a)-s* and *vaúrn-an(a)-s*. Gr. in addition: *δαρ-τός* and *δρα-τός*, *καρ-τός*, *σκαρ-τός*, *φθαρ-τός*, *ρα-τός* (*σταλ-τός*); Sk. regularly: *tṛp-tds*, *kṛp-tds*, etc.

Additional Goth. participles in *na*: *baurg-a-n(a)-s*, *taur-a-n(a)-s*, *stul-a-n(a)-s*, etc.; further Goth. formations in *ta*: *paurf-t(a)-s*, *daur-s-t(a)-s*, *faurh-t(a)-s*, *handu-vaurh-t(a)-s* and *skul-d(a)-s*; Lat. *pul-sus*, *vul-sus* and *sepul-tus*.

With nasal vowels: $\tau\alpha\text{-}\tau\acute{o}\text{-}\varsigma$ = Sk. *ta-tá-s* = Lat. *ten-tu-s*. $\beta\alpha\text{-}\tau\acute{o}\text{-}\varsigma$ = Sk. *ga-tá-s* = Lat. *ven-tu-s*; cf. Goth. *gum-a-n(a)-s*. ($\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}$)- $\mu\alpha\text{-}\tau\omicron\text{-}\varsigma$ = Sk. *ma-tá-s* = Goth. *mun-d(a)-s*; cf. Lat. *com-men-tus*. $\varphi\alpha\text{-}\tau\acute{o}\text{-}\varsigma$ = Sk. (*g*)*ha-tá-s*. $\epsilon\pi\alpha\text{-}\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ = Sk. *ra-tá-s*; cf. Lat. *len-tus*? Gr. in addition: $\beta\alpha\pi\text{-}\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$; Sk. *ya-tá-s*, *na-tá-s*, *bhraṣ-ṭá-s*, *sras-tá-s*, etc. Goth. participles in *na*: *sugg-a-n(a)-s*, *bund-a-n(a)-s*; in *ta*: *guma-kun-d(a)-s* (root $\gamma\epsilon\nu$; cf. $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\gamma\alpha\text{-}\tau\omicron\nu$).

V. The weak forms of non-thematic presents offer a few examples, but only in Sanskrit. With lingual vowels: *kr-dhí*, *kr-tám*, etc. With nasal vowels: the present of the root *han* discussed above.

VI. The *reduplicated*, non-thematic present shows weak forms of the root in the same cases as the simple, non-thematic present, and gives rise to lingual vowels. Sk. *pi-pr-mds* = Gr. $\pi\iota\mu\text{-}\pi\lambda\alpha\text{-}\mu\epsilon\nu$. Gr. $\pi\iota\text{-}\varphi\acute{\rho}\alpha\text{-}\nu\alpha\iota$ is to be compared with Sk. *bi-bhr-mds*. Another Sk. form is *pi-pr-g-dhí*.

VII. The inchoative class, when it adds the element $\sigma\chi$ (*ch*) directly to the root has the weak form of the root, and gives rise to lingual and nasal vowels. With ling. vowels: *pr-chámi* = Lat. *po(r)-sco*. Another Vedic form: *r-chámi*. With nasal vowels: $\beta\acute{\alpha}\text{-}\sigma\chi\omega$ = Sk. *gd-chámi*. Another Gr. form: $\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\chi\omega$ = $\nu\theta\text{-}\sigma\chi\omega$; another Sk. form is *yd-chámi*.

VIII. The Sk. presents in *ya* (Hindu IV. class) take the weak form of the root. To this correspond a considerable number of Greek presents with ι (y). They produce lingual and nasal vowels: $\mu\alpha\iota\nu\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ (= $\mu\upsilon\text{-}\gamma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$) = Sk. *mdn-ye* (= *mṇ-ye*). In the same manner $\beta\alpha\iota\nu\omega$, $\chi\alpha\iota\nu\omega$, $\tau\iota\text{-}\tau\alpha\iota\nu\omega$ (for $\beta\upsilon\text{-}\gamma\omega$, etc.); $\pi\tau\alpha\iota\rho\omega$, $\delta\alpha\iota\rho\omega$, $\sigma\tau\alpha\iota\rho\omega$ and $\delta\sigma\tau\alpha\iota\rho\omega$, $\beta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omega$ (for $\pi\tau\rho\text{-}\gamma\omega$, $\beta\lambda\text{-}\gamma\omega$, etc.) Sanskrit in addition: $\pi\acute{t}\text{-}y\alpha\tau\epsilon$, $t\acute{r}\text{-}p\text{-}y\alpha\tau\epsilon$, etc.

IX. Presents in *nu*, *vu* (Hindu V. and VIII. classes) exhibit the root in ablaut III and give rise to lingual and nasal vowels. With lingual vowels: $\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\text{-}\nu\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$; Sk. *r-ṇó-mi*, *rđh-ṇó-mi*, *kr-ṇó-mi*, *vṛ-ṇó-mi*, *str-ṇó-mi*, *dhṛṣ-ṇó-mi*, etc. With nasal vowels: $\tau\acute{\alpha}\text{-}\nu\upsilon\text{-}\tau\alpha\iota$ ($\tau\upsilon\text{-}\nu\upsilon\text{-}\tau\epsilon$) = Sk. *ta-nu-té* (= *tṇ-nu-té*). Gr. $\acute{\alpha}\text{-}\nu\upsilon\text{-}\tau\alpha\iota$ (= $\sigma\gamma\text{-}\nu\upsilon\text{-}\tau\alpha\iota$) = Sk. *sa-nu-té* (= *sṇ-nu-té*). Sk. in addition: *va-nó-mi*, *kṣa-ṇó-mi*, *ma-nv-té*, etc. This removes the obnoxious VIII. class of the Hindus; the present sign is everywhere *nu* ($\nu\upsilon$), not *u* (υ); cf. p. 321, and Brugman in Kuhn's Zeitschrift XXIV, p. 288 ff.

X. Greek verbs in *ανω* with and without infixed nasal take the weak form of the root, and therefore exhibit lingual and nasal vowels. (a) ἄμαρτ-άνω, κατα-δαρθ-άνω, ἀλδ-άνω, ἀλφ-άνω for δρθ-νω, etc.; cf. Schmidt, Vocalismus p. 38. (b) πα-ν-θ-άνω, λα-γ-χ-άνω, χα-ν-δ-άνω (for πῃθ-νω, etc.) That *a* of the root-syllable is the nasal vowel is proved by πένθ-ος, λέ-λογχ-α and χεῖσομαι (χενδ-σομαι); cf. p. 322. (c) A few combine the present sign *ι* (*υ*) with the nasal: μαρ-αίνω, τε-τρ-αίνω and παθ-αίνω.

XI. Non-thematic second aorists take the weak form of the root in the cases that usually have the weak form (dual plural active, and entire middle) and give rise to lingual and nasal vowels. Cf. Whitney, Sk. Grammar § 829 ff. With lingual vowels: ἀπο-ύρα-ς and ἀπο-υρά-μενος (= ἀπο-Ἔρ-ς and ἀπο-Ἔρ-μενος); the strong form appears in ἀπό-(Ἔ)ερσε. Sanskrit forms: *d-ut-ta*, *d-kt-ta*, *d-mṛ-ta*, *d-utk-ta*, etc. With nasal vowels: ἀπ-έ-φα-τω ἀπέθανεν (Hesych.), cf. πέ-φα-ται, ἀπ-έ-κτα-τω, κτά-μενος; cf. Curt. Verb. I* 192. Sk. forms: *d-ma-ta* and *d-ga-ta*; *man* and *gam*.

XII. The thematic second aorist is made with ablaut III and gives rise to lingual and nasal vowels. With lingual vowels: ἔ-δραχ-ον = Sk. *d-dṛṣ-am*. Further Gr. formations: ἔ-πραθ-ον, ἔ-πραθ-ον and ἔ-παρθ-ον (cf. H. Germ. perf. plur. *furz-*), ἔ-τραφ-ον, ἔ-τραπ-ον (: τρέπ-ω), ἔ-τραπ-ον (in τραπ-εῖο-μεν : τέρεπ-ω), ἔ-ταρπ-ον (in ταρπ-ώμεθα : τέρεπ-ω), ἔ-βραχ-ον, ἤμαρτ-ον, ἔ-δαρθ-ον and ἔ-δραθ-ον, ἔ-δραπ-ον. Other Sk. forms: *d-grdh-am*, *d-tṛsh-am*, *d-ut-t-am*, etc. Whitney § 847.

The second aorist passive system, a special Greek formation, made under the same conditions as the second aorist active shows: ἔ-δράχ-ην, ἔ-στράφ-ην, στραφ-ή-σομαι, παρθ-ή-σομαι, ἔ-τράφ-ην, τραφ-ή-σομαι, ἔ-τράπ-ην, ἔ-φθάρ-ην, ἔ-τάρπ-ην, ἔ-βράχ-ην, ἔ-κλάπ-ην, ἔ-πλάχ-ην, ἔ-λάπ-ην.

Instances which accord with the note on p. 295: ἔ-πταρ-ον; (ἐ)-Ἔδλ-εν; ἔ-βαλ-ον; ἐ-κάρ-ην, ἐ-κάρ-ην, ἐ-δάρ-ην, ἐ-πτάρ-ην; ἐ-Ἔδλ-ην, ἐ-στάλ-ην, σταλ-ή-σομαι.

With nasal vowels: ἔ-παθ-ον, ἔ-λαχ-ον (: λογχ-ή), ἔ-χαδ-ον; ἔ-ῥράφ-ον : ῥομφ-εὺς; sec. aor. pass. ἐ-ῥράφ-ην. Sk. forms: *d-radh-am*, *d-bhraç-am*, *d-sras-am*, *d-math-am*, etc.: *randh-*, *bhrañç-*, *srañs-*, *manth-*, etc.

Instances according to note on p. 295: ἔ-χταν-ον, ἔ-χαν-ον; ἐ-κάν-ην; ἔ-ταμ-ον, ἔ-δραμ-ον.

A reduplicated thematic aorist with *ρ*-vowel is τε-ταρπ-ό-μην; cf. Vedic *ji-gr-tām* (Whitney § 856 f.); with nasal vowel: *d-si-ḡyad-at* : *synd-ate*.

XIII. The ancient perfect (without *x*) was originally a non-thematic formation, which had strong forms of the root in the sing. act.; weak forms in the du. plur. active, all the middle, as also in the participle. In Sk. and Goth. this law appears in the main undisturbed; in Greek it is to a large extent disturbed or wiped out; cf. pp. 318 and 324.

The only examples in which this relation has survived in the active of root, which show the ablaut $\epsilon : o$ (AA) are: *Fέ-Fotxa* : *Fέ-Fix-τον* : *πέ-ποιθα* : *πέ-πισ-θι*; *πέ-πονθ-α* : *πε-παθ-οῖα* (*πε-πνθ-οῖα*); *γέ-γυν-α* : *γέ-γα-μεν*; *μέ-μυν-α* : *μέ-μα-μεν*; *δει-δοι-κα* : *δει-δι-μεν*; *κέ-χλιδα* : *δια-κε-χλιδ-ώς* and *οἶδ-α* : *ἴδ-μεν*. Liquid roots have restricted this differentiation to the middle against the active, and there give rise to liquid vowels: *τέ-τραμ-μαι*, *τέ-θραμ-μαι*, *ἔ-στραμ-μαι*, *ε-ἱμαρ-ται* and *ἔ-μ(β)ρα-ται* (Hesych.); *ἔ-φθαρ-μαι*, *ἔ-σπαρ-μαι*, *δέ-δαρ-μαι*, *κέ-καρ-μαι*, *πέ-παρ-μαι*; *τέ-ταλ-μαι*, *ἔ-σταλ-μαι*. There are numberless Sk. forms: *ca-kr̥ḡ-ḷ*, *ja-bh̥ḡ-ḡ*, *va-ṛḡ-ḡ* and *cā-kḷ̥p-r̥ḷ* are examples. Goth. *ga-dair̥s-um*, *vaúr̥p-um*, *hul̥p-um*, *skul-um*, etc., are perfectly parallel. With nasal vowels: *μέ-μα-μεν* : *μέ-μυν-α* = Goth. *man* : *mun-um*; Sk. *ta-tas-r̥ḷ* = Gothic. (*at*)-*þuns-um*. Further Greek formations: *γέ-γα-μεν* : *γέ-γυν-α*; *πέ-φα-ται* : *φόν-ος*; *τέ-τα-μαι* : *τόν-ος*; *πε-παθ-οῖα* : *πέ-πονθ-α*.

Sanskrit roots ending in nasals never appear before consonants in the weak forms of the perfect; we have, therefore: *ja-gm-ús*, *ja-ghn-dthus*, *va-vm-ḷ*, etc. Roots with medial nasal show the nasal vowel (*a*): *ta-stabh-ús*, *ca-krad-ḷ*, *rā-radh-ús*, etc. (for *ta-stmbh-ús*, etc.). Goth. is very rich in this kind of formation; eighteen verbs of the first ablaut class show it: *bund-um*, *stugg-un*, etc. So also the preterite presents: *kun-num*, *mun-um*.

The preceding enumeration is restricted to cases of liquid and nasal vowels in radical syllables, and for these will be found approximately complete. Liquids and nasals receive the same treatment in inflectional elements, but these concern the subject treated here but indirectly. A few examples will suffice: Gr. *πατρά-σι*, *μητρά-σι* = Sk. *pit̥r̥-ḡu*, *mat̥r̥-ḡu* (liquid vowels between two consonants); *πατρ-ός*, *pit̥r̥-ā* (liquid consonant before a vowel); the Ionic perf. and pluperf. endings *αται* and *ατο* in *τε-τεύχ-αται*, *ε-στάλ-ατο*, *εφθάρ-ατο*, etc., are the same as those which appear in *λέ-λυ-νται*, *έ-λέ-λυ-ντο*, etc.; the nasal has been vocalized between two consonants. The same difference appears in Sk. *jú-hv-ati* : *bh̥d̥v-a-nti*, etc.

The extent to which Greek a and Sanskrit a do not represent Indo-European a is therefore very considerable. In Greek the great mass of a's that appear in the vicinity of liquids and nasals

are but defective (or rather excessive) graphic representations of the weakest imaginable vocalic element (*sh'va*).

The discovery of the preceding facts was soon employed as the entering wedge for a series of attacks upon I. E. *a*, which have by this time resulted in a very serious curtailment of it, and by consequence in an almost totally changed system of Indo-European vowels. The first step was here again taken by Brugman (Curtius' Studien IX 367 ff, Kuhn's Zeitschrift XXIV 1 ff), successful at least in that it pointed the right way for further examination. He there assumes for Greek *ε*, *ο*, *α* three different I. E. sounds, which he indicates by *a*¹, *a*² and *a*³; *a*³ he regards as an original short *a*, which appears in Europe as *a*; in Sk. sometimes as *a*, sometimes as *i* (examples: Gr. *στα-τό-ς*, Lat. *sta-tu-s*, Sk. *sthi-tá-s*); *a*¹ corresponds to European and Armenian *e* and Sk. Zend *a*; *a*² corresponds to Greek, Italic, Celtic and Slavic *ο*, German and Lithuanian *a*, also to Sk. *a* in a closed syllable; but in an open syllable, in cases represented by *bhadr-ā-mas* (φέρ-ο-μεν), *pād-am* (πῶδ-α), *dāthir-am* (δῶτιρ-α), *ushās-am* (ῆῶ-α), *jānu* (γῶνυ), *dāru* (δῶρυ), *a*² is, according to Brugman, represented by Sk. *ā*. That, however, the lengthening of the *ī* in these cases is accidental or owing to special Sanskrit laws, was shown (in the main successfully) by Collitz (Bezzenger's Beiträge II 291 ff) and J. Schmidt (Kuhn's Zeitschrift XXV 2 ff). Aside from this, Brugman had intuitively seen the truth, though the more concrete proofs of his system came from a totally different direction, as will be shown in the next section. It will be seen that European and Armenian *e*'s were *e* from all time; that the Sanskrit and Iranian *a*, which correspond to it, are either special deviations dating from a comparatively late period in the coexistence of these languages; or, what is even more probable, that this *a* in these languages is but an insufficient sign for a sound which would be best indicated by *ae* (*a*¹); as yet there has been no proof that the Sanskrit *a* which corresponds to Greek *ο*, is a sound which is colored by *ο* (*a*²): it is enough to know that the Greek ablaut *ε:ο* exists in every language of the family. That the masters of comparative philology should have allowed themselves for so many years to believe that a language, when still in its living condition, could have possessed the sound *a* and the sounds *i* and *u*, skipping the intermediate positions *e* and *ο*, is one of those mistakes which is wellnigh incomprehensible. This has at last been definitely overthrown with the aid of results gathered from special studies on the Sanskrit palatals, and to a lesser extent from the study of the Greek dentals of Curtius' dentalism.

III.

The fact that the I. E. languages have two series of guttural consonants was discovered and settled by Ascoli, and has become one of the best known laws of I. E. phonetics. They are generally differentiated by the designations k^1, g^1, gh^1 and k^2, g^2, gh^2 for the common I. E. period. In Sanskrit the first series is left in part as k, g, gh (Zend k, g); it also appears palatalized as c, j, h (Zend c and sh, j and zh). In Greek this series appears partly as x, γ, χ , partly as π, β, φ ; these latter interchange in a few instances with τ, δ, θ under circumstances which are in principle the same as those in which Sk. k, g, gh interchange with c, j and h . The second I. E. series k^2, g^2, gh^2 shows in Sanskrit a sign devoted solely to itself only for k^2 , namely φ ; while the sounds g^2 and gh^2 share the signs j and h with the palatals of the series k, g, gh . In Zend k^2 is ς, g^2 and gh^2 are z . In Greek k^2, g^2 and gh^2 appear regularly as gutturals: x, γ, χ . The following scheme will illustrate the subject:

INDO-EUROPEAN.	SANSKRIT.	ZEND.
k^1, g^1, gh^1	k, g, gh	$ḳ (kh), g (gh)$
k^2, g^2, gh^2	c } φ } j, jh	$c (sh), j (zh)$
INDO-EUROPEAN.	GREEK.	
k^1, g^1, gh^1	x, γ, χ	π, β, φ
k^2, g^2, gh^2		τ, δ, θ
		x, γ, χ

It is the palatal series which has branched off from the first guttural series: Sk. c, j, h ; Zd. c, j ; Gr. τ, δ, θ , which concerns the subject here treated. The true cause of this division remained unrecognized up to the time of Ascoli; he was the first to get some inkling of the way to a legitimate explanation. In *corsi di fonologia*, p. 42, note, he states that in Zend the change from a guttural to a palatal in the three degrees of the adjective *aka-*, *ashyó* and *acista-* [$k: c (sh)$] is due to the change of the vowel following the guttural, and also notes that there is no root of the form *gi* either in Sanskrit or Zend, but that they show *ji*. This is really a recognition, fragmentary as it may be, of the principle that palatalization is due to the influence of palatal vowels actually occurring after gutturals. Hübschmann in his celebrated article (Kuhn's *Zeitschrift* XXIII

384 ff), in which he so finely separates the two series of gutturals for Zend and Sanskrit, is still content to set forth merely the empirical fact that original *ki* and *gi* become *ci* and *ji* in Sanskrit and Zend. Fick also (Die ehemalige Spracheinheit der Indo-germanen Europas, p. 1 ff) simply states that the Sanskrit guttural and palatal series, which correspond to I. E. *k'*, *g'*, *gh'*, are constantly interchanging with one another. According to J. Schmidt (K. Z. XXIII, p. 63), Dr. Vilhelm Thomsen of Copenhagen was the first to hint that the *European* languages, with their supposed secondary vocalization, might be drawn in as auxiliaries in such a way that Sanskrit and Zend syllables *ca* and *ka* should be explained from *xe* and *xa* as European equivalents, and that thus the palatals before a written *a* owe their origin to the fact that this *a* was in such connections originally sounded as *ae* (*a'*). The full principle was recognized, as it seems, nearly simultaneously by Collitz (Bezz. Beiträge III 177 ff), Karl Verner, who did not publish it, De Saussure (Mémoires de la société de linguistique de Paris III 369) and by Joh. Schmidt, who published it last (K. Z. XXV 63 ff), working through the entire material in the Rig Veda and Avesta, and explaining the considerable quantity of exceptions which would naturally grow up as soon as the palatals had fairly taken position as members of the Indo-Iranian alphabets and the clear consciousness of their origin had been lost.

If we formulate the principles which are laid down in these treatises, there result the following rules:

1. The Indo-Iranian palatals Sk. *c*, *j*, *h*; Zend *c* (*sh*), *j* (*zh*) are a modification of the first guttural series (*k'*, *g'*, *gh'*) before palatal vowels; *i* (*y*), *a'* (*a'i*, *a'u*) and can originally have stood only before these vowels.

2. The vowel signs *a*, *ai* and *au* in the Indo-Iranian languages actually represent two series of vowels at least (more if more can be proved), namely, *a'*, *a'i*, *a'u* and *a*, *ai*, *au*, the former corresponding to *e*, *ei*, *eu* (Gr. ε, ει, ευ) in the European languages.

The last rule bears upon the correct understanding of Greek ablaut in three vital points.

(a) In the ablaut series

I.	πετ	σετ	περθ	πενθ	ρευ (ρεF)	πειθ,	etc.
		στολ	πορθ	πονθ	ρου (ρουF)	ποιθ,	etc.
		σταλ	πραθ	παθ	ρυ	πιθ,	etc.

appears in the row marked I (ablaut I) is not the result

of the weakening of I. E. *a*, but represents an original sound, which is clearly expressed in the European branches of the family, and which is not expressed by a distinct sign in the Indo-Aryan languages, but there manifests itself in the palatals of the Indo-European series *k*¹, *g*¹, *gh*¹, namely *c*, *j*, *h*.

(b) Again looking at the series of roots laid down under (a) it will appear that all the forms under I are on the same level as far as the root vowel is concerned, so also the forms under II; from necessity the forms under III are also on a level; one of these holds the same grammatical position as the other; one is used in the same kinds of formations, verbal and nominal, as the other.

(c) The sound *a* appears in III only in connection with linguals and nasals; it is something special. What it is has been sufficiently described above. The old theory which regarded this *a* as the residue of I. E. *a* falls to the ground; it is a special Greek feature, as the Gothic will show for further evidence.

While the rows I and II have perfectly unvarying root vowels in Gothic, row III is there also irregular in connection with linguals and nasals, showing vowels peculiar to itself, which, like Greek *a*, are special methods for rendering lingual and nasal vowels:

I.	<i>lig</i>	<i>vairp</i>	<i>stil</i>	<i>min</i>	<i>bind</i>	<i>steig</i>	<i>kius</i> ,	etc.
II.	<i>lag</i>	<i>varp</i>	<i>stal</i>	<i>man</i>	<i>band</i>	<i>staig</i>	<i>kaus</i> ,	etc.
III.	(<i>lg</i>)	<i>vaurp</i>	<i>stul</i>	<i>mun</i>	<i>bund</i>	<i>stig</i>	<i>kus</i> ,	etc.

Here the roots containing linguals and nasals show an utter deviation in form under row III from the corresponding roots in Greek under row III, while the forms under I and II answer to the Greek forms throughout.

It will not be necessary to present proofs for the origin of palatalization and the Sanskrit sound *a*¹. Those who wish to see the full exposition of these most interesting facts will be repaid by studying J. Schmidt's treatise (close reading though it be) in K. Z. XXV 1. A few salient examples in illustration will, however, not be amiss. These will be chosen from such as show the variation between guttural and palatal in the same root:

Variation between *k* and *c*: Sk. *çuk-rd-s*: *çoc-içta-s*; *çak-rd-s*: *çac-içta-s*; Zend *aka-*: *acista-*; Sk. *ark-d-s*: *arc-t-s*; *kd-tara-s* (*κό-τερο-ς*): *ca* (*τε*); *vāk-d-s*: *vāc-as* (theme *ἐπ-εç* = *va¹c-a¹s*), etc.

Variation between *g* and *j*: *ug-rd-s*: *øj-ya-s*; *tig-md-s*: *tj-içta-s*; *yūg-van*: *yōj-as* (theme *ζευ-εç*; Sk. *ya¹uj-a¹s*); *tyag-d-s*: *tydj-as*, etc.

Variation between *gh* and *h*: *mdgh-avan*: *mdmh-iyans*, *ghar-md-s*

(Lat. *formus*): *hár-as* (theme $\theta\epsilon\rho\text{-}\epsilon\varsigma$, *ha^r-a^s*), *ghan-á-s* ($\varphi\acute{o}\nu\text{-}\omicron\varsigma$): *hán-mi* (*haⁿ-mi*; cf. $\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$) etc.

The facts and principles illustrated by these examples for the Indo-Iranian languages are represented in Greek also. The variation takes place here between *labials* (which represent original gutturals) and the *dentals* of Curtius' dentalism, which take the place of palatals. Not indeed in so widely diffused a manner has the original difference between the labials (= gutturals) and dentals (= palatals) been held fast; it has been wiped out very largely at the expense of the palatals; but there are still enough data left to show that the Greek started with the same differences, and that these differences were based upon the same cause: the character of the following sound. As in Sk. a palatal before *i* (*y*), *a^{*}* (*aⁱ*, *a^u*) corresponds to a guttural before other sounds, so in Greek there is still a respectable body of forms which show dentals before *i* and *ε* (*ει*, *ευ*), which vary with labials according to the proportion:

$\tau, \delta, \theta : \pi, \beta, \varphi = \text{Sk. } c, j, h : k, g, gh.$

Greek palatalization appears in the following cases: 1. *τίς*, gen. $\tau\epsilon(\sigma)\omicron$, $\tau\epsilon : \acute{\rho}\acute{o}\text{-}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma = \text{Zd. } cis, cahyā, ca : \text{Sk. } ka\text{-}tard\acute{s}$. 2. *πέντ-ε*: *πέμπ-τος* = Sk. *pañc-a : pañk-ti-s*. 3. *τρι-οττίς* (Curt. Et^h. p. 464), *ῥσσε*, *ῥσσομαι*: *ῥφομαι*. 4. *τέτορες*, *τέσσαρες*: (π)*τρά-πεζα* = *cat-vár-as*: (*k*)*turⁱya-s*. 5. *πέσσω*: *πεπ-τός* = *pac-yáte*: *pak-tá-s*. 6. *νίζω* (*νιδ-γω*): *νίψω* = *nij-yáte*: *nik-tás*. 7. Aeolic *ὄδελός*: *ὄβολός*.

Of special interest are the following additional cases, because they furnish a valuable quantity of material for the ablaut.

8. The group of words treated by Curtius under nr. 649, *τεί-ω*, *τεί-ω*, *τί-νω*, etc., was long ago identified with Sk. Zend group *ci-nó-mi*, *ci-tás*, Zd. *kaē-na* ('revenge'). This last is perfectly identical with *ποι-νή*. The initial consonant of *ποι-νή* is now perfectly clear. Both *τεί-ω* and *ποι-νή* go back to the tenuis of the I. E. guttural row: *k, g, gh*, which is regularly represented by τ before a palatal vowel, but by π before a non-palatal:

$\tau\acute{\epsilon}\iota\text{-}\omega : \text{ποι-}\nu\acute{\eta} = \text{Sk. } cdy\text{-}ate : \text{Zd. } kaē\text{-}na =$
 $\tau\epsilon : \acute{\rho}\acute{o}\text{-}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma = \text{Sk. } ca : \text{Sk. } ka\text{-}tard\acute{s}$

The functional kinship of the words appears in the phrases *ἀπ-ετίσατο ποινήν*, Od. ψ 312, *ποινήν τίσοντες*, Hdt. III 14.

9. It has been lately recognized (K. Z. XXV 138) that the roots which occur in the two Homeric phrases *περιπλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν* and *περιτελλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν* belong together in the same way as *ποι-νή* and *τεί-ω*. Regularly they should complement one another in such a way that only those forms in which the root-vowel was ϵ

should have τ as initial consonant, while all the others should have π. This relation is, however, not perfectly preserved. There occur τέλλω, ἀνατέλλω, etc., against πόλος, ἀμφίπολος, -πλόμενος; but there is also ἀνατολή and πέλομαι, forms which must have been made at a later period, when the cause which had set τέλλω against πόλος had ceased to operate.

τέλλω : πόλος, -πλόμενος = τείω : ποινή.

10. The group of words whose present is βάλλω started with the same variableness of the initial consonant, according to the color of the root-vowel, as the preceding groups. This relation is still preserved to a considerable extent. Arkadian ζέλλω, Tegeatic ἐσ-δέλλω are to βολή, βεβούλημαι, ἔβαλον (= ἔ-βλ-ον), βάλλω (= βλ-γω) as περι-τελλόμενος : περιπλόμενος. Initial δ(ζ) and β are the variations of I. E. *g* according to the vowel which follows, in the same way as τ and π are the variations of I. E. *k*. In this group, however, there are also forms which must have been made later than the period of the working of this law; for there are βέλος, βελόνη, where the consistent carrying out of the law would require δέλος, etc. There is no cause for surprise or doubt about this, as the principle has in general ceased to live even in the earliest records of the language which have survived.

11. Perfectly preserved is the variation of the initial consonant in the following group of words: θείνω (θεν-γω) : γόνος, ἔ-πε-φν-ον, πέ-φα-ται, ἀπ-έ-φα-το, φα-τός. Excepting the word φέννος· θάνατος (Hesych.) which shows the labial where a dental should be expected, the entire group of words is regular in having θ before ε and φ before other sounds; in the same way as the Sk. root *han* has preserved the relation in *hān-mi* : *ghn-dnti*. θείνω : γόνος, ἔ-πε-φνον = *han-mi* : *ghan-ds*, *ghn-dnti*.

12. The same law must once have been at work in the root to which θερ-ος belongs. This is sound for sound Sk. *hár-as* (theme *hár-a's*), 'heat, flame'; therefore it goes back to I. E. *gh'*, as *hár-as* has a palatal initial varying with *ghar-md-s* (guttural initial) before an *a* which had no palatal quality. So testify Lat. *formus* = Goth. *var-m(a)-s* in *varm-jan* = Sk. *ghar-md-s*. A Greek form corresponding to these would be φορ-μος = Lat. *formus*. Such a form does not occur; instead of it, however, θερ-μός, where the process of assimilation is clear, not only from the corresponding words in the kindred languages, but from the Greek itself, as formations with suffix -μος, μη take ablaut II (ο); so αλοι-μός, χορ-μός, πότ-μος, δρ-μος, δυχ-μή, τόλ-μη, etc.; cf. p. 319.

The facts recounted in this section show abundantly that the vocalism of the Greek has the largest claim to being a correct, undisturbed reflex of that of the corresponding roots in all the languages of the family. Sanskrit, Zend in reality possess the root-triad (πετ, ποτ, πτ; λειπ, λοιπ, λιπ) to even a larger extent than the Greek; but the first two ablauts have fallen together, at least graphically. What evidence the palatals offer has been shown. It would seem, too, that what Whitney (Sk. Gr. § 21) says of the pronunciation of Sk. *a* as explained by Pāṇini and the Prātiçākhyas is evidence which should be carefully applied in the same direction. Sk. *a* has for twenty or twenty-five centuries been pronounced as the vowels in 'son,' 'but,' etc. Is it not probable that the starting-point of such a pronunciation, which is of course to a large extent secondary and transferred, must be looked for in short vowels historically different from *a* (as pronounced in Germ. 'gab,' 'land,' etc.)?

Surprising is the non-sensitiveness of the Latin to variations of root-vowels, especially if its otherwise close kinship with Greek is kept in view. It everywhere evinces the tendency to urge some one of the root-vowels through the entire group of formations belonging to the root. To a large extent this is the vowel of the root-form (abl. I). So the vowel of *lego*, *clepo*, *tremo*, *pe(r)do*, *serpo*, etc., fails to vary with abl. II (*o*) in the perfect. On the other hand the I. E. perfect vowel (abl. II) is contained in *to-tond-i*, *spond-i* and *mo-mord-i*; but the radical vowels of these words have spread over their entire respective word-groups, either assimilating the vowel, or suppressing forms which show another root-vowel, and placing such as had *o* in their place. Such are the presents of these words: *tond-eo*, *spond-eo*, *mord-eo*, which legitimately show *o*, but are in reality causative formations, such as Gr. *φορ-εω* to *φέρω*, Goth. *lag-jan* : *ligan*; see p. 319. The weakest root-form (abl. III) is retained to the exclusion of the other two in the groups of which *sci-n-d-o*, *fi-n-d-o*, *ju-n-g-o* are presents, e. g. *jungo*, *junxi*, *junctus*, *jugum*, *conjux*, etc. Still enough has been left of a Latin ablaut to show that it once coincided with the Greek, though there is no one case in which all three forms have been preserved.¹ Examples of roots which show the first and second

¹ *fid-o* (= *feid-o*) : *foed-us* (= *foid-us*) : *fid-ēs* = *πεῖθ-ω* : *πέ-ποιθ-α* : *πισ-τός* would seem to be a remnant of full ablaut in Latin; but this is rendered very doubtful from the fact that bases in *-es* (*foedus*, *foed-er-is*) are almost without exception formed with ablaut I: *μέν-ος*, *τείχ-ος*, *γλεῦκ-ος*; Sk. *hár-as*; Lat. *genus*, *nemus*, etc. See p. 316.

forms of the root are: *nex* : *noc-eo*; *teg-o* : *tog-a*; *sequi* : *soc-ius*; of groups which show abl. I and III: *fer-o* : *for-(ti)-s* = Sanskrit *bhr̥-ti-s* (see p. 296); *dic-o* (= *deic-o*): *causi-dic-us*; *dūc-o* (= *deuc-o*): *dūc-em*; *ūr-o* (= *eus-o*) : *ūs-tus*; of groups which show abl. II and III: *mon-eo* : *men-(ti)-s* = Sk. *ma-ti-s*. Cf. Schleicher Comp³. §§ 45-50.

The Gothic for the question which concerns us here represents the German family almost perfectly, and is at one with the Greek throughout. The presents *lig-a*, *tair-a*, *varþ-a*, *stīl-a*, *steig-a*, etc., go back to common German bases: *lēg-a*, *verþ-a*, *stēl-a*, etc.; *a* of the perfect ablaut (*lag*, *varþ*, etc.), is the Greek *o* of the perfect ablaut; that the weak form of the root (abl. III) must be referred to a common starting-point with the Greek was shown on p. 303; see also p. 320 ff.

It has been seen that the triple form of the root is not an accidental modification on European ground of a *simplex* primitive form, but that it belongs to our family of languages as a whole; that it is Indo-European. Entirely aside from this proof, however, the variation of the root-vowels in a single language is attended by facts which show conclusively that the phenomenon is of deeper significance than has hitherto been ascribed to it. If this variation were merely one belonging to the Greek alone, even then it would deserve much more serious treatment than is devoted to it, e. g. by Curtius in the seventh section of the first book of his etymology. All he offers there does not elevate the variation between the root vowels above the condition of being an accidental, arbitrary one, one that the language shows capriciously here and there, perhaps as an aesthetic expedient to avoid monotony. So accidental is this variation, in his opinion, that when the question arises which one in the couplets *στέλ*, *σταλ* and *βάλ*, *βελ* is best entitled to the name of root, he gives the preference to the one which occurs in the larger quantity of formations, in the one case to *στέλ*, in the other to *βάλ*; allowing the form *σταλ* in the one case and *βελ* in the other the title of a supplementary root. Totally different is the true state of things. It is a fact, which has until lately not been sufficiently emphasized, and which will be exhibited below in full (p. 313 ff) that each one of the three root-forms is restricted to a certain number of formations, nominal and verbal; this fact alone, if reflected on consistently, is enough to establish the root-triad as Indo-European. If the root-vowel of a formation like *ján-as* (γέν-ος) is the same as in a formation like *ghan-d-s* (φόν-ος), why is the

root-vowel of the formation to which *jan-as* belongs regularly represented by *ε* (*γέν-ος*, *ἔπ-ος*, *κλέF-ος*); that of *ghan-d-s* regularly by *ο*: *φόν-ο-ς*, *τόκ-ο-ς*, *στοῖχ-ος*, *ρόF-ος*, etc.? If *ε* and *ο* are merely the single I. E. *a* discolored or weakened in a common European period, whence the regularity in the modification? What two new and different forces, the one restricted in its workings to the groups of which *γένους*, *γεν-έ-τωρ*, *φέρ-ω*, etc. (p. 314 ff), are specimens, the other to the groups of which *φόν-ος*, *γέ-γον-α*, *φορ-έω*, etc., are specimens (p. 318 ff), could thus anew engraft themselves upon formations which had been fixed long before, so as to reconstruct them systematically and consistently? An irregular modification of a vowel here and there in the progress of phonetic decay can affect old types of words, but they cannot be recast after a new plan. That would be a retrograde movement, which "language can execute no more than a river can flow back to its source."

IV.

A closer look at the physiological construction of the roots which show the variation between *ε* and *ο* (Class AA) yields the following results: These roots have in their strong forms, as purely vocalic element, this *ε* varying with *ο* and nothing else. The remaining elements have never the character of pure vowels, but are either full consonants or semiconsonants, or both. Of the first category there is but one type, that exhibited in roots like *πετ*, *ές*, etc.; the root vowel is preceded and followed by a consonant (*spiritus lenis* in *ές*, *έδ*, etc.). This we name type A. The rest arrange themselves best according to the following scheme: Type B: Those which end in a semiconsonant; Type C: Those which contain a semiconsonant preceded and followed by other consonants:

A.	B.	C.
<i>πετ</i> , <i>ποτ</i>	<i>δε</i> (<i>γ</i>), <i>δου</i>	<i>λειπ</i> , <i>λοιπ</i>
<i>έδ</i> , (<i>όδ</i>) in	<i>χευ</i> , <i>χου</i> (<i>F</i>)	<i>έλευθ</i> , <i>έλουθ</i>
the Goth. perfect	<i>δερ</i> , <i>δур</i>	<i>δερκ</i> , <i>δурκ</i>
<i>at</i> , etc.	<i>στελ</i> , <i>στούλ</i>	<i>κλεπ</i> , <i>κλουπ</i>
	<i>μεν</i> , <i>μυν</i>	<i>πενθ</i> , <i>πυνθ</i>
	<i>τεμ</i> , <i>τούμ</i>	<i>ίμεφ</i> , <i>ίουμεφ</i>
	etc.	etc.

This classification has especial value for understanding ablaut III, the weakest, the accentless form of the root. This differs from the two strong ones in no particular, except that it does not

possess the purely vocalic element (ϵ or υ) which appears in the strong forms. The root forms which lie at the base of ablaut III are, therefore :

A.	B.	C.
$\pi\tau$	$\delta\iota$	$\lambda\iota\pi$
σ	$\chi\upsilon$	$\xi\lambda\upsilon\theta$
etc.	$\delta\rho$	$\delta\rho\chi$
	$\sigma\tau\lambda$	$\chi\lambda\pi$
	$\mu\nu$	$\pi\nu\theta$
	$\tau\mu$, etc.	$\rho\mu\phi$, etc.

It is evident that some of these last groups are unpronounceable in certain connections ; e. g. according to type A we have $\tilde{\epsilon}\text{-}\sigma\chi\text{-}\sigma\nu$, the second aor., which legitimately shows the weakest form ; so also $\xi\chi\text{-}\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ for $\sigma\chi\text{-}\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$, the verbal adjective is made from the same degree of the root (cf. $\tilde{\epsilon}\text{-}\pi\iota\theta\text{-}\sigma\nu$ and $\pi\iota\sigma\text{-}\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$) ; but the difficult group of consonants $\sigma\chi\tau\text{-}$ necessitated the insertion of a short vowel ;¹ it is not to be supposed, however, that the ϵ in $\xi\chi\text{-}\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ possessed in speaking the same value as that of $\tilde{\epsilon}\chi\text{-}\omega$, as long as the position of the accent was not disregarded in pronunciation. In weak forms of the types $\sigma\tau\lambda$, $\delta\rho\chi$, $\pi\nu\theta$, $\rho\mu\phi$, etc., the lingual and nasal consonants were changed to lingual and nasal vowels ; λ when vocalized appears as $a\lambda$, λa ; ρ as $a\rho$, ρa ; ν and μ appear as a , $a\nu$ and a ($a\mu$) ; cf. p. 295.

It has appeared sufficiently that the assumption of a root $\lambda\iota\pi$ or $\varphi\upsilon\chi$ by the side of $\pi\epsilon\tau$ is inconsistent, because the two root forms have totally different functions in their respective groups of words ; the above schemes will furnish a purely physiological reason. Roots which contain an ι or υ are never followed by another semi-consonant (ρ , λ , μ , ν) ; there are no roots of a type $\mu\nu$, $\delta\iota\rho$, $\pi\iota\nu\theta$, $\delta\iota\rho\chi$, etc., as there are $\mu\epsilon\nu$, $\delta\epsilon\rho$, $\pi\epsilon\nu\theta$, $\delta\epsilon\rho\chi$, etc. Nasals do, indeed, occur after ι and υ in certain formations, generally the present, as $\pi\upsilon\text{-}\nu\text{-}\theta\text{-}\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$, Lat. *sci-n-d-o*, etc. ; but a look at some other formation from the same root will quickly teach that the nasal does not belong to the root ($\pi\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon(\theta)\text{-}\sigma\text{-}\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$, Sk. *chi-ched-a*) ; on the other hand, when a nasal or lingual is preceded by ϵ it belongs to the root, and appears, or must be accounted for, in all formations ; so $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\theta\text{-}\omicron\varsigma$, $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\pi\omicron\nu\theta\text{-}\alpha$, $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\iota\sigma\omicron\text{-}\mu\alpha\iota$ (= $\pi\epsilon\nu\theta\text{-}\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$), Sk. *ta-sthdmb-a*, *ba-bdndh-a*, etc.² The morphological function of nasals and linguals, which belong to the

¹ Cf. the other device for producing the same effect : $\sigma\chi\text{-}\epsilon\text{-}\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$.

² In Lat. *jungo*, *junxi*, *junctus*, the nasal is carried through the verbal conjugation ; but *jugum*, *conjux*, Gr. $\zeta\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\gamma\upsilon\mu\iota$, Sk. *yu-yóg-a*, etc., prove that this is owing to illegitimate transfer of the nasal from the present.

root, is therefore precisely the same as that of $\iota(y) \upsilon(F)$ belonging to the root; both waver between a vocalic and consonantal condition according to their surroundings; both are totally different from the ϵ and \omicron which appear in the root; these are the root vowels proper, and about these the semiconsonantal and consonantal elements of the root are grouped.

The triple root (Class AA) runs through nearly 250 groups of Greek words, is preponderant in Teutonic and Sanskrit, and is really the phenomenon from a discussion of which any treatise on ablaut must start. It is not, however, the only kind of root which appears either in Greek or in the kindred languages; there are considerable numbers of roots which show but two forms, differing from one another merely in the quantity of the root vowel, Class BB, and that in such a way that the form with the long vowel occurs in precisely those formations in which Class AA shows the forms with ϵ and \omicron ; the form with the short vowel occurs in those formations in which Class AA shows the weak form (abl. III), as the following scheme will show:

	I.	II.	III.
AA.	κείθ-ω, τείχ-ος φείγ-ω, ζεύγ-ος μέν-ω, μέν-ος	κέ-ποιθ-α έλ-γλουθ-α μέ-ρον-α	έ-πέ-πιθ-μεν, πισ-τός έλ-γλουθ-μεν, φουκ-τός μέ-μα-μεν, -μα-τός
BB.	λάθ-ω, λάθ-ος ἴ-στη-μι, στη-μων τί-θη-μι, θη-μων δί-δω-μι, δώ-τωρ	λέ-λάθ-α ἴ-στη-κα ἴ-θη-κα δέ-δω-κα	λέ-λασ-μαι, -λασ-τός ἴ-σῶ-μεν, σῶ-τός τέ-θε-μαι, θε-τός δέ-δω-μαι, δο-τός

The Gothic has the ablaut corresponding to $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\theta$: $\lambda\ddot{\alpha}\theta$ in its third class of ablaut verbs: $f: \tau: far: \delta: al: fr\ddot{o}p: fr\ddot{a}p$, etc.; the Latin exhibits ablaut consisting in variation between long and short vowels in $s\acute{a}b-i: s\ddot{a}b-o: f\acute{a}d-i: f\ddot{a}d-i\ddot{o}: \acute{a}d-i: \acute{a}d-i\ddot{u}m$, etc. Sanskrit has not often kept this kind of formation undisturbed; it appears in $ov\acute{a}d-ai: ov\ddot{a}d-av: v\acute{a}h-i-t: v\ddot{a}h-i-s$, etc.

The question now fairly presents itself: What are the causes of these phenomena which penetrate the vocalism of our languages with such far-reaching regularity; what is the cause that sets $\delta\acute{\epsilon}-\delta\omicron-ai$ against $\delta\acute{\epsilon}-\delta\omicron-κα$; $\phi\acute{\epsilon}-\phi\omicron-τος$ against $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\gamma-ω$; $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\theta-ω$ against $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}-\kappa\theta-α$, and both against $\tau\acute{\epsilon}-\tau\omicron-ς$? The question naturally falls into two distinct parts: (1) What is the relation, in both AA and BB of

the scheme above, of the forms in column III to those in columns I and II? (2) In class AA what causes the difference in the root-vowels of columns I and II?

Surprising as it may seem, this latter question remains as yet unanswered. In spite of the large extent of the material which is accessible, there has not been found anything upon which an explanation of the ablaut $\epsilon : o$ can be rested with safety. That it is not accidental and inorganic, as it was formerly regarded, is clear from the regularity of its distribution, and not the less clear because the reason of it has not been as yet discovered. It is to be noted that it is not restricted to the root of words; it occurs as well in formative elements: $\dot{\epsilon}\chi\text{-}\epsilon\text{-}\tau\epsilon$: Lat. *veh-i-te* : Goth. *vig-i-p* = $\dot{\epsilon}\chi\text{-}o\text{-}\nu\tau\epsilon$ ($\dot{\epsilon}\chi\text{-}\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota$) : Lat. *veh-u-nt* (Old Lat. *veh-o-nt*. Schleicher Comp. 667) : Goth. *vig-a-nd*, exhibit the same ablaut $\epsilon : o$ in the vocalic element, which forms the present theme from the root. In $\dot{\iota}\pi\kappa\omicron\text{-}\varsigma$: Voc. $\dot{\iota}\pi\kappa\text{-}\epsilon$; Old Lat. *equ-o-s* : *equ-e*, the same ablaut appears in the nominal theme, as its surroundings vary.

Very different is the state of our knowledge with regard to the former question. The cause, whose workings we see in the difference between $\pi\iota\sigma\text{-}\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$, and $\pi\iota\theta\text{-}\omega$ and $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\pi\omicron\iota\theta\text{-}\alpha$, is perfectly well known. It is the varying position of the accent which creates the difference between strong and weak forms. The languages which have preserved this ablaut best, have fortunately also with it preserved a sufficient amount of data for its explanation.

The Vedic texts which are accented show that, as a rule, the strong form of the root occurs when the tone rests on the root; the weak form, when the tone rests on inflectional elements; so $\acute{\iota}\text{-}mi$ ($\acute{\alpha}\text{-}i\text{-}mi$) : *i-mds*; $da\text{-}d\acute{a}r\varsigma\text{-}\alpha$: $da\text{-}d\acute{a}r\varsigma\text{-}\acute{u}s$; $vd\text{-}\alpha\text{-}\varsigma$: *uk-t\acute{d}-s*, etc., etc.

The Greek originally possessed the law of accentuation indicated by these examples to much the same extent as the old Aryan language of India. But in the historical period of the language a new principle, the recessive accentuation, has usurped its place, leaving but a few fossilized remnants of the old method. In $\theta\rho\alpha\sigma\text{-}\acute{u}\varsigma$, $\pi\iota\sigma\text{-}\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$, $\lambda\epsilon\text{-}\lambda\alpha\sigma\text{-}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma$, $\lambda\iota\pi\text{-}\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$, etc., we have survivals of the older accentuation, accompanied by the weak form of the root; generally the accent has been subjected to the new law, usually however without disturbing the form of the root which had accompanied the old accent. So $\dot{\iota}\text{-}\mu\epsilon\nu$, $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\phi\alpha\text{-}\tau\alpha\iota$, $\dot{\epsilon}\text{-}\phi\theta\alpha\rho\text{-}\mu\alpha\iota$, $\acute{\chi}\acute{\alpha}\rho\text{-}\sigma\iota\varsigma$ were once oxytone, for they contain the weakest form of their roots: ι , $\phi\alpha$ ($\phi\upsilon$), $\phi\theta\alpha\rho$ ($\phi\theta\eta\rho$), $\chi\alpha\rho$ ($\chi\eta\rho$).

The German shows the traces of the old tone system in two ways:

(1) In the ablaut. This coincides in its leading traits with the ablaut of the Greek and Vedic. The two strong forms (abl. I and II) as *steig* and *staig*, *bind* and *band*, occur in those formations in which Vedic words present the strong form of the root accompanied by the accent; the weak forms of the root as *stig*, *bund* (= *bnd*) in those in which the Vedic shows weak forms, and the accent on a formative element.

(2) An exception to the first German rotation of mutes (*Grimm's Law*) is due to this method of accentuation. In a considerable number of cases I. E. surd mutes do not, as the law demands, appear in the Germanic languages as *surd spirants*, but as *sonant spirants*; this irregularity takes place only in the middle of a word between two sonants. So Goth. *sag-jan* : Old Lat. *in-sec-e* (= Gr. ἐν-σεπ-ε for ἐν-σεπ-ε); Goth. *andi-laus* : Sk. *anta-s*; Goth. *sibun* : Gr. ἐπτά. The irregular Teutonic sound to a considerable extent alternates with the regular one, in inflected words belonging to the same root ('*grammatischer wechsel*'); so in Goth. *tig-u* : *taih-un* (*δέξα*); *frod-ei(n)* : *frap-jan*; *laib-a* : *af-lifnan*. In the inflection of verbs the Germanic languages, with the exception of Gothic, show this alternation in such a way that the irregular sound appears in precisely those forms which contain the weakest form of the root (abl. III); while the regular consonant appears in the two strong forms of the root (abl. I and II). So O. H. G. *zig-um* and *zig-a-n* (perf. plur. and pass. participle): *zēh* and *zih-an* (perf. sing. and infinitive); Ags. *vurd-on* and *vord-e-n* : *veorð* and *veorð-an*. This differentiation is carried out also in roots ending in *s*, in such a way that *z* and *r* (sonants corresponding to *s*) occur where the sonant mutes *g*, *d*, *b* occur; *s* itself where the surd spirants *h*, *þ*, *f* occur. So O. H. G.—

kur-um and *kor-a-n* : *kios-a* and *kös* =
zig-um and *zig-a-n* : *zih-a* and *zēh*

The entire phenomenon lives to-day in High German in such changes as *ziehe* : *gezogen*; *kiese* : *erkoren*; Engl. *lose* : *forlorn*;

the discovery of it was discovered by Karl Verner (K. Z. XXIII 97 ff).

It is clear that there was a living remnant of Vedic and I. E. accentuation

in this alternation of consonants. *The forms with*

regular consonant and weakest root-form (abl. III) *originally*

appear on their inflectional elements (: *zig-um* and *zig-a-ná*)

and have it in the accented Vedic texts which have

it (e. g. *bi-bhid-imá* and *bhin-ná*); *the forms with*

regular consonant were accented on the root (zī'h-a and zē'h); Ved. bhár-ā-mi and ja-bhár-a. A full discussion can be found in the treatise of Verner; a short mention of it here is not out of place. Verner's law formed one of the most important factors in establishing the truth that the broad facts of Vedic accentuation once ruled in all I. E. languages; it is the strongest justification of the method of accounting for variations of root-vowels which is now universally practised; in fact it has been seen that, so far, ablaut, wherever it is explainable, is so on the basis of this law of accent; wherever this fails there is as yet no other known fact or principle which furnishes additional light; explanation must be held in abeyance until further investigation or new material shows the way.

V.

The three root-forms which have been treated under the names of ablaut I, II and III each occur regularly in Greek, as in the other languages of the family, only in certain kinds of formations, or, conversely, a certain Greek word has but one historically correct root-form or ablaut (cf. above p. 310). But as in language everywhere, so especially in a language of the rich, independent life of the Greek, disturbing forces have operated against the laws which originally shaped the several word formations, and have in certain cases succeeded in almost obliterating the effects of these laws. The unfriendly forces at work are best defined as: 1. *Assimilation* by what is generally termed 'false analogy' or form-association. 2. *New formation* upon some already existing form, or upon the material abstracted from such a form. A single example to illustrate each will not be amiss.

(1) The noun bases in ες, generally serving as abstracts (θέρ-ος, λίστ-ος, etc.), are made with ablaut I. According to this rule are made βέλθ-ος and πένθ-ος, both occurring in Homer, but going out of common use about the time of Herodotus. In the later language there appear in addition to these πάθ-ος and βιάθ-ος, illegitimately made with ablaut III. These are evidently formed after the analogy of ῥαθ-ύς, ἔ-παθ-ον, etc., forms which regularly have ablaut III, and with which the abstracts were associated in the minds of the language-users until they crowded out the historically correct βέλθ-ος and πένθ-ος, because there were no forms by mental association with which they could be kept alive.

(2) The present βάπτ-ω is made with ablaut III. Ordinarily the theme of the present stands in no formal relation with the themes

of the other tenses, e. g. the present *πάσχω* is made with ablaut III (see p. 321), but future *πείσομαι* (*πενθ-ομαι*) with ablaut I, as the future regularly is. But the future and sigmatic aorist corresponding to *ράπτω* are made according to its root-vowel: *ράψω*, *ἔρραψα*, where we should expect *ρέμψω*, *ἔρρεμψα*; cf. *ρομ-φεύς*.

Fortunately, however, it is possible in almost all important formations to restore the old vocal relations, either from precious remnants in the language itself or with the aid of the sister languages. The language of Homer and the inscriptions are especially valuable; the word-thesaurus of the former is to Greek what the Rig Veda is to the languages of India. The lexicon of Hesychius also yields many obsolete forms, which approve themselves as valuable remnants of the language in its natural form, not as yet curtailed and stiffened by the dictates of literary purism.

ABLAUT I.

Verbal Formations.

1. The singular active of non-thematic (root-) presents originally was accented on the root, which appears in its first strong form. The material in Greek is very meagre: *εἶ-μι*, *εἶ* and Hom. *εἶ-σθα*, *εἶ-σι*: *ἶ-μεν*.—*εἶμι* (*ἔσ-μι*), Dor. *ἔσ-σι*, *ἔσ-τί*: Dor. (*σ*)-*εντί*; further the Hom. infinitive *ἔδ-μεναι*; cf. Lat. *es-t* = Sk. *dt-ti*. For *σεῦ-ται* and *σοῦ-ται* see Curt. Verb. I² 154. An I. E. irregularity is contained in *χει-ται* = Sk. *çá-te* = Zd. *çac-té*, because ablaut I appears in the middle. From class BB there is another example: *φη-μί*, *φή-ς*, *φη-σί*: *φᾶ-μέν*. Sanskrit has this class largely represented: *ἔ-μι*: *i-más*; *ἄς-μι*: *s-más*; *ἠδν-μι*: *ghn-ánti*; *υδ-μι*: *uc-más*, etc. In Gothic a single example has survived: *i(s)-m*: *s-ind*; the only Latin instance which preserves the difference between strong and weak forms is contained in *es-t*: *s-unt*.

2. The entire system, active and middle, of thematic presents, when corresponding to the Hindu I class, is made with abl. I. They are to be found in Curt. Verb. I², 210 and 223. Examples: *ἔχ-ω*, *δέχ-ομαι*, *τεί-ω*, *χε(γ)-ομαι*, *κλέ(F)-ω*, *ἀλεύ-ομαι*, *δέρ-ω*, *πέλ-ομαι*, *μέν-ω*, *ῥιθ-ομαι*, *φείγ-ω*, *τέρσ-ομαι*, *σπένδ-ω*, *μέμφ-ομαι*, etc. Of class BB: *ἔχ-ω*, *ἦδ-ομαι*, etc. The Gothic presents of the I, II, IV and V classes: *lig-a*, *sniv-a*, *laiv-a*, *hlif-a*, *beil-a*, *biug-a*, *vairþ-a*, etc.; Sk. *vid-ati*, *gáy-ati*, *sráv-ati*, *bódh-ati*, *mánth-ati*, etc.; Lat. *reg-o*, *trem-o*, *dic-o* (= *deic-o*), *fid-o* (= *feid-o*), *duc-o*, *ur-o* (= *eus-o*), *clep-o*, *serp-o*, etc.

A considerable number of the iota-class are made (irregularly) *τέσσω*, *σιώ* (*στF-γω*, *χείω* (*χεF-γω*), *πλείω* (*πλεF-γω*), *κλείω*

(*κλεF-γω*), *τείρω*, *φθείρω*, *σπείρω*, *ἀγείρω*, *ἐγείρω*, *δείρω*, *κείρω*, *μείρωμαι*, *πίρω*, *εἶρω* (*σερ-γω*), *τέλλω*, *δέλλω* and *ζέλλω*, *ὀφείλω*, *ὀφέλλω*, *στέλλω*, *κέλλω*, *ὀκέλλω*, *μέλλω*, *σκέλλω*, *τείνω*, *γείνομαι*, *θείνω*, *κτείνω*, *λεύσσω*, *ἔρδω* (= *φερρ-γω*). For presents of the iota-class made with abl. III, as *πταίρω* (= *πτρ-γω*), see p. 321.

4. The future systems, active and middle, are made with ablaut I: *ἔθ-οῦμαι*, *κεί-σομαι*, *πλευ-σοῦμαι*, *δερῶ*, *στελῶ*, *τενῶ*, *νεμῶ*, *λείψω*, *φουζοῦμαι*, *τέρψω*, *βλέψω*, *πέμψω*, etc. In like manner Sk. *dhoḥ-gyati*, *je-gyati*, *dhau-izyati*, etc.

5. The sigmatic (first) aorist system, active and middle, is made with ablaut I: *ἔλεξα*, *ἔδδει-σα*, *ἔῤῥευσ-σα*, *ἔφθειρα*, *ἔσπειλα*, *ἔμεινα*, *ἔλειψα*, *ἔθρεψα*, etc. To these correspond the simple *s-* aorists in Sk. (Whitney §§ 878, 879): *a-cro-g-i*, *a-ne-g-i*, etc. Cf. Curtius' Studien IX 313.

6. The first aorist passive, a special Greek formation, is made with this ablaut with very few exceptions. *It differs in this important respect from the second aorist passive, which is made with ablaut III.* Those who have hitherto attempted the explanation of these two difficult formations have, it seems, overlooked this fact or neglected to bring it to bear upon their investigation. We subjoin all the instances from roots of class AA: *ἡνέχ-θην*, *ἑπέφ-θην*, *ἑπέχ-θην*, *ἑστέφ-θην*, *ἑλέχ-θην*, *ἑπνεύσ-θην*, *ἑπλεύσ-θην*, *ἡγέρ-θην* (*ἀγείρω*), *ἡγέρ-θην* (*ἐγείρω*), *ἑξέρ-θην*, *ἑπέισ-θην*, *ἡλείφ-θην*, *ἡρείχ-θην*, *ἑλείφ-θην*, *ἡμείφ-θην*, *ἑλειχ-θην*, *ἑδείχ-θην*, *ἑψεύσ-θην*, *ἑτεύχ-θην*, *ἑζεύχ-θην*, *ἑγέυσ-θην*, *εὐ-θείς*, *ἑκλέφ-θην*, *ἑθέλχ-θην*, *ἑπλέχ-θην*, *ἑβλέφ-θην*, *ἑφλέχ-θην*, *ἑδέρχ-θην*, *ἑστρέφ-θην*, *ἑτρέφ-θην*, *ἑθρέφ-θην*, *ἑσπέρχ-θην*, *ἑτέρφ-θην*, *ἑβρέχ-θην*, *ἑστέρχ-θην*, *ἑσπείσ-θην* (= *ἑσπενδ-θην*), *ἑμέμφ-θην*, *ἑπέμφ-θην*; of class BB cf. *ἑλήφ-θην* and *ἑδήχ-θην*.

Seeming exceptions are the Doric *ἑστράφ-θην*, *ἑτράφ-θην*, etc. Their vowels are on the same level with, and are to be explained like *τράφ-ω*, *στράφ-ω*, *τράχ-ω*, etc., as a special dialectic peculiarity.

Interesting are the cases in which first and second aorist passive occur from the same root: *ἑξέρ-θην*: *ἑκάρ-ην*; *ἡλείφ-θην*: *ἑξ-ηλίφ-ην*; *ἡρείφ-θην*: *ἡρίπ-ην*; *ἑζεύχ-θην*: *ἑζύγ-ην*; *ἑκλέφ-θην*: *ἑκλάπ-ην*; *ἑπλεχ-θην*: *ἑπλάχ-ην*; *ἑδέρχ-θην*: *ἑδράχ-ην*; *ἑστρέφ-θην*: *ἑστράφ-ην*; *ἑτέρφ-θην*: *ἑτάρπ-ην*; *ἑτρέφ-θην*: *ἑτράπ-ην*; *ἑθρέφ-θην*: *ἑτράφ-ην*; *ἑβρέχ-θην*: *ἑβράχ-ην*; cf. from class AA *ἑτήχ-θην*: *ἑτάχ-ην*. For the remaining second aorists passive see p. 324.

Nominal Formations.

7. Nominal and adjectival bases in *εs* are made with ablaut I: (*F*)*ἔπ-ουs*, *νέφ-ουs*, *ἔχεσ-φιν* ἄρμασιν (Hesych.), *ἔτ-ουs*, *πέχ-ουs*, *λίπ-ουs*,

made with abl. I: εἶ-μα; Aeol. ἔμ-μα (root *Fes*), πέμ-μα, λέμ-μα, ζέσ-μα, στέμ-μα, βδέσ-μα, ὄρεγ-μα, βέγ-μα; δεῖ-μα, χεῖ-μα, πνεῦ-μα, βεῦ-μα, χεῦ-μα, νεῦ-μα, δεῦ-μα; τέρ-μα, φέρ-μα, σπέρ-μα, ἔρ-μα, δέρ-μα, κέρ-μα; κέλ-μα, τέλ-μα, σέλ-μα; ἄλειμ-μα, ἔρειγ-μα, ἔρεισ-μα, λειμ-μα, δεῖγ-μα, φεύσ-μα, τεῦγ-μα, κεῦθ-μα, ζεῦγ-μα, γεῦ-μα; βλέμ-μα, κλέμ-μα, θέλγ-μα, κλέγ-μα, φλέγ-μα, ἔργ-μα, δέργ-μα, στρέμ-μα, θρέμ-μα, πείσ-μα (= πενθ-μα). As an example of an exception χύ-μα is late; χεῦ-μα Homeric.

Sk.: *kdr-man*, *bhadr-man*, *lók-man*, *vdrt-man*, etc. Lat. *ger-men*, *seg-men*, *ter-men*, *lū-men* (= *leuc-men*), etc.

Nouns in *μων*: χει-μών, λει-μών, πλεύ-μων, πνεύ-μων, τέρ-μων; *τερ-ά-μων* and *τελ-α-μών*; derivatives: φλεγ-μον-ή, βέλ-ε-μον-ον, στελ-μων-ία; in comp. ἀν-εἰ-μων, 'unclad': εἶ-μα.—Sk. *he-mán*, *varṣ-mán*, *dhar-mán*, etc.

Lat. *ter-mo*, *sen-mo*.—Goth. *hliu-ma*, gen. *hliu-min-s* (= *cro-man* in *cro-ma-la*); *hiuh-ma*, *milh-ma*, *skei-ma*.

11. The comparatives and superlatives in *ων* and *ισ-τος* are formations accented on the root-syllable, and are regularly made with ablaut I: κερδ-ίων, κέρδ-ιστος; μείζων, μέγ-ιστος, μεί-(γ)ων; κρείσων (κρέτ-γων), Doric-Ionic κρέσων; the superlatives κράτ-ιστος and κάρτ-ιστος (abl. III) have been attracted to the vocalic condition of the positive κρατ-ύς. The old Attic comparative of ὀλίγος is ὀλείζων (ὀλειγ-γων) Curt. Stud. VIII 254; θάσων and ἐλάσων are new comparatives to ταχ-ύς and ἐλαχ-ύς,¹ after the nasal character of their root-vowel had been forgotten (cf. p. 296); they are to their positives what μήκ-ιστος is to μακ-ρός.

Sk. *kṣip-īyas*, *kṣip-ishtha*: *kṣip-rd*; *rdj-īyas*, *rdj-ishtha*: *rj-ú*; *báñh-īṣṭha*: *bah-ú* (*bñh-ú*); *ḍj-īyas*, *ḍj-ishtha*: *ug-rd*; *ṣóc-īṣṭha*: *ṣuk-rd*, etc.

12. Formations in *ανο*, *ανη*, *ονη* (*ωνη*), seem to be pretty equally divided between abl. I and II. With abl. I: ἐδ-ανός, σφεδ-ανός, σκεπ-ανός, στεγ-ανός; σκέπ-ανον, δρέπ-ανον, λείψ-ανον; ἔρχ-άνη, σφενδ-όνη, περ-όνη, βελ-όνη, ἀμπ-εχ-όνη; cf. τέμ-ενος.

With abl. II: ζό(F)-ανον, ὄργ-ανον, πόπ-ανον, ὕχ-ανον, χό(F)-ανος; χόδ-ανος, ὄρφ-ανός, ῥόδ-ανός, οὐρ-ανός (= *Fur-ανός*), ὄρχ-άνη (ὄρχ-άνη), τυρ-ύνη; δόρχ-ανα (Hesych.).

¹Historically correct comparatives would be θέγγ-ων and ἐλέγγ-ων, as is shown by Zend *tá sh-yāo* and *tañc-ista-*; and *reñj-yō* and *reñj-ista-*, cf. Sk. *rāñh-as* fr. abl. I. So the perfect εἰ-ληχ-α occurs in addition to the historically correct *λέ-λογχ-α* constructed upon the syllable *λαχ* in *ε-λαχ-ον* in imitation of εἰ-ληφ-α: *ε-λαβ-ον*; *λέ-ληθ-α*: *ε-λαθ-ον* (verbs of class BB); for the fact that the root-vowel of *ε-λαβ-ον* is of different origin from that of *ε-λαχ-ον* has been lost to the consciousness of the language.

Sk. *cdrt-ana* would indicate by its palatal initial that this kind of formation there contains abl. I; cf. Kuhn's *Zeitschrift* XXV 72.

ABLAUT II.

Verbal Formations.

1. The Greek as well as the I. E. perfect is a non-thematic or root-formation. Like the non-thematic present, it originally exhibited the difference of accent and root-form between the singular active on the one hand and the dual-plural active and entire middle on the other. The singular active having the accent on the root contained and still regularly contains strong forms; in case of class AA, ablaut II: *ἔ-οικ-α*, *μέ-μον-α*: *ἔ-ιχ-τον*, *μέ-μα-τον*; of class BB: *λέ-ληθ-α*, *πέ-φῆν-α*: *λέ-λᾶσ-ται*, *πέ-φῶν-ται*. The perfects with *ο* are given in Curt. Verb. II 185 and 188. Examples: *τέ-τοκ-α*, *δέ-δοι-κα*, *ἔ-φθορ-α*, *ἔ-Φυλ-α*, *κέ-κον-α*, *δέ-δρου-α*, *πέ-ποιθ-α*, *ἐλ-ήλουθ-α*; *δέ-δορκ-α*, *κέ-κλοφ-α*, *πέ-πονθ-α*, *λέ-λογχ-α*, *πέ-πομφ-α*.¹

Sk. *ci-kāy-a*, *ji-gāy-a*, *ci-kēla*, *ja-ghdn-tha*, etc., show by their gutturals that the root-vowel is not identical with that of the presents: *jdy-ati*, *cēt-ati*, *hdn-ti*, etc. In the presents the palatals bear witness to the palatal quality of the root-vowel (*a^o*: *ha'n-ti*), while the perfects show the original gutturals intact, because their vowels are in fact identical with the *ο* of Greek perfects.

Goth. has *a*: *gab*, *bar*, *stal*, *man*, *bait*, *baug*, *varp*, *band*, etc. Lat. *o* in the old perfects: *mo-mord-i*, *spe-pond-i* and *te-tond-i*.

2. Derived verbs in *aya*, Gr. *ε(γ)ω*, take abl. II, *ὄχ-έω*, *ἐκ-ποτ-έομαι*, *φουβ-έω*, *φουρ-έω*, *ροφ-έω*, *πον-έω*, *στοιχ-έω*, *πορθ-έω*, *στρυφ-έω*, *τροπ-έω*, *τροφ-έω*, *στοργ-έω*, *τρομ-έω*, *στρουβ-έω*, *ρομβ-έω*, *ὄρχ-έομαι*; the same formations are contained in *με-μύρ-ηται*, *βε-βόλ-ημαι*, *ἀπ-ε-κτόν-ηκα*,

¹ Many are the intrusions which have been made upon this rule of root-vowels for the singular active. So the vowel-group *ευ*, as is well known, has with the exception of the single *ἐλ-ήλουθ-α*, supplanted the group *ου*: *τέ-τευχ-α*, *πέ-φειγ-α*, *κέ-κειθ-α*, *πέ-πειν-κα*. Not infrequently the weak forms of the perfect have intruded upon the singular, as vice versa the strong forms have usually usurped the territory of the weak in the active dual and plur. (see p. 324): *δέ-δι-α* with *δέ-δοι-κα*; *ἔ-φθαρ-κα* with *ἔ-φθορ-α*: *ἔ-σπαρ-κα*, *κέ-καρ-κα*, *ἔ-σταλ-κα*, *τέ-τα-κα*, *ἀλ-ήλιφ-α*, *ἔρ-ήριπ-α*; the frequency of *κ*-perfects among these attests the fact that these are later formations, made after the accentual law, the cause of the difference between weak and strong forms, had become extinct. A few perfects are made upon the theme of the present: *κέ-χανθ-α*: *χανθάνω*; (*ἔ-πταρ-α*: *πταίρω*).—*εἰ-ληχ-α* by the side of *λέ-λογχ-α* is made like *εἰ-ληφ-α*, *λέ-ληθ-α*, etc.: *λα-γ-χ-άνω*, *ἔ-λαχ-ον* (root-syllable *λγχ*), apparently equal to *λα-μ-β-άνω*, *ἔ-λαβ-ον* (root-syllable *λᾶβ*) show the reason.

σπορ-ητός, δομ-ήτωρ, etc.; an exception: στιβ-έω made directly upon στιβ-ος.

Goth. *ga-vag-ja*, *vahs-ja*, *nas-jands*, *lag-ja*: *lig-a*; *sat-ja*: *sit-a*; *dragk-ja*: *drigk-ja*; *kaus-ja*: *kiaus-a*; *rak-ja*, *pan-ja*, *þrag-ja*, etc.

Lat. *mon-eo*, *noc-eo*, *tond-eo*, *tong-eo*, *spond-eo*, etc.

Nominal Formations.

3. A special Greek formation made in close junction with the preceding are the themes in εύς: τοκέύς, χυ(Ἔ)-εύς, τορ-εύς, φορ-εύς, φθορ-εύς, σπαρ-εύς, γυν-εύς, φων-εύς, δρομ-εύς, τομ-εύς, νομ-εύς, πορθ-εύς, στροφ-εύς, τροφ-εύς, ἀμοργ-εύς, ἀμολγ-εύς, πλοκ-εύς, κλοπ-εύς, βρομφ-εύς, πομπ-εύς, etc. στιβ-εύς occurs like στιβ-έω.

4. Themes in α (Greek ο, masc. and neut.; η feminine) are formed with abl. II. The accent in historical times is generally found on the suffix in the case of *feminines*; on the suffix also in the case of *masculines* when they have the function of *adjectives* or *nomina agentis*; but on the root in the case of *masculines* when they are *abstracts* or *names of objects*. Accordingly there are:

(α) Feminines: ἐν-(Ἔ)οπ-ή, σκοπ-ή, βυ(Ἔ)-ή, πνο(Ἔ)-ή, βολ-ή, στολ-ή, φων-ή, τομ-ή, στοιβ-ή, σπουδ-ή, κλοπ-ή, πομπ-ή, etc.

(β) Adjectives and Nomina Agentis: δαγ-ύς, σκοπ-ός, λοιπ-ύς, σμοι-ός, θο(Ἔ)-ός, βορ-ός, τομ-ύς, ἀοιδ-ός, ἀμοιβ-ός, τροφ-ός, κλοπ-ός, ὄλι-ός, κομπ-ός, φορ-ός (cf. φόρ-ος), τροχ-ός (cf. τρόχ-ος), etc.

(γ) Abstracts and Names of Objects: τόκ-ος, φόβ-ος, λόγ-ος, χύ(Ἔ)-ύς, σό(Ἔ)-ος, νόμ-ος, φόν-ος, δρόμ-ος, βόλ-ος, στόλ-ος, πτόρ-ος, φύρ-ος, πτωίχ-ος, τρόχ-ος, δνόφ-ος, μόμφ-ος, βόγγ-ος, etc., etc.

Exceptionally forms with abl. I: φειδ-ός, λευκ-ός, Δελφ-οί, ἔργ-ων; with abl. III: φυγ-ή, ζυγ-όν, στίχ-ος, etc.

Sanskrit proves abl. II in *gar-as* = βορ-ά; -*gar-as* = βορ-ός = Lat. *-vor-us* (in *carni-vor-us*); *ghan-d-s* (cf. φόν-ο-ς); *gdy-a-s*; *abhi-gar-d-s* from the fact that the initial guttural appears unpalatalized; other instances: *ark-d-s*, *athk-d-s*, *rok-d-s*, *pari-varg-d-s*, etc.

Goth. *snaiw-(a)-s*, *saggv-(a)-s*, *saggq-(a)s*; *dragk-(a)*; *ga-prask-(a)*; fem. *laib-a*, *vrak-a*, *staiǵ-a*. Lat. *dol-u-s*, *mod-u-s*; *tog-a*.

5. Themes in ι are made with ablaut II: τρόχ-ις, τρόφ-ις, τρόπ-ις, Ξό(Ἔ)-ις, χρόμ-ις, μόμφ-ις, δρόπ-ις· τρυγητός (Hesych.), φρόν-ις, Μόλπ-ις. Those in ιδ are pretty evenly divided between abl. I and II and generally have the tone on the suffix: ἔλπ-ις, σκελ-ις and σχελ-ις, σελ-ις, λεπ-ις, κερκ-ις, Σπεχ-ις; ζο(Ἔ)-ις, βυλ-ις, λοιπ-ις, φλογ-ις, βροχ-ις. Goth. *mat-(i)s*, *balg-(i)s*.

6. A special Greek formation (probably secondary) with abl. II

are the nouns in *ád*: *λογ-άς, σκορ-άς, στολ-άς, λοικ-άς, όλκ-άς, πλοκ-άς, λοκ-άς, δρομ-άς, όργ-άς, δορκ-άς, φορβ-άς, νομ-άς, όρχ-άς, τροχ-άς, φοιτ-άς, Στοιχ-άδες, Στροφ-άδες*; exceptions with abl. III: *φυγ-άς, νιφ-άς, μιγ-άς*.

7. Themes in *ma* (*μος, μη, μων; ιμος, αμος*) are regularly formed with abl. II; the accent wavers between root and suffix, except in the case of those in *ιμος*: *γόν-ιμος, λόπ-ιμος, μόρσ-ιμος, τρόφ-ιμος, κλόκ-ιμος, σπόρ-ιμος, φθόρ-ιμος*. Those without intervening vowel are (a) With the accent on the root: *πότ-μος, οἶ-μος, τόρ-μος, όρ-μος, ζλ-μος, όρχ-μος; λόχ-μη, οἶ-μη, τέλ-μη*. (b) With the accent on the suffix: *ρύγ-μός, άλοι-μός, λοι-μός, συν-εσχ-μός, χορ-μός, φορ-μός, στολ-μός, βροχ-μός, βωχ-μός, κλοχ-μός, φλογ-μός; δοχ-μή, ύρ-μή*; also a base *χοι-μα-* in *χοι-μά-ω*. In *αμος*: *κλόκ-αμος, όρχ-αμος; οάλ-αμός (= Φολ-), ποτ-αμός*. Exceptions: *θερ-μός* has assimilated itself to the vocalic condition of the rest of its group (*θέρ-ος*, etc.), as is shown by Lat. *form-us*, Sk. *ghar-más*, Goth. *varm-jan*; cf. p. 305. Further abl. I in *τέρ-μος, δει-μός, άγερ-μός, κευθ-μός, κρεγ-μός*; abl. III in *τι-μή* and *λιχ-μά-ω*. Sk. *ghar-más* shows ablaut II in its unpalatalized initial guttural; in addition: *ι-μα, ή-μα, dhár-ma = Lat. for-ma*. Goth. *hai-ma-* (in the plur. *hai-mos*); Germ. *strau-ma, flau-ma*, etc. Lat. *for-ma* (Sk. root *dhar*); *for-mus* (Sk. root *ghar*).

8. Themes in *ta* (*τω, τη*) which are not verbal adjectives are regularly accented on the root-syllable and take abl. II, *οἷ-τος, κοῖ-τος, κόν(τ)-τος, νόσ-τος, φόρ-τος, χόρ-τος*. With accent on the suffix: *άορ-τή, βρον-τή, μυρ-τή*. Sk. *pra-ke-tás*, Zend *duraē-kaē-ta-* indicate by their undisturbed initial guttural the presence of abl. II. Goth. *dau-þa: div-ana-*. Lat. *hor-tus = χόρ-τος*.

ABLAUT III.

As has been seen above, p. 311 ff, this root-form is the one which appears when the accent of a word rests on some formative element, not on the root itself. The special Greek law of accentuation has, however, engrafted itself upon the old I. E. accentual system, leaving but a few fossilized remnants, which have resisted the new law (infinitives of second aorist, verbal adjectives in *τός*, etc.). The criteria by which the material of this ablaut can be gathered are, however, not wanting; often, as in the *ι* and *υ* roots, the forms themselves betoken their ablaut position (*ἔ-πιθ-ων: πειθ-ω; ἔ-φυγ-ων: φειγ-ω*) in spite of the disturbed condition of the original accent; when this fails, the related languages, especially the Vedic and Gothic, furnish the necessary data.

Verbal Formations.

1. The dual and plural active and the middle of non-thematic presents were originally accented on the personal suffixes, leaving the root-syllable without accent, which therefore appears in its weakest form, abl. III. ἴ-τον, ἴ-μεν : εἶμι; Doric (σ)-έντι : ἐσ-τί; the vowel is inorganically restored in ἐσ-μέν, ἐσ-τόν, etc., as is shown by Sk. *s-mds*, Lat. *s-umus*, etc. Of Class BB: φα-μέν, φα-τόν : φη-μί; ἔ-φα-μεν, ἔ-φα-τόν : ἔ-φη-σθα. Sk. *s-mds* : *ds-mi*; *i-mds* : *l-mi*; *ha-thds* : *hán-mi*. Goth. *s-ind* : *i(s)-m*; Lat. *s-unt* : *es-t*. With the same ablaut are formed the optative and participle of non-thematic presents: ἰ-οίην, ἰ-όντος : εἶ-μι; (σ)-όντος and (σ)-έτ-εός = Sk. *sat-yd-s*; cf. φα-ίην, φά-μενος : φη-μί and Sk. *i-yám*, *y-dn(t)* : *l-mi*; *duh-yám*, *duh-dn(t)* : *dóh-mi*, etc.

2. For weak forms of reduplicated, non-thematic presents see above p. 297.

3. Reduplicated, thematic presents are formed with ablaut III: γί-γν-ο-μαι, μί-μν-ω, ἴ-σχ-ω, πί-πτ-ω and τίττω for τί-ττ-ω. Vedic formations of the same kind: *ji-ghn-a-te* : *hán-mi*; *pí-bd-a-māna-s* : *pa-pád-a*; *ji-ghy-a-ti* : *háy-antā*. Lat. *gi-gn-o*.

4. Presents, whose formative element is the inchoative suffix *σχ*, added immediately to the root are formed with abl. III: βά-σχω (βγ-σχω) = Sk. *gd-chāmi*; πάσχω (= πγθ-σχω) : πέθ-οις; μίσγω (μίγ-σχω) : Μειξίας; ἴσχω (Fιx-σχω) : ἔ-Fοιx-a. Cf. of class BB: φά-σχω : φη-μί; λάσχω (λαx-σχω) : λέ-λᾶx-a; χάσχω (χαn-σχω) : χέ-χην-a. Sk. *ṛ-chāmi*, *yú-chāmi*, *ichāmi* (*ish-chāmi*), *yd-chāmi* (*ym-chāmi*), *gd-chāmi*, *ichāmi* (*uç-chāmi*), *ṛchāmi* = Lat. *po(r)sco*.

5. Only a small number of presents of the *iota* class (IV class) are formed with ablaut III, though this is the historically correct formation; for those with abl. I see p. 314: πταιρω (πτρ-γω) : Εὐ-πτέρ-ης; σπαίρω and ἀσπαίρω; βάλλω (βλ-γω) : βέλ-οις; δαίρω : δέρ-μα; μαινομαι (μγ-γομαι) : μέν-οις; ζαίνω : χέ-κον-a; βαινω : Goth. *gim-a* (abl. I). Roots of class BB: φαίνω (φᾶν-γω) : πέ-φην-a; πάλλω (πᾶλ-γω) : ἔ-πηλ-a. With reduplication: τι-ταίνω (τι-τγ-γω). The Sk. *ya*-class is formed with the same ablaut: *yúdh-yante*, *hr̥ṣ-yati*, *tṛṣ-yati*, etc. Lat. *horreo* and *torreo* (for *hors-eo* and *tors-eo*) are probably of the same formation, equal respectively to Sk. *hr̥ṣ-yati* and *tṛṣ-yati*.

6. The Sk. *fifth* and *eighth* classes (according to Hindu grammar) are made from abl. III. This fact also explains the identity of the two classes: *tanómi* is to be explained as *ta-nó-mi* for *tṇ-nó-mi* and is formed precisely as *dhr̥ṣ-nó-mi*. Cf. p. 297; Kuhn's *Zeitsch.*

forms with ablaut III: ἐ-χύ-μην, ἐ-σσύ-μην, κλύ-θι and κλύ-μενος; ἀπο-υρά-ς and ἀπο-υρά-μενος: ἀπό-(F)εῖρ-σε; ἔ-χτα-το: κτόν-ος; ἀπ-έ-φα-το· ἀπέθανεν (Hesych.): φόν-ος.

For traces of formations containing ablaut I and supplementing these, we must look to a set of peculiar aorists, which have been until a very late day the crux of grammarians: ἔ-χεν-α and ἔ-χε(F)-α, ἔ-σσει-α, ἤλευ-άμην and ἤλε(F)-άμην. Brugman, Bezz. Beiträge II 245 ff has ingeniously proved that these are not sigmatic aorists which have dropped their σ, but they are strong forms of root-aorists, whose corresponding weak forms live in ἐ-χύ-μην and ἐ-σσύ-μην. An old conjugation was ἔ-χεν-α (for ἔ-χεύ-μ), ἔ-χεν-ς, ἔ-χεν-τ: ἔ-χυν-μεν, etc., precisely as the imperfect of a μ-verb: ἐ-τί-θη-ν, etc.: ἐ-τί-θε-μεν, etc., or the Sk. root aorist *d-ḥrau-am*, *d-ḥro-s*, etc.: *d-ḥru-ma*. But the strong forms attracted the weak forms of the active to their vowel condition in accordance with that same tendency towards uniformity which has disturbed the original difference between the singular and the dual-plural of the perfect active. ἔ-χεν-α, ἔ-σσει-α, etc., are therefore conjugated independently through the active like sibilant aorists, and even middle forms (ἤλευ-άμην) occur; but ἐ-χύ-μην and ἐ-σσύ-μην have preserved the historically correct root-forms belonging to all the persons, except the singular active.

9. The common second aorist is a formation which corresponds to an imperfect of a thematic present, which has the accent on the thematic vowel, therefore ablaut III (see Whitney, Gram. 846). The true accentuation, which is the cause of the weak root-form, appears in the infinitives and participles: πιθ-εῖν; πιθ-έσθαι, πιθ-ών, πιθ-όμενος. From roots of type A: ἔ-σχ-ον, ἐ-πτ-ύ-μην, ἔ-σπ-ον: ἔπ-ω, ἔ-σπ-ον: Lat. *in-sec-e*; ἤνεγχ-ον. Irregularly with abl. I: ἔ-τεχ-ον. From roots of type B: ἄμ-πνυ-ε, ἔ-κλυ-ον, ἔ-πταρ-ον, ἠγῆρ-ύμην: ἐγείρω; ἀγρ-όμενος: ἀγείρω, ὤφλ-ον, ἔ-χαν-ον, ἔ-κταν-ον, ἔ-τάμ-ον, ἔ-δραμ-ον. Irregularly with abl. I: ἀγερ-έσθαι: ἀγρ-όμενος (both Homeric); ὠφελ-ον: ὠφλ-ον; ἔ-τεμ-ον (late): ἔ-ταμ-ον. From roots of type C: ἔ-πιθ-ον, ἤρικ-ον, ἤριπ-ον, ἔ-φλιδ-ον (Hesych.), ἐἶδ-ον, ἰχ-ύμην, ἔ-λιπ-ον, ἤλιτ-ον, ἔ-στιχ-ον, ἔ-θηγ-ον, ἔ-δικ-ον, ἔ-ψυθ-εν· ἐψύσατο (Hesych.), ἔ-τυχ-ον, ἔ-φυγ-ον, ἤλυθ-ον, ἔ-χυθ-ον, ἐπυθ-ύμην, ἤρυγ-ον, ἔ-πραθ-ον, ἔ-παρθ-ον and ἔ-πραθ-ον, ἔ-δραχ-ον, ἔ-τραπ-ον, ταρπ-όμεθα and τραπ-ίομεν, ἔ-βραχ-ον, ἤμαρτ-ον and ἤμβροτ-ον, ἔ-δαρθ-ον and ἔ-δραθ-ον, ἔ-δραπ-ον, ἔ-παθ-ον, ἔ-δαχ-ον, ἔ-χαθ-ον, ἔρ-ραφ-ον, ἔ-λαχ-ον. From roots of class BB: ἔ-λαθ-ον, ἔ-λαβ-ον, δι-έ-τμαγ-ον, ἔ-λαχ-ον, etc. Sk. *d-vid-am*, *d-ruh-am*, *d-ṽṛdh-am*, *d-dṛḥ-am* = ἔ-δραχ-ον; *d-radh-at*: *d-randh-ayāt*.

10. The reduplicated thematic aorist is formed with ablaut III: *ἔειπον* (= *έ-Fe-Fπ-ov*) = Sk. *dvocam* (= *a-va-vc-am*); *έ-σπ-ό-μην* = Sk. (*d*)-*sa-rc-a-t*; *έ-κε-κλ-ό-μην*, *έ-πε-φν-ον*, *έ-τε-τμ-ον*, *πε-πιθ-ό-μην*, *πε-φιδ-ό-μην* (from it *πε-φιδ-ήσομαι*); *τε-τυκ-ό-μην*, *πε-πυθ-ό-μην*, *τε-ταρπ-ό-μην*; from class BB: *λε-λάθ-ό-μην*: *λήθ-ω*. Sk. *d-voc-am*, *d-νίς-am* (= *d-va-vc-am* and *d-na-nc-am*; cf. Kuhn's *Zeitsch.* XXV 61), *d-pa-pt-am*, *d-ti-tviq-am*, *d-da-dhṛṣ-am*, etc.

A non-thematic, reduplicated aorist is *κέ-κλυ-θι*, *κέ-κλυ-τε* with abl. III; cf. Sk. *d-va-ṛt-ran* and *d-sa-ṣṭg-ran*. If fuller material of this kind of formation existed, it would probably exhibit the usual strong forms (abl. I) in the sing. active; cf. Vedic *di-dhar-(s)*, second pers. sing., *a-ji-gar-(t)*, third pers. sing.

11. The second aorist passive system is formed with ablaut III, differing markedly in this respect from the first passive system, which is formed with abl. I; cf. p. 315: *έ-ῥό-ην*, *έ-σού-ην*, *έ-πάρ-ην*, *έ-φθάρ-ην*, *έ-σπάρ-ην*, *έ-δάρ-ην*, *έ-χάρ-ην*, *έ-πάρ-ην*, *έ-(F)άλ-ην*, *έ-σάλ-ην*, *έ-κάν-ην*, *έξ-ηλίφ-ην*, *ήρίπ-ην*, *έ-μίγ-ην*, *έ-λίπ-ην*, *έ-ζύγ-ην*, *έ-κλάπ-ην*, *έ-πλάκ-ην*, *έ-λάπ-ην*, *παρθ-ήσομαι*, *έ-δράκ-ην*, *έ-στράφ-ην*, *έ-τράπ-ην*, *έ-τράφ-ην*, *έ-τάρπ-ην*, *έ-βράχ-ην*, *έ-ῥβράφ-ην*. Exceptions with abl. I: *έ-φλέγ-ην*, *έ-πλέκ-ην*, variant for *έ-πλάκ-ην*; *έ-τερο-ην*. From roots of class BB: *έ-τάκ-ην*: *τέ-τηκ-α*; *έ-σάπ-ην*: *σέ-σηπ-α*; *έ-σφάλ-ην*: *ῥ-σφηλ-α*; *έ-φάν-ην*: *πέ-φην-α*, etc.

12. The domain of ablaut III in the perfect, it has been seen, regularly is: The dual and plural active and the entire middle of the indicative; the optative, active and middle, and the participles; cf. p. 318. So in the Rig Veda: Indic: *va-ṛt-ús*, *va-ṛt-é*; Optat: *va-ṛt-y-úma*, *va-ṛt-i-mdhi*; Participles: *va-ṛt-udt* and *va-ṛt-dh-ānd-s* (all abl. III) against *va-ṛdt-a* (abl. II).

In Greek this relation has been disturbed by the inroads of the strong forms of the singular active (abl. II), so that, as a rule, the perfect system follows their norm through all forms of the active, showing ablaut II. However, the traces of the old regime of ablaut III in the active are not wanting, especially in the older language. Of the indicative and participle active from roots of class AA there are to be found: *έ-ἴκ-τον*, *έ-ἴκ-την*: *έ-οικ-α*; cf. middle: *έ-ἴκ-το* and *ἦ-ἴκ-το*;—*έ-πέ-πιθ-μεν*: *πέ-ποιθ-α*;—*ἴσ-τον*, *ἴδ-μεν*, *ιδ-οῖα*: *οἴδ-α*;—*δεί-δι-μεν* and *δέ-δι-μεν*, *έ-δε-δί-την*, *δε-δι-ώς*: *δεί-δοι-κα* and *δέ-δοι-κα*; *έλ-ηλύθ-αμεν*: *εἰλ-ήλουθ-α*;—*έκ-γέ-γα-τον*, *γέ-γα-μεν*, *γε-γα-ώς*: *γέ-γον-α*;—*μέ-μα-τον*, *μέ-μα-μεν*, *με-μα-ώς*: *μέ-μον-α*;—*πέ-πασ-θε*, *πε-πασθ-οῖα*: *πέ-πονθ-α*. From roots of class BB: *τέ-τλά-μεν*, *τε-τλά-ί-ην*: *τέ-τλη-κα*;—*κέ-κράχ-θι*: *κέ-κράχ-α*;—*ξ-στα-τον*, *ξ-στα-μεν*: *ξ-στη-κα*;—

δε-δῦ-οῖα (Nonnius VI 305): *δέ-δη-ε* (Iliad);—*με-μᾶκ-οῖα*: *με-μηκ-ώς*; *τε-θᾶλ-οῖα*: *τέ-θηλ-α*;—*λέ-λᾶκ-οῖα*: *λέ-ληκ-α*;—*σε-σᾶρ-οῖα*: *σε-σηρ-ώς*;—*ᾶρ-ᾶρ-οῖα*: *ᾶρ-ηρ-ώς*. Apparently of all forms of the active the feminine participle has resisted longest the attacks of assimilation.

In the perfect middle system ablaut III has generally survived: *εἶμαι* (*Fe-Fσ-μαι*): *ἔσ-σα*; *κέ-κλι-μαι*, *ἔ-σσυ-μαι*; *κέ-χυ-μαι*, *εἵμαρ-ται* and *ἔμβρα-ται* (Hesych.); *ἔ-φθαρ-μαι*; *ἔ-σπαρ-μαι*, *δέ-δαρ-μαι*, *κέ-χαρ-μαι*, *πέ-παρ-μαι*, *τέ-ταλ-μαι*, *ἔ-σταλ-μαι*, *τέ-τα-μαι*, *πέ-φα-ται*, *ἀλ-ήλιμ-μαι*, *ἔρ-ήριγ-μαι*, *ἔρ-ήριμ-μαι*, *μέ-μιγ-μαι*, *τέ-τυγ-μαι*, *πέ-φυγ-μαι*, *πέ-πυσ-μαι*, *ἔ-στραμ-μαι*, *τέ-τραμ-μαι*, *τέ-θραμ-μαι*. In roots of type A, ablaut III, as usual, necessarily coincides with ablaut I: *ἔ-ζεσ-μαι*, *ἔ-στεμ-μαι*, *ἐν-ήνεγ-μαι*, *εἴ-λεγ-μαι*, *λέ-λεγ-μαι*; such forms as these have given rise to others made with the same vowel, where ablaut III would be historically correct and possible: *πέ-πλεγ-μαι* (cf. *ἐ-πλάπ-ην*), *κέ-κλεμ-μαι* (cf. *ἐ-κλάπ-ην*), *βέ-βρεγ-μαι*, *πέ-φλεγ-μαι*, *ἔ-στεγ-μαι* for *κέ-κλαμ-μαι*, etc.; then also forms *ἔ-ζευγ-μαι*, *δέ-δειγ-μαι*, *λέ-λειμ-μαι*, etc. From roots of class BB: *λέ-λᾶσ-μαι*: *λέ-ληθ-α*; *πέ-πο-ται*: *πέ-πω-κα*; *πέ-φαν-ται*: *πέ-φην-α*.

The Gothic as the Sanskrit has preserved the relation between strong and weak forms in verbs of class AA almost without a flaw: *gīb-un* (= *gē-gb-un*): *gab*; *bēr-um* (= *bē-br-un*): *bar*; here also the only relic of the participial formation: *bēr-usjos*; *skul-un*: *skal*; *mun-un*: *man* (*μέ-μα-μεν*: *μέ-μυν-α*); *stig-un*: *staiḡ*; *hluf-un*: *hlaḡ*; *bund-un*: *band*, etc. In other Teutonic dialects traces of this difference have impressed themselves upon certain consonants also (Verner's law): see above p. 312 ff.

Nominal Formations.

13. Verbal adjectives in *-τός* and *-τέος* = Sk. pass. participles in *-tas* = Goth. pass. participles in *-p(a)s* and *d(a)s* accent the suffix and accordingly appear with ablaut III. In Greek this condition appears in the following cases: *ἄ-τι-τος*, *ρυ-τός*, *πλυ-τός*, *κλυ-τός*, *μορ-τός* and *βρο-τός*, *φθαρ-τός*, *σπαρ-τός*, *δρα-τός* and *δαρ-τός*, *καρ-τός*, *σταλ-τός*, *βυ-τός*, *τα-τός*, *αὐτό-μα-τος*, *φα-τός*, *ἔρα-τός*, *πισ-τός*, *ἔριχ-τός*, *ἄ-ἰσ-τος*, *στιπ-τός*, *ἄ-θιχ-τος*, *τυχ-τός*, *φυκ-τός*, *ἀνά-πυσ-τος*, *βαπ-τός*. Roots of type A as usual cannot differentiate ablaut III from I: *ἐχ-τός*, *λεπ-τός*, *πεχ-τός*, *πεπ-τός*, *ζεσ-τός*, *λεχ-τός*, etc.; they perhaps were the starting point of illegitimate formations containing ablaut I where III was possible, e. g. *ἐγερ-τέον*, *φερ-τός*, *ἄ-δερχ-τος*, *ἄ-φλεχ-τος*, *στρεπ-τός*, *μεμπ-τός* and even *ἔρειχ-τός*, *δειχ-τέον*, *πυσ-τός*, *ζευκ-τός*, etc. These false formations in the course of the

development of the language away from its original laws and materials have become on the whole the more common method for verbals. From roots of class BB: θε-τός, δο-τός, ἄ-λασ-τος, but also (and this method has become the preponderant one) τᾶκ-τός, λᾶπ-τός, πᾶκ-τός, etc. For the Sanskrit and Gothic participles see p. 296.

14. The abstract nouns in *tí* (σι) originally had the tone on the suffix, therefore ablaut III: τί-σις, ῥύ-σις, χύ-σις, δᾶρ-σις, κάρ-σις, στάλ-σις, τᾶ-σις (κτᾶ-σις in ἀνδρο-κτα-σί-η, πίσ-τις, τύξις, φύξις, πύσ-τις, ῥύψις, ἀγαρρίς· ἄθροισις (Hesych.) - From roots of type A necessarily: πέψις, ξέ-σις, λέξις, ὄρεξις. Thence the ε has spread over by far the largest part of these nouns: δέρ-ρις (with δάρ-σις), βεῦ-σις (with ῥύ-σις), φεῦξις (with φύξις), πεῦσις (with πύσ-τις), κλέ-ξις, θρέψις, μέμψις, etc. From roots of class BB: φᾶ-τις, στά-σις, δό-σις, θέ-σις, etc. For examples of this formation in the kindred languages see p. 296; of class BB cf. Lat. *stā-ti-o(n)*, *rā-ti-o(n)*, *af-fā-tim*.

15. A number of adjectives in *ra* (ρου) have the accent on the suffix and abl. III: ἐρυθ-ρός = Sk. *rud-irds* = Lat. *ruber*; ψυδ-ρός, λιβ-ρός, λυγ-ρός, στιφ-ρός, ἐλαφ-ρός, γλυκ-ερός, στυγ-ερός; from roots of class BB: μᾶκ-ρός: μῆκ-ιστός; σᾶπ-ρός; τᾶκ-ερός; πᾶγ-ερός, etc.; Sk. *rudh-irds*, *rud-rds*, *ruk-rds*, *cubh-rds*, *grdh-rds*, etc.; Goth. *dig-ra* in *dig-rei(n)*. Exceptionally with abl. II: σφοδ-ρός, φοβ-ερός, πλοκ-ερός, τρομ-ερός, the last three probably denominative formations.

16. Oxytone adjectives in *u* (υ) occur only from roots which contain linguals and nasals. They have therefore been collected and treated on p. 296. Add γλοκ-ύς: γλεῦκ-ος.

MAURICE BLOOMFIELD.

IV.—LOGICAL CONSISTENCY IN VIEWS OF LANGUAGE.

Considering how long the scientific study of language has now been pursued, and how much research and thought has been expended upon it, there exists among those engaged in its pursuit a discordance of opinion which is surprising, and by no means creditable. This discordance is found even among highly considered authorities. And it concerns not only matters of fact, such as the relationship of particular languages, the genesis of certain forms or systems of forms, the chronology of linguistic development, respecting which the collection of further evidence and the more careful sifting of that already obtained will bring ever clearer light, while upon many points certainty will doubtless never be reached; it concerns also theoretical questions of the most fundamental importance, like the relation of language to thought, to the individual, to the race, the ground of phonetic change, the character of the science of language, as to which we have abundant evidences, all that we shall ever have, and need only to understand and combine them rightly in order to arrive at competent and well-established views. The difficulty lies, it is believed, to no small extent, in carelessness of logical consistency respecting the general doctrines of linguistic science on the part of those who are engaged in the laborious investigation of special departments of the science: it will be at least mainly removed when scholars can be led to take up the subject at the right end, and to see that from certain obvious facts respecting language, which when clearly stated must command universal assent, there follow by a logical necessity certain truths which are equally undeniable, and which constitute a solid basis for rearing further conclusions upon. The following paper is an attempt to present the subject in this shape; and although it may contain little or nothing which has not been in some form already said, either by the writer himself or by others, its timeliness will be questioned by no one who realizes the present semi-chaotic condition of linguistic science, as briefly indicated above.

No fact in regard to language is more palpable, and at the same time more fundamental, than its diversity. The varieties of human

speech are without number, and their differences endless, both in kind and in degree. These differences we may class, for convenience of review, under three heads: phonetic, structural, and significant.

The phonetic differences of languages lie in the number and character of the articulate utterances composing them, and the manner in which these utterances are combined into syllables and words for the expression of meaning. The organs of speech of every human being are capable of forming an indefinite variety of sounds, more or less widely discriminated from one another; the list of those found to be actually used in known languages counts up to several hundreds; but of them no single dialect uses more than a small number—from say fifty (in languages so phonetically rich and varied as the English) down to hardly more than a dozen (in the poorest Polynesian tongues). Almost every language has sounds which are either rare or altogether unknown elsewhere. The same thing is true of syllabic combinations: what in one tongue is regarded as unpronounceable is in another easy and familiar. And the general tone and coloring of utterance, the varieties of pitch and stress, of accent and quantity, are not less marked; so that one who has fully mastered the individual sounds of a foreign tongue, and can even utter single words with unimpeachable accuracy, is nevertheless recognized as no native as soon as he attempts to put forth a sentence.

And yet, all this diversity is underlain by a certain degree of similarity, easily explainable as result of the substantial correspondence of human throats and mouths. All speech of men is articulate—that is to say, it is made up of a succession of syllables, normally discriminated by the antithesis of opener and closer utterances, of vowel and consonant elements. Of the vowel-system the extreme members *a* and *i* and *u* are never wanting, hardly ever also the intermediate *e* and *o*, in all their minor varieties of coloring. Well-nigh everywhere the consonants are classifiable into mutes and fricatives and nasals, and, by a division crossing this, into back, front and middle series (guttural, labial, and lingual, or however else we may choose to denominate them). From among the indefinite variety of possible oral products, practical convenience has led the way to a selection partly accordant.

The structural differences, in the second place, of different languages are mainly of the kind which we are accustomed to call grammatical. What classes of words, of various office and use in

sentence-combination—that is to say, what parts of speech—if any, are distinguished from one another; what modifications and relations of the more substantial conceptions are plainly indicated, instead of being left to inference from the circumstances, and by what means they are indicated, whether by phonetic change within the word, by external addition to the word, by independent words (auxiliaries and form-words), by change of relative position, whether by more than one of these means, or by all of them in various combination—such are the questions coming up here for consideration. According to the differences thus brought to light, languages are wont to be classified, as isolating, agglutinative, polysynthetic, inflective, and so on. But the differences are also so various, in kind and degree, that no even fairly acceptable classification founded upon them is possible; and the whole subject is decidedly the least satisfactory and the least valuable part of theoretical linguistics: “agglutinative” and “inflective,” especially, are mainly terms for sciolists to conjure with. Schleicher alone succeeded in laying down a definition of “inflective”; but (though he did not think so) the term as defined by him applied only to one family of languages, the Semitic.

But a structural value is to be seen also even in the vocabulary of a language—in the way in which, for the purposes of material as well as formal expression, the objects of thought are viewed and classified and selected: how, for example, the colors are distinguished and named, or the kingdoms and classes and genera of natural existences, or the parts and qualities of man, or numbers and their combinations; even the extent of vocabulary has in it an element akin with the structural.

In the third place, the significant differences of language, differences in the assignment of certain combinations of sounds to certain senses, are even more striking than the phonetic and the structural. There is here no underlying similarity, as in the other two cases; there is unlimited and utter variety. It is conceivable that two languages should have the same spoken alphabet and a closely kindred structure, and yet that every conception should have in the two a different sign. Correspondences there are in abundance among different tongues; but in part they are purely accidental, in part they are historical, dependent upon a common tradition. In general, we may say that for a given conception there are as many spoken representatives as there are languages, or even dialects, in the world; for even in nearly related dialects the pronounced form

and the range of meanings of what is historically one word are almost invariably different. A determining relation between sound and sense is nowhere to be discovered; there are no natural spoken signs of mental acts; even our exclamations, where such signs might most plausibly be sought, do not afford them.

All this is not a matter for any intelligent difference of opinion; the facts are so palpable that they cannot be denied.

Our next point concerns the relation of any given tongue to its speakers.

The languages and dialects of the world, thus differing in every conceivable manner and degree, are shared out among the various races and communities of men. Among the *races* of men only, we may not say, for a variety of obvious reasons. First, there is to be found on the earth no pure race of civilized men, and the existence of such a one of savages even is rare and doubtful. Second, it is a familiarly known fact that whole communities, races or divisions of races, have come to speak languages not made or used by their own progenitors: examples are afforded by the English language in Cornwall and Ireland, the Latin and its descendants in Italy and southern Europe, the Arabic in Syria and northern Africa. Again, languages become mixed in a way wholly unaccordant with mixtures of race: examples are the English, with its Latin elements brought in chiefly by the Germanic Normans, the Turkish, full of Persian and Arabic, the Japanese, full of Chinese. Yet again, every civilized community contains among the speakers of its own tongue, and undistinguished in speech from them, individuals representing recent importations from other communities, of other speech: striking examples are the Africans among ourselves. And, once more, it is only necessary for any child to be placed by peculiar circumstances in a companionship not of its own race, and it gets a corresponding language; a hired nurse, or birth on a journey of its parents in foreign lands, or the like, may cause its "mother-tongue" to be different from the tongue of its mother.

In short, race has nothing directly to do with giving an individual his language; the primary relation of language is not to race, but to community; to race only so far as community is founded on race—which, of course, it usually and normally is; a man is ordinarily born into the company of his parents and their kin. But one of a given race never speaks its language unless he grows up among and consorts with other and older speakers of the latter; if his first associates are of another descent, he inevitably speaks their

tongue, and as readily and naturally as they and their kindred. As a human being, he is capable of acquiring any human language; naturally the possessor of none, he may become by education the possessor of one as well as another; toward any given one he stands in a relation not perceptibly different from that of every other human being. To maintain this is by no means to deny that there are differences in the mental endowments of races, and in the grade of perfection of languages; but these differences are not greater than those of endowment in the individuals of a single race, or of the resources of the same language as commanded by different native speakers. The inferior race-capacity of the African has full room to show itself in the mental work which he does with English when he has learned it; and there are a plenty of English blockheads who fall below the average African, and whose store of ideas and signs for them no average African need envy. A gifted Englishman, no doubt, would be crippled by the acquisition of an inferior tongue only; yet not otherwise than by the deprivation of other educational advantages which should draw out his powers and give them scope for exercise. A native Mozart would be thwarted and stunted in China, a native Euclid or Watt in Polynesia.

All this, again, is only another mode of expression for the simple fact that every man *learns* his language — his “native” language just as much as any other which he may acquire later; that he gets it in no other way, accepting passively whatever circumstances place within reach of his powers of acquisition. The same fact is read, not less distinctly, in the process of learning to speak gone through by every child under our own eyes. The child learns first to understand, and then by imitation, to produce; to produce at first imperfectly, fragmentarily, as regards sound, structure, and vocabulary; in all these respects he makes gradual improvement, according to his capacity and his opportunities, but never attains perfection. His first steps are difficult, as on an untried way, but practice makes them easy, and long habit converts them into a second nature; it comes to seem “natural,” not only to speak, but to speak just as he does; his names for things and his ways of using them are the natural ones, and all others unnatural, artificial, barbarous; and what at the outset he would have acquired just as easily now appears to him of a difficulty quite exceeding his powers.

The principal facts thus laid down respecting the distribution of languages are also too obvious not to be admitted by all students of language who are not blinded by preconceived opinion. As

regards, however, the simple doctrine that every language is learned by every one of its speakers, a doctrine which satisfies all the facts and which alone is able to satisfy them, there is less general accordance. Some have been able so far to confuse their minds as to deny that a language is learned. The opportunity of the confusion is plainly afforded by the unfortunate double sense of our word "language," which we use to signify, on the one hand, the capacity or complex of capacities, a part of our endowment as human beings, whereby we are enabled to acquire, use, modify, and make spoken expression of our thoughts; and, on the other hand, any one of the existing bodies of signs and modes of their employment, established methods of expression, habits of speech. The former, of course, is given us by nature; it is in no sense acquired or learned, but only developed through use; but the latter is something quite different, the gradually accumulated result of the exercise of the other. We have the power of language, and hence are able to learn and use a language; no individual could learn, if he had not the same power to originate which has belonged to any other individual of his predecessors; but the faculty does not give us the developed product, any more than the possession of even an exceptional mechanical aptitude gives us mastery of a branch of mechanic art, like engineering, or the possession of a power to reckon makes us practised mathematicians.

From these two elementary and undeniable facts respecting language—the indefinite variety of languages, and the fortuitousness of their distribution to their various speakers—follow certain necessary inferences, which can in no way be avoided by any one who accepts those facts.

First, that there is no internal and necessary, but only an external and accidental, connection between a conception and its spoken sign. The tie consists in a mental association, formed not spontaneously, but under the guidance and after the example of others. If there are (let us say) a thousand different signs for each conception, any one of them answering its purpose as well as any other, and if every user of a sign has to learn it and form the habit of associating it with the conception, then each sign is an arbitrary and conventional one, and a language composed of such is in its totality of the same character. There is no room whatever for the answer "*φίσις*" to the question how the names of things exist; and no educated Greek would ever have thought of giving that answer if Greece in general had not been under the dominion of the

prejudice already referred to, and even at the present day widely and deeply rooted among the uneducated, that the names which one's own language gives are the real ones, and all others mere babbling shams.

It follows, of course, along with this, that there is no more special connection of the apparatus of thought with the muscular apparatus of vocal expression than with any other part of the muscular system. The predominance of the voice as instrumentality of expression is the result of a process of natural selection, experience teaching its higher availability for the purpose.

Further, it follows that language is not thought, but an instrumentality whereby vastly increased distinctness and precision and range are given to thought. The error of those who deny, in respect to any one of the characteristic modes of action of human intellect, that it can be carried on at all without the aid of external signs, is so great that it may fairly be called a blunder.

Second, we see the fundamental diversity of human language from that of the lower animals. The one is an endowment, natural, instinctive, alike in all individuals of the species, inelastic, unchanging; the other is an acquisition, a historical product, learned by each speaker, indefinitely various among individuals of the same race, and indefinitely variable and expansible. Hence all investigation of the cries of the lower animals, the chatterings of monkeys and the like, for their bearing on the origin and history of human speech, have been without fruit, and will always remain so, save so far as they may be directed to two points, now generally ignored: namely, a comparison with the natural and instinctive utterances of human beings, the only real analogues of those cries, utterances which just as much need investigation, and are far harder to get at, if they be at all attainable; and again, an inquiry as to what, if any, beginnings or hints of conventional expression, analogous with language, the most intelligent of the lower animals may show sporadic capacity of making, upon the foundation of their natural endowment. For a right understanding of the origin of language shows the natural utterances as suggestions and foundation of language, but not any part of its substance. Fear of a *saltus*, a *lacuna* in natural development, is just as much wasted here as it would be wasted on the relation of human clothing and ornament to the nakedness of the other animals, of human architecture to birds' nests and rabbits' burrows and beavers' huts, of human song to that of birds, of human society to the gregariousness of bees and rooks and elephants.

Third, it is evident that the study of language is a historical branch of science, and not a physical. There is not and never was any foundation for the doctrine that linguistics is a physical science except in the most radical misunderstanding of the nature and history of language, and in the mistaking of surface analogies for substantial accordance—errors which were in some measure excusable, perhaps, in the initial stages of linguistic study, but are now as much out of date as the Ptolemaic theory of the solar system. Not less futile is the wisdom of those who would fain compromise these irreconcilable views by teaching that the study is partly historical and partly physical—physical, namely, so far as it involves those physical entities, audible sounds. For an uttered sound or complex of sounds in language is not a physical entity; it is a human act, just as much, and in precisely the same way, as is, for example, a significant gesture; it is made, indeed, by physical organs, but under direction of the will; in ultimate imitation, now become an only partially conscious habit, of similar sounds made by others; and for a purpose apprehended and entertained in the mind of the speaker. So a bell is a physical instrument; but a merry chime, or an alarm, or a toll of mourning, rung upon it by some one for the information of a village, is not a physical product, whose study would be a physical investigation. With much more reason might numismatics be called a science partly physical, since coins are of real physical substance, which is a product of nature, and subject to purely physical laws in the way of dulling, rusting, abrading, and so on; only, as it happens, all this is the mere dross of the subject to the numismatist, who concerns himself with the artificial refinement and alloy, the weight, the stamp, the place of impress and circulation, the period, the grade of art, and other such matters, all analogous with what the linguistic scholar studies in the signs of language.

Fourth, the office and value of linguistic study as an auxiliary to ethnology is an obvious corollary to what has already been said. It all lies in the probability, greater or less in different cases, that a community or complex of communities possessing an identical language or related languages has been, either from the beginning or at any rate for an indefinite period, a tolerably pure race-community also. This sounds, perhaps, like very little; but it is all there is; and, in the paucity of means of authentic knowledge which we have respecting the divisions of mankind and their relations and movements, it is comparatively a great deal. And, fortunately, the

probability referred to is greatest where we have most need of its aid : among the wilder races, namely, where other means of information are most scanty, and in pre-historic periods. For it is the tamed and humanized races that offer least resistance to intermixture, and it is civilization aided by literature that gives a language propagative power, making it acceptable to wide communities not kindred in blood to those by whom it was developed.

A fact in language not less obvious and elementary than those already noticed by us is its constant change. No living tongue at any period of its existence maintains itself unaltered. And its mutations occur in every part. Thus, in phonetic form, new sounds are developed and come into use ; others, formerly used, are lost ; and, most conspicuously, words come to be pronounced otherwise than they have been. Thus also, in all departments of structure, old forms are lost, and (much more sparingly) new forms are made, new parts of speech are developed, new auxiliaries and other form-words are originated ; a language exchanges its prevalently synthetic for a prevalently analytic character. Most easily of all, a vocabulary is altered, by the bringing in of new material, with more or less loss of old. And all this involves, as a necessary part, changes in the significant value of vocal signs, which, moreover, go on independently. There is nothing in human speech so stable that it does not admit of alteration, or even of loss ; though in different languages the changes vary in kind and degree, and, to be comprehended, need to be studied for each tongue in all their detail, item by item.

The question of highest theoretic interest here involved concerns the nature of the force by which the changes of language are effected. And to it the conclusions which we have already reached inexorably determine the answer. If every language is a body of conventional signs kept in use and life by tradition, taught by those who have learned it already to the new members who by birth or otherwise are added from time to time to their community, then it is, as a matter of course, accessible to such altering influences alone as proceed from its users. As its use lies wholly within the domain of voluntary human action, its modification can lie in no other domain. That is to say, language is changed by the action of men's wills, and by nothing else. This does not by any means imply that the will is exerted directly toward the change of language, any more than the will of a fugitive is directed toward his own discovery when by voluntary action he leaves the tracks by which he is followed. Men will directly to use their means of com-

munication for the various ends of communication ; but this voluntary action is exposed to all the modifying influences which gradually alter voluntary action in other departments. The general governing consideration, including all the rest, is convenience ; it is operative in every part of language, taking on a different form according to the peculiar character of each. No body of inherited human habits, such as conventional expression is, lives on and on without change ; there is always a struggle in progress between the conservative influence of tradition, the inclination simply to propagate what has been handed down, and the inclination to adapt to new ends and to improve the adaptation to ends formerly served. But no body of traditional habits alters otherwise than very slowly : the collective influence of already existing habits (what in language we are used to call, and oftenest without understanding what we really mean by the expression, "the genius of a language") opposes novelties, and makes whatever new is admitted accordant with the old. In the phonetical part of language-history, convenience takes the form of economy of utterance ; and nearly everything in phonetic change is to be ascribed to the working of the tendency to economy : but the details of this working are sometimes very intricate, and, in our present imperfect comprehension of the physical processes of utterance, not a little obscure.

The tracing back of these successive changes in their order, and the restoration of earlier, and, if possible, even of primitive forms, constitutes the historical study of language. Something of this historical work has been done for many languages ; but far more has been accomplished in the way of tracing up the dialects of our own family, the Indo-European, than of any other, because of the exceptional facilities which they offer to the student, in their variety and antiquity, and in the amount of their growth which is clearly traceable by the comparison of recorded forms. There is still, however, discordance of opinion respecting the general mode of historical development even in this family, and respecting its beginnings. The prevalent view since Bopp, who by its establishment and illustration became the founder of the science of comparative philology, is this : that all Indo-European forms, whether of inflection or of derivation, are made by the accretion of elements originally independent ; that the ultimate elements were so-called roots—that is to say, signs possessing a crude significance, not involving any grammatical relation ; all the distinctions of parts of speech, of primary and secondary derivation, and of declension and

conjugation being wrought out later, as the result of aggregations which became integrated in various degrees, not seldom even to "inflection," or the development of an internal difference re-enforcing, or finally replacing, the external addition. A minority, however, respectable both in numbers and in scholarship, reject this view altogether, and deny the historical character of roots, which they assert to be mere figments of the grammarian, obtained by an artificial analysis of the words of which they form a part. It cannot appear questionable, now, which of these views is in logical accordance with the established facts of language, and will crowd its rivals out of existence. The aggregative theory of Bopp is simply an application of the processes seen at work in all the historical periods of the language to explain the productions of the pre-historic period. This is a true scientific method; it is, in fact, the only one. The chain of argument by which it is upheld may be drawn out in brief thus: 1. Throughout the whole known history of Indo-European speech, there have been made combinations of elements which then by degrees assumed the character of integral words, and sometimes, by subordination of the one element to the other, of forms; and examples of forms, of every class and of every age, appear plainly to have been so made. 2. No material of this sort is seen to have been made in any other way; wherever exceptions, as forms with internal flexion, seem to show themselves, they can be proved to be the inorganic result of processes originally aggregative. 3. There are nowhere found any formal distinctions of such a kind that they refuse explanation as made by aggregative processes similar to those by which other forms are actually seen to have been made. Hence, 4. If aggregation is thus demonstrably a real method of Indo-European form-making, and the only one possessing that character, and if it is adequate to the explanation of all the facts, then we ought to accept it as sufficient, and to acknowledge that we have no reason to suppose that forms have been made in any other way.

Evidently, no one has a right to reject this conclusion who does not squarely and honestly face the premises on which it is founded, and show good reason for regarding them as erroneous or insufficient. In general, they are simply disregarded by the dissidents, who ignore the difference between analogical inference and mere conjecture, and assume that one man's guess is just as good as another's as to how forms might, could, or should have been made. Or, it is urged that the great majority of formations cannot be satisfactorily traced to the independent elements out of which they have

grown: which is like bringing up the numerous persons who have not witnessed a certain occurrence to refute the testimony of the few who have; since, as things go on in the traceable history of language, it is not only natural but unavoidable that the genesis of most forms should, like the etymology of many words, and of all or nearly all beyond a certain point, be lost in obscurity. Or, again, it is pointed out that during the historical period there has been, on the whole, a reduction in the length of forms and a loss of fullness of synthetic structure. This is a more legitimate objection, and not without a degree of plausibility, though of no real force against the argument as already stated. It merely brings to our notice the fact that, in the action and counter-action of the making-up and wearing-out processes, both of which have been operative in our languages from the first inception of structural growth, the former process was on the whole in the ascendant until a certain grade of structure was reached, since when, in very varying manner and degree, the opposite process has been more active: and there is no theoretical difficulty in the way of our recognizing and accepting this fact. On the contrary, there are insurmountable difficulties in the way of our accepting the opposing view, that language began with long words possessing any trace of organization, made up of radical elements with added apparatus of formative elements; the already demonstrated nature of language as an instrumentality, produced in order to the uses of expression, is absolutely and finally conclusive against it. An instrumentality cannot but have had rude and simple beginnings, such as are, in language, the so-called roots; intricacy of structure, special adaptation to special uses, must necessarily come later, as the result of skill developed by practice. So bows and arrows, hammers and hatchets with handles, boxes put together of boards, are of necessity later than clubs and stones and hollowed receptacles; suits of clothes are later than skins and bunches of leaves, and the like. And in like manner, and for the same reasons, parts of speech and classes of derived words and inflections come by development through experience of the faculties of language-making, after the use of such imperfect hints of expression as we call roots. The strength of the radicalian theory is that it accords with all that we have learned as to the nature of language, not less than with all we know as yet respecting the history of our family of languages, and that this can be said of no other theory.¹

¹The doctrine that language began with sentences instead of words is (if capable of any intelligent and intelligible statement), *à fortiori*, too wild and baseless to deserve respectful mention.

Thus far we have spoken only of Indo-European language. But it is evident that the general view we have just reached is alike applicable to all human speech. If our knowledge of the nature of universal language, of the forces at work in its history and of the manner of their working, suggests as the only acceptable view of its earliest condition the assumption of a scanty body of grammatically formless roots, then to have demonstrated by historical evidence the former existence of such a primitive condition in that family of languages which has attained on the whole the highest grade of inflective structure is practically equivalent to having demonstrated it for all languages. It will take very strong and very direct evidence to convince us in regard to any family that its beginnings and its mode of development out of them have not been essentially of a like character. Even the elsewhere unparalleled and truly anomalous form of the tri-consonantal apparent roots of the Semitic tongues—the most difficult problem, perhaps, in language-history—cannot with our present light be regarded otherwise than as secondary, the product of a very peculiar growth; and this, whether we are or are not able ever to retrace with satisfactory clearness the steps of the growth. Other questions, of greater or less importance and intricacy, will come up in abundance for further discussion and difference of opinion, without derogating from the certainty of the general conclusion. Whether, for example, primitive roots were always of one syllable only, or also of more than one, is a matter of very inferior consequence; the Indo-European roots are held to have been monosyllabic because historical analysis finds them so, but the analogy need not be binding as regards other families. Whether, again, the Chinese vocables have never advanced out of the radical stage at all, or whether they are, rather, products of a development which for some reason was more limited than that of any other known tongue of a highly-endowed race, so that its relics have completely the semblance of roots, is a question of extreme interest as regards the history of that particular language, but of no necessary wider bearing. We do not know, and may very probably never be able to explain to ourselves, what in the particular character of different races, or what in the habits of speech formed by them in the first stages of language-making—either or both, but doubtless especially the latter—determines for all time the fundamental character of the language of each. In other departments than the linguistic, the non-progressive nature of some races as compared with others is clearly seen. And it appears as if a certain amount

of habits of expression, learned by a generation from its predecessor, were sufficient to deaden its own originality, and limit its development to a certain line, or even to keep it almost at a single point. From the fact that we do not, anywhere in the historical period, see a language changing from isolating to agglutinative or inflective, we do not in the least need to draw the conclusion that each language had from the very beginning its own essential character in this regard, and has ever since maintained it unchanged, any more than, from the present persistency of physical race-characteristics, we need to infer that mankind, or each grand division of mankind, may not have had a single origin. The history of single forms in our own speech shows plainly enough that the transition from isolation to inflection is both possible and facile. The part of language-history covered by our observations is but a very small one. Languages are all equally old, and all alike have gained and fixed their own style of structure long before they come within reach of our knowledge.

The question of the origin of language, as a scientific one, is simply this: to determine how men such as we actually see them to be, if no language were handed down to them from their predecessors, would proceed in order to possess themselves of such an instrumentality.¹ That they would so possess themselves there is no reason to doubt. Men are always making language; for the alteration of a tongue from generation to generation is each generation's contribution to the work, the same in principle though different in detail according to the circumstances — namely, the already established habits of expression — with the work of every other generation back to the first; and the beginnings need not have been more difficult than the subsequent changes. These beginnings were the first step in the history of language, and our whole knowledge of language and its history determines of what sort they must have been, and with definiteness enough to constitute, notwithstanding the points of minor consequence that still remain doubtful, a real and satisfactory solution of the general problem. Thus:

1. Language was brought into being primarily for purposes of communication, and not of self-development. Only the nearest and

¹ As a matter of course, allowance has also to be made for the difference in regard to capacity for improvement and cultivation between the offspring of cultivated and of uncultivated human beings. This, however, is no fundamental diversity, and it would, so far as can be perceived, have for its effect a difference only in the rate of progress made.

most obvious, the most external, inducement to its production was the effective one; every other advantage came as an unforeseen result of its possession.

2. It began with whatever signs could best be turned to account as means of mutual understanding between man and man: grimace, gesture, exclamation, onomatopœia and other forms of imitation, were drawn upon according to their various availability. What proportion belonged at the outset to each, and what were the steps of the process of natural selection (referred to above) whereby the voice attained its present predominance and almost monopoly, are among the matters of great though minor interest which will long attract research and discussion, and of which no other than a rudely approximate settlement will ever be possible.

3. As the first items of speech were directly intelligible signs, they must have denoted that which was most capable of being directly signified. That is to say, the first conceptions conveyed by language will have been determined, not by the conspicuousness and importance of the conceptions themselves, but by the feasibility of their intimation by the particular means employed. Hence they will have been primarily acts and qualities, and not concrete existences, for the latter are only signifiable by means of their characteristic acts and qualities. This is the easy solution of the question by which some are still perplexed, as to why roots, the ultimate elements of speech, have an abstract instead of a concrete significance. Concrete, to be sure, they were so far as this: they signified only physical, sensible acts and qualities; the point is one in regard to which theory is in full accordance with linguistic facts; for in all the history of significant change in language, the direction of progress is from the physical and sensible to the intellectual and moral. But here, again, the inquiry as to what particular conceptions led the way can be answered, if at all, only after the widest and deepest researches through all the varieties of human speech; none of the attempts hitherto made to answer it has met with any success.

4. The period of root-production will have been a limited one—limited by the circumstance that after a time it would come to be easier to make new names out of the significant material already in use, by combination and extension and change of application, than by the creation of new material. How long the period was, and what the number of roots produced, we have at present no means of determining, or hardly even ground for conjecturing.

5. To correlate the history of speech and the existence of man

on the earth, so as to determine when the production of spoken language began and at what rate its development went on, is beyond our power until our knowledge of man's primitive history shall be much greater; in all probability, it will always remain impracticable. But, at any rate, language was the indispensable means of conversion of gregarious into social life, the necessary foundation of all social institutions. We cannot even tell whether, assuming the origin of the race to have been one, there had been produced any settled and abiding speech before men had multiplied and spread and broken into divisions, holding thenceforward no intercourse with one another; but we do know, beyond all possibility of successful contravention, that there are no existing differences of speech among men which might not consist with unity of origin of speech.

The question, it may be remarked, whether the existence of dialects preceded that of languages or *vice versa*, is an unscientific and blundering one. Correspondences between two languages are either accidental, or by borrowing, or dialectic; and dialectic correspondences are historical: that is to say, they are due to variation, according to the ordinary laws of linguistic change, of the same inherited material. The very conception of dialects involves descent from a common ancestor; and the earth is full of illustrations of the process by which a single language divaricates into forms more or less discordant. Instances are common enough, too, of the replacement of variety by unity of speech; but this is by no process of linguistic development; it is the result of external social causes, analogous with those which make the emigrant learn and use the tongue of his new country instead of that of his old one; and it affects equally dialects of any degree of relationship and unrelated languages. The natural growth of a language, combined with the spread and division of communities, makes dialects; but it is the growth of civilization, with its unifying and leveling influence, that makes widespread unity of speech, just as of other institutions.

Of other institutions, we say; because not only is language, as we called it above, the foundation of social institutions: every language is also itself an institution, the first and most indispensable of the social institutions of the community to which it belongs. No definition of the term can be made which will not apply equally well to it along with the rest. A social institution is a body of habits, of customary modes of action, whereby men in a certain community or congeries of communities attain a certain social end, regarded as conducing to their social welfare. The apprehension of the end

and the formation of the means to its attainment are an outcome of the insight and experience of the community; the institution, we may say, grows gradually up in the never-ending contest between human nature and human circumstances; it is a historical product of the joint activity of generations, each one of which has contributed to its elaboration. It is handed down by tradition; every new member of the community, born into the state of things of which it forms a part, having it about him in his growing and impressible period, appropriates it, and adapts his own mode of thought and action to it so gradually and unconsciously that it comes to seem to him a part of the nature of things, the established order of the universe; its real origin and relation to the kindred or similar institutions of other communities is understood only by philosophers (if even by them); it is apt to be regarded as of divine origin, a revelation or ordinance of heaven—as indeed it is in a certain sense, though not as generally understood. Its ordinary changes go on slowly, since they can be made, as itself was made, only by the consenting action of its possessors; but these may, little by little, change it in time to any extent, as their trained preferences shall suggest or their altered circumstances shall prescribe; and, where circumstances are more imperious, it may even be revolutionized altogether, or crowded out of use and replaced by something of corresponding value adopted from another community.

In all these respects a language has its own peculiarities, distinguishing it from other institutions; but only as they all have their own, distinguishing them from one another: the difference is not in the fundamental points, but in non-essentials. The language of each community, in short, is one of the institutions that make up its civilization.

W. D. WHITNEY.

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

Catalogue of the Spanish Library . . . bequeathed by George Ticknor to the Boston Public Library. By JAMES LYMAN WHITNEY. Boston: by order of the Trustees. 1879. Lex. 8vo, pp. xv, 476.

Mr. Whitney has executed with signal ability the task of facilitating to Spanish scholars, and to bibliographers in general, this catalogue *raisonné* of the celebrated Ticknor library. We have here in convenient form, arranged in alphabetic order by authors, or, if anonymous, by titles, and again by subject, the entire repertory of that collection of 9,845 articles. Thus, for instance, under *Romanceros* will be found everything appertaining to the Spanish *ballad*, whether original or translated, in abridged form, from which the reader may turn to the author's, translator's or editor's name and secure full particulars, with any notes that may be added. So also of *Cancioneros* and all that relates to the *anthologies* of Spain from the beginning of the XVI century to our time. History, in its divisions of chronicle, *Memorias*, reports or *relaciones*, or in its connected narration as in Mariana, Garibay, Ferreras, Ortiz, Masdén and Lafuente, is likewise given under general heads and repeated more fully under the author's name. The articles Spain and Portugal are especially noteworthy, and display a thorough and exact familiarity with the contents of the library. This system of cross-references is of great utility to that large class who desire to know what has been written in Spain of eminence on certain topics and departments, or who need to refresh their memory. Suppose, for example, one wishes to refer to the *Carlo famoso* (of Valencia, 1566), and does not remember the author's name or even the title. If he knows that it is connected with Charles the Fifth, he has only to turn to that name, as First (of Spain), run down the column until his eye rests on "*Zapata, L., Carlo famoso*," etc. Again, if he remember the title, but not the author, he will find it under *Carlo famoso. Por L. Zapata*, etc. To every Spanish scholar, then, even the one most familiar with the literature, who occasionally experiences a cloud in the memory, this book will prove his *fidus Achates*. Since it appeared, Madrid literati have written, saying "it lies on our desk beside the two Salvás, Gallardo and Hidalgo"—a criticism as flattering as it is epigrammatic.

I believe no country possesses so curious and rare a literature as Spain. If we glance even cursorily at the history of the press there, we shall discover the leading causes of that rarity to be identical with the causes of her political decadence. From 1477 to 1502 the Catholic sovereigns took great interest in the new art of printing, favoring it in every way. At the former date (1477) they exempted one *Theodorico Aleman*, or "Theodorick the German," from paying duties and taxes on imported books and material, in consideration of his being "one of the foremost inventors and introducers of type-books into these realms." I understand this "Theodorico" to be Thierry Maertens or

Martins of Alost, the great printer of Louvain and friend of Erasmus, whose history is lost between 1474 and 1486 (see Michaud *Biog. Univ.*). No one hints, however, at this Spanish episode of the Flemish Aldus. Again, in 1480, the same sovereigns issued their first general edict on the press, exempting from tax and duties all importations of literature (*Law 21 in Revised Stat. Philip II, 1567, Vol. I*). It also forbids all persons to levy or collect any charge on such merchandise, even the *alcabala* or ten per cent. duty on all sales, under the penalties applied to unlawful exactions. The royal comptrollers were to see that this law was entered on the public records, and that all contracts for farming the revenues were drawn up so as to respect the spirit and letter of the enactment.

The date, however, of 1480 was that of the assent to the Inquisition, which was soon to blight the patronage of letters. In 1502 the royal policy had experienced a sudden change, doubtless through that tribunal's jealousy of the slippery art, which the Holy Fraternity and the Jew-haters of Triana were powerless to control, unaided by the secular arm. So the pragmatic of Toledo, July 8, 1502, initiated in Europe the law of previous censure and the king's patent for all domestic and foreign emanations of the press. Then it was that "bad books," that is, the literature that has enlightened the world, were in Spain henceforward to be "burned in the market-place of the town." This press-law was strictly observed, as the literary history too truly proves, down to 1558, when the Draconian edict of Valladolid, Sept. 7, closed the door of hope to Spain. It was then and the following year that all those volumes of the XV and XVI centuries up to that date that had hitherto escaped the argus eyes of the Torquemadas, Manriques and Loaisas of the "Holy Office," succumbed to the fatal bibliographers of Fernando de Valdés. The MSS. we have perused in the archives of the Inquisition at Alcalá and Madrid, grim reports of provincial clergymen and familiars to the Archbishop of Seville (Valdés), tell the dire tale of Iberian letters. And when we know that that same strong arm reached over the ages down to 1820, when the Inquisition was finally abolished forever, after a first ineffectual suppression from 1808 to 1815, there need be no wonder at the value we attach to the collection in the Boston Public Library.

W. T. KNAPP.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS IN THE FIELD OF INDIAN ANTIQUITIES.

Two most important bibliographical works have just made their appearance. The one is a collection of reviews discussing the principal books in the field of Indian Philology since 1869. It forms the third volume of Professor Weber's *Indische Streifen* (Leipzig, Brockhaus). The critical judgment of the writer is so authoritative, that no public librarian who contemplates building up this his library can well afford to dispense with Weber's work, for it valuable aid in discriminating between the good and the bad, the unimportant. It has an index of forty-six closely printed three-reference to all three volumes. The number of authors mentioned amounts to nearly 345. The richness and variety of the covered from the table, in which the works reviewed are arranged s. These are: History of Literature, Bibliography, Biography,

Catalogues of Manuscripts, Journals; History, Geography; Religion, Mythology, Cultus; Buddhism; European Grammars and Dictionaries; Vedic Literature; Epos, Purana; Artificial Epos, Lyrics, Proverbs, Fables, Tales, Dramas; Grammar, Etymology, Metric, Music; Philosophy; Astrology, Astronomy, Geometry, Medicine; Law; Pali, Prakrit, Bhasha; Languages of the Dekhan. Weber's immense erudition is everywhere apparent. Often he gives what amounts to a valuable supplement to the book reviewed or a most wholesome corrective to its theories—as in the case of Senart's *Essai sur la Légende du Buddha*. We hope that possessors of private oriental collections and managers of libraries with an oriental alcove will not fail to secure these volumes. All three can now be had for twenty-three marks, the price of the first two together having been reduced to eight marks.

Especially welcome to lovers of oriental studies must be the annual reports made to the *Société Asiatique* by its secretary, Jules Mohl. These have been collected by his widow, and issued under the appropriate title, *Vingt-sept Ans d'Histoire des Études orientales*. They cover the years 1840 to 1867, a period which Ernest Renan has called the heroic age of oriental studies. They are vastly fresher and more vivid than a systematic history, in that they present to us the progress of these wonderful studies year by year, as they appeared to a man who stood in intimate relations with the most eminent scholars of the day. The political events of 1848 were not without effect on oriental studies. Thus Mohl says (I 327): "Le bruit de la rue est venu couvrir, dans toute l'Europe, la voix de la science; . . . mais cette agitation aura une fin, tandis que la science est éternelle, comme la vérité dont elle est l'expression." The necrology of each year gave occasion for biographical notices of men like Gesenius, Prinsep, and Schlegel, and among these masterly sketches that of Burnouf (I 458-69) is especially good. Besides careful and critical reviews of all the important publications of France and other lands, he also gives each year an account of the foundation, progress, and activity of the Asiatic Societies in all parts of the world. And it is pleasant to see the appreciative mention of our own American Oriental Society as early as 1843 (see I 122, 395, 479, 524). American scientists are wont to complain—and justly—of the difficulty of obtaining the scientific publications of the government. They may console themselves. Mohl also (I 262-6) finds good reason to condemn the "éditions de luxe que la libéralité du gouvernement distribue aux gens qui sont le moins capables d'en faire usage," and which are so dear that no scholar can buy them.

The first volume has a preface by M. Ernest Renan, and contains a biographical sketch of Mohl by Max Müller. It is greatly to be desired that the forthcoming second volume be provided with a complete index; it would increase the value of the book fourfold.

In this connection may be mentioned finally that Mr. Trübner proposes to publish an index to the first twelve volumes of his American and Oriental Literary Record, if he can get two hundred subscribers at ten shillings. Those who know the immense practical usefulness of the Record will hasten to do their part toward furthering the undertaking. Names should be sent to 57 Ludgate Hill, London, England.

Messrs. Sandoz et Fischbacher have published separately (Paris, 1879, pp. 176) a valuable article written by Auguste Barth for the *Encyclopédie des sciences*

religienses, and entitled *Les Religions de l'Inde*. These are treated in five chapters corresponding to the five grand phases of religious development in India: The Vedic religion; Brahmanism (ritual, philosophic speculation, decline); Buddhism; Jainism; Hinduism (the sectarian divinities, history and doctrines of the sects, reformatory sects, cultus). The value of the work is greatly increased by the abundant references to the literature of the various subjects treated. We see that Trübner announces an English translation of this work as in preparation.

Professor Adolf Kaegi has issued the second part of his *Rig Veda, die älteste Literatur der Inder*. It forms the Wissenschaftliche Beilage zum Programm der Kantonschule in Zürich. After a preliminary sketch of the history of Vedic studies and an introductory account of the Vedic writings in general, he takes up the important deities of the Vedic religion in order. The peculiar feature of his essay is that the text of his descriptions is made up of the actual words of the Vedic passages cited in the foot-notes. These notes will be of the utmost service to such as wish to get their bearings in the already extensive literature pertaining to the Veda and Vedic antiquities, all the more important works in this field being quoted here with the necessary bibliographical details. Apropos of the god Varuṇa, Kaegi gives a most interesting and elaborate excursus to prove the thesis that the belief in a personal immortality was common to the Indo-Europeans before their dispersion. After the religious department of the Veda comes the secular; and here Kaegi has given a number of lively sketches—the wedding ceremony, the burial service, translations of several humorous hymns, and finally the cosmogonical hymn, RV. a. 129. We think the execution of this work would justify its being put into a form accessible to the public. Schul-programme are inaccessible in America, except to the friends of their authors.

The most complete and best systematic exposition of the civilization of the Vedic Aryans is Heinrich Zimmer's *Altindisches Leben*. It received the prize from the fourth international congress of orientologists at Florence in 1878. The preface closes with the reverent wish that the book may be found to be a worthy supplement to Lassen's *Indian Antiquities*. This it certainly is. Under the different categories—geography, climate, minerals, plants, animals, agriculture, commerce, dress, food, amusements, family relations, art, etc.—the notices contained in the Vedic texts are exhaustively discussed, and the results deducible from them are put together in a very readable and pleasant way.

Mr. J. W. McCrindle is rendering most acceptable service to the students of the relations between the Orient and the Occident in antiquity, by translating the Greek and Latin works which relate to Ancient India and giving them to us in collected form. The first volume contains the notices of Megasthenes and Arrian; the second, the *Periplus maris Erythraei* and Arrian's account of the voyage of Nearchus from the mouth of the Indus to the head of the Persian Gulf. A third volume will contain Ktesias' *Indica* and the fifteenth book of Strabo. Trübner issues the series.

A third edition of Droysen's *History of Alexander the Great* has just appeared at Gotha. It concerns the orientalist as well as the classicist, inasmuch as it is the life of a man to whom, more than to any other one character of ancient times, we are indirectly indebted for a knowledge of the East and the West in their mutual relations in antiquity.

Besides these more general works, a number of special investigations have appeared.

Dr. L. Schröder has been making a careful and critical study of the MSS. of the *Māitrayaṇī-saṁhitā*. He has made a report upon his work in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, XXXIII 177. This text exhibits remarkable peculiarities in its phonetics, in the designation of the accent, and in its language, from which Schröder has made valuable lexical gleanings. He concludes that the text belongs to the Yajurveda, and that it is old and important, and he promises to give us a printed edition of it ere long.

The same volume of the Journal brings further results of Holzmann's studies upon the *Mahābhārata* in an article on the *Apsaras*, the divine female beings, of eternal youth and beauty, that play an important role in the later literature.

It contains also an article by Emil Schlagintweit on Caste in India at the Present, a descriptive text with abundant references to the authorities and followed by numerous tables.

The first part of the same author's *Indien in Wort und Bild* has been laid before us. It is an elegantly printed folio, and is to be completed in 35 parts at 1½ mark (Leipzig, Schmidt und Günther). There are to be about 400 illustrations; and if those given in the first part are fair specimens, they will do much to supplement the effect of the vivid and judicious descriptions.

Dr. Julius Jolly has presented to the Bavarian Academy a paper on the *Dharmasāstra* of *Viṣṅku* and on the *Kāṅkagṛhyasāstra*. We wish, as in the case of *Narada's* Institutes, he would give us a printed text first, and then, if he pleases, a translation.

A. Hillebrandt has published a monograph entitled *Das altindische neu- und Vollmondsopfer in seiner einfachsten Form* (Jena, Fischer).

Dr. Eugen Hultsch has published his *Prolegomena zu des Vasantarāja Çākuna nebst Textproben* (Leipzig, 1879). *Çākuna* is a treatise on omens, and is derived from *çakuna*, "bird," cf. the Latin name for diviner, *auspex*, literally bird-seer (*avi-spec-s*). The contents of this tract are full of interest to the student of popular superstitions.

In the field of grammatical investigation, the most comprehensive and wide-reaching treatise is the Sanskrit Grammar of Professor Whitney—Leipzig, Breitkopf and Härtel; New York, B. Westermann and Co. It is not a mere recasting of already known facts in a form more convenient and suitable to the needs of occidental students, although in these respects it is far superior to all predecessors; it is rather a work filled with the best results of scores of minute investigations which have been carried on by the author and others in this department.

The attitude of Western students toward the native grammarians has undergone several interesting changes. At first, we were obliged to let them lead us, and to follow, to a great degree, their statements concerning the facts of the Sanskrit, and their awkward and involved methods of presentation. An undue reaction followed. With the progress of our independent knowledge of the language, the native grammarians were ignored and the value of their works much underestimated. And now we have the third phase. The facts are presented in the simplest and clearest form, and at the same time the study of the native works is not neglected, but is carried on critically and with continual

reference to the tests of actual usage. This has been done with especial success by Edgren in his article on the *Dhātupāṭha* or Hindu root-dictionary, by Schröder in his aforementioned report on the *Māitrayaṇṣ*, and by Whitney in his editions of the *Atharva* and *Tāittirīya-prātiçākhya*s. Although these show that the Hindus were not unacquainted with the arts of shirking hard work, they also show that much which was supposed to be fictitious is based upon fact, and that we may no longer presume to ignore Hindu grammarians.

A most important feature of Prof. Whitney's grammar is that, while due regard is paid to the statements of the native grammarians, the actual usage of the language, so far as is known to us from the literature, is everywhere made the highest court of appeal. The work covers not only the classical, but also the older dialects, so that the treatment throughout is historical.

The accent is uniformly taken account of. This is, of course, indispensable for the study of the Veda, but is also useful for the student of classical Sanskrit, as distinguishing strong and weak forms in conjugation and declension, and in illustrating the otherwise quite intangible formal difference between a "possessive" compound and its "determinative" substrate. The learner naturally rebels against being told that the "dependent" *yajñakāma*, "desire of sacrifice," is "turned into" a "possessive" *yajñakāma*, "desirous of sacrifice." But when he sees that the two words are not real homonyms, but that parallel to the difference in application runs a corresponding difference in accent (*yajñakāma*, *yajñakāma*), then the whole matter looks more reasonable.

Aside from the large amount of new results embodied in this work, the innovation in the treatment of old material are especially noteworthy. The most important are perhaps those respecting the subject of conjugation. The division of verbal forms into "special tenses" and "general tenses" is given up. It involves a confusion of tense and mode, and its indefensibility is straightway apparent as soon as one studies the Vedic dialect, where the other tense-stems have a very considerable variety of modal forms. The naming of the conjugation-classes is simple and descriptive ("root-class," "nā-class"), and the arrangement very natural. The sequence is especially happy in the second conjugation, where we have: (6) the *a*-class; (7) the *d*-class; (8) the *ya*-class; and (9) the *ya*-class. This brings the special passive inflection in with that of the other present-systems, and from these there is no good reason for separating it, since its class-sign is restricted to the present. The verb-stem in *dya*, however, has been made the basis of a whole conjugation with derivative tense-stems; and it is therefore, with its belongings, very properly treated as a secondary conjugation. The aorists are grouped in a way very easy to remember, and the analogies between the formations of the aorist and present systems clearly pointed out. The whole treatment of these verbal forms presupposes on Mr. Whitney's part, besides a working-in of the results of Delbrück, such a ransacking of the arid *Brāhmaṇas* and other out-of-the-way texts as is ordinarily considered necessary only by the writers of monographs.

The execution of the chapter on derivation shows that the author can hardly be much indebted to any existing treatise on the subject. Special and original collections must lie at the basis of it. Following Benfey, the author recognizes the derivative suffix *as* in the stems *-jas*, *-dhas*, and *-das*, § 1151; but to me it seems more likely that they are merely due to transfer from the radical *ā*-declen-

sion to the *ds*-declension, the coincident nominative in *-ds* serving as point of departure.

It is strange that so highly inflected a tongue as the Sanskrit should turn its inflectional wealth to so little account. In fact, however, the later language prefers the aggregation of stems into cumbrous compounds instead of a clear and simple and perfectly possible *śivraṣiṣ* of inflected words. For this reason the subject of composition is especially important in Sanskrit. The old-time treatment of it was based on that of the Hindus. Mr. Whitney's treatment of it is logical and exhaustive, brings out the relative importance of the different classes, and in these and other respects contrasts most favorably with the misleading classification and clumsy nomenclature of the Hindus. The fulness of translated examples, many of which are taken from the Nala and Hitopadeṣa, greatly increases the practical usefulness of the chapter.

Sanskrit teachers are to be congratulated that the chapter on the alphabet does not contain a desperate table of one hundred and fifty compound consonants, with the comforting assurance that these are "only the most common," and that "they may be multiplied to the extent of four or five hundred." In place of this we find a simple description of the side-by-side arrangement and of the above-and-below arrangement, with examples and specifications of those whose make-up is not entirely obvious. The anomaly of writing short *i* before the consonant which it follows is shown to be only apparent, the perpendicular stroke being merely a prolongation below the line of the hook above the line, which is the essential part of the letter. And yet, as late as 1864, the conjecture was printed that this peculiarity might be intended to denote a slight drawing back of the breath in the pronunciation of *i*. We trust that Mr. Whitney's method of transliteration will be accepted as a norm for the usage of American Sanskritists; it does away with the useless and very misleading *ṛi* for the single vowel *r*, and puts *ṣ* in place of *sh*, so that its diacritical dot harmonizes with that of the other linguals. The discussion of the palatals is like light in a dark place. The rationale of the apparently arbitrary treatment of these sounds is given, and the explanations embody the latest results of Ascoli and Hübschmann. The double character of *j*, which represents Indo-European *g*¹ and *g*², and so corresponds to *c* and *ç*—the derivatives of *k*¹ and *k*² respectively—is clearly explained, and with it a number of seemingly irrational changes.

Works concerning themselves especially with the grammar and exegesis of Sanskrit are also not lacking. Dr. Wenzel has written a treatise *Ueber den Kasus der Nomina im Rigveda* (Tübingen, Laupp). It gives first a review of the Sanskrit explaining the forms of the case suffix, then a synopsis of the various instrumental formations, and as the *pièce de résistance* the syntax of the instrumental. Dr. Wenzel seeks to trace the development of this case from an original instrumental idea. The brochure, if neither very logical nor exhaustive, contains the material grouped in convenient categories, and will serve a useful purpose in furthering Vedic study.

This was followed by a more elaborate treatise, *Der Accusativ im Veda* (Leipzig, Laupp), by Dr. Carl Gaedicke, a pupil of Delbrück. After introducing the Sanskrit letters on the form, meaning and syntax of the Indo-European accusative, the author discusses the use of the case with the finite verb are fully discussed, under the four objects of the case, and result, of aim, of content, and of time. The remaining

sections treat of the constructions of the accusative with the participle, the *nomen agentis*, the *nomen actionis*, the preposition, etc., of the accusative as adverb, the etymological (cognate) accusative (as *dr̥canti arkdm arkīnas*), and the double accusative (*veda tvām devdm*). The work brings us to a stricter and more certain solution of many questions of Vedic grammar and exegesis which hitherto were loosely or carelessly answered.

M. E. Senart presented to the *Académie des Inscriptions*, January 23, 1880, a paper on the inscriptions of Açoka. He showed the importance of epigraphics for the history of India, where fixed chronological dates are so rare, and gave a sketch of the discovery and decipherment of these edicts, and promised a new translation of some of them.

CHARLES R. LANMAN.

Richard Bentley's *Emendationen zum Plautus aus seinen Handexemplaren der Ausgaben von Pareus (1623) und Camerarius-Fabricius (1558) ausgezogen und zum ersten Male herausgegeben von L. A. PAUL SCHROEDER*. London, 1880.

The same *Emendations* appear in the Appendix to a *Critical Edition of the Captivi* by Edward A. Sonnenschein. London, Sonnenschein & Allen, 1880.

Not many years ago, in reading a rather turgid panegyric of Shakespeare contained in one of our American manuals of English literature, we were startled by this comment: "Yet Shakespeare was but a half man, rarely looking beyond the uses of the theatre. Prince of dramatists, master of the revels to all mankind, chief caterer to human amusement—this is something; it is even noble. But it is not enough. Great intellectual, moral, and political movements are in progress in England and on the Continent during the whole of his career. Shall not the most consummate of artists play the man?" Almost as great was the shock received from the following paragraph in Monk's *Life of Bentley*, Vol. II, p. 418: "In such a line (*i. e.*, in the maintenance of truth and refutation of sophistry) he would have exercised his learning, acuteness and powers of application with far more benefit to mankind, than in that conjectural criticism, which should have been his sport and amusement rather than the serious and staple occupation of a genius like Bentley's. In this favorite pursuit he employed his ingenuity and quickness often at the expense of sound judgment and correct taste, and his learning was too much employed in defending the fanciful alterations of the text of a Latin poet, when it ought to have been devoted to maintain and illustrate truth."

Time was when sentiments of this sort would have met with the cordial approval of most American scholars. Why give so much attention to the various readings of the codices? why so much time to mere verbal criticism, and to balancing the claims of one reading above another? why rack one's brain to bring sense into a text manifestly corrupt? Why, indeed, unless here too there is an element of truth involved? Of the prejudice, founded or unfounded, still existing in England against the exercise of conjectural emendation, evidence enough may be seen in the paucity of critical editions which have appeared there of late. Take, for instance, Plautus. If we except

Ramsay's edition of the *Mostellaria*, and the *Aulularia* of Wagner (by the way, not an Englishman), since the inauguration by Ritschl of a new era of Plautine study, no creditable edition of a single play of Plautus with critical apparatus had appeared in England, up to the present edition of the *Captivi* by Mr. Sonnenschein, whose name to the uninitiated has a very German ring, though Herr Schroeder is pleased to call him an Englishman. It is the Germans to whom we are still indebted for most that is valuable in Plautine criticism, and to Germans belongs the honor of having first called attention to the marginal notes made by Bentley in his hand-copies of classical authors now in the possession of the British Museum. Zangemeister some two years since, in the *Rheinisches Museum*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 462, pointed out the fact that these volumes contained a goodly number of emendations to various authors which had never appeared in print. Of these Zangemeister abundantly proved the critical value by giving a list of the emendations to Nonius Marcellus and to Ammianus Marcellinus, of which latter author Bentley had projected an edition, nor could any one doubt for a moment that even the cursory notes of so illustrious a scholar would yield something more than chaff. Herr Schroeder seems to have been prompted by the article of Zangemeister to undertake the collection of all the emendations of Bentley yet unpublished. In pursuance of this design he has given us, in three *lieferungen* issued in London, Birmingham, and Heilbronn respectively, the emendations to Plautus found in Bentley's copies of the well-known Pareus edition of 1623, and that of Camerarius 1558. The remaining parts, which are to contain Bentley's emendations to Plautus found elsewhere, as well as emendations to Boetius, Gellius, Persius, Juvenalis, Macrobius, Capella, Catullus, Vergilius, Cicero, Valerius Maximus and Velleius Paterculus we have not yet received. Mr. Sonnenschein seems to have had from the first a less comprehensive plan, that of giving in the concisest possible fashion the emendations to Plautus alone, in his Appendix to the *Captivi*. It was perhaps only natural that a philological unpleasantness should arise between them, from the endeavor of each to get the prior right to the use of Bentley's books, and the prior right also to publication. We need not enter into their mutual recriminations of unfairness, but may esteem ourselves fortunate in having two collections of the same emendations, one of which may serve as a check upon the other, that of Schroeder being distinguished by the most painstaking German *akribie* in the reproduction of Bentley's system of critical signs, and so for scholars far more satisfactory; that of Sonnenschein being for speedy reference much more convenient, inasmuch as it records results only. The discrepancies between the two are far less numerous than might be expected. We have noticed the following: Sonnenschein omits the emendations given by Schroeder to Rud. 577, *plavit* (i. e. read pluit); 1302, *namque quidem* (i. e. omit que); Stich. 760, *cantionem* (i. e. cantionem, so Nonius); Pseud. 1247, *tacentem*] *jacentem*. To Asin. 649 Schroeder gives LÉ. *oscullate*] *AUS-MS.*; Sonnenschein gives simply *jam oscullate*. To Cist. II 1, 30, Schroeder gives *responsus* as Bentley's emendation, Sonnenschein *responsas*. To Cist. II 1, 56, Schroeder omits to notice that the *et* of *legit* is underlined. To Poen. I 1, 9, *atque edepol* *λίπον λίπον*, Sonnenschein adds MS. *haede collyraelire*, which Schroeder omits. To Poen. V 2, 8, Sonnenschein represents Bentley as first substituting for *horum hominum mihi, horumc hominum*

and then withdrawing it. Schroeder makes him simply omit the *mihī*. Other differences will be noticed in the course of this article.

But let us proceed to indicate the character of the emendations themselves. Quite a large number had already been given by Bentley in his editions of Horace and Terence. Many of them consist simply in the deleting of a letter or syllable; others in the transposition or omission of words to improve the metre. Some of these changes do not call for the exercise of the highest critical ability, and a large part of them having been proposed and inserted in the text by critics of Plautus since Bentley's time, are not new to scholars of to-day. Not a few indeed are to be found in earlier editions, and from these Bentley, for aught we know, may have adopted them, as it was not his practice specially to distinguish emendations thus received. It is, however, oftentimes a matter of interest to note what view Bentley took of the conjectures of his predecessors, and how frequently he has anticipated the readings of the Ambrosianus as well as the conjectures of critics based on far better collations of MSS. than those to which he had access. No doubt Hermann and Ritschl would have taken delight in knowing that the great master, in whose school they learnt, had proposed the same remedies for the text which had independently occurred to them, and Fleckeisen, Seyffert, Studemund and Luchs will experience no less satisfaction in ascertaining that very recent conjectures of their own were made by Bentley more than a century ago. A mere underscoring of Bentley's indicating his suspicion of a word, may give us pause. Thus Merc. 66, the MSS. BCDF give *positum visere*. Bentley underscores *positum*, for which Ritschl has substituted *solitum*. In line 6 of the Prologue, where Pareus read *Eadem Latine Mercator Marci Accij.*, a little cross of Bentley's indicates hesitation about receiving *Accij*. In his commentary on Terence's Phormio, Prol. 29, he quotes the line thus: *Eadem Latine Mercator Mactici*, which is the reading of B. Of Ritschl's brilliant proof of Plautus' real name he surely would not have been as obstinately incredulous as Geppert and Valauri. In the following passages Bentley anticipated readings of the Ambrosianus now generally accepted. Bacch. 500, *inimiciorem* for *inmittiorem*. Cas. IV 1, 18 (644), *incenatum* for *incenem*. Epid. 685, *quin conligas* for *quid conligas*. Merc. 248, *ad me Hoedus visu'st* for *Hoedus ad me visus est*. (A has HAEDVS.) Mil. 170, *foret* (so too Camerarius) for *fuerit*, the reading of BCD; 274, *malam rem* for *alium*, cf. Bentley to Phormio III 3, 11; 364, *probri* for *propudij*, the reading of Camerarius; B has *prodivit*, C *prodit*, D *prodit*; 389, *meus mihi familiaris* for *familiaris meus mihi*; 554, *fatearis* for *fateare*, Ritschl keeps *fateare*, but Brix reads *fatearis*; 710, *habeo qui mi* for *habeo quom*. A has *mihī*, not *mi*. Poen. 357, *centiens* for *deciens*; 424, *abiturun'es* for *abiturusne es*. Pseud. 220, *nitidusculum* for *nitidissimum*; 733, *nam hujus* for *nam unam hujus*; 866 and 867, *bonum animum* for *animum bonum*; 882, *suavi suavitare* for *suavitare*; 929, *eum esse* for *esse eum*, so too Hermann, Elem. Doctr. Metr. p. 207, and Bothe. Trin. 52, *bene valere* for *valere*, so Bothe; 350, *immuni* for *immunifico*, B *immuni immunifcos*; 665, BCD have *imperium tuum ingenium*, Bentley's text gave with Db *imperitum*, which Bentley changed to *ingenuum*. A has the same words, only transposed, *ingenium tuum ingenuum*. Truc. II, 2, 8, *inpudens* for *inprudens*.

It is remarkable how frequently Bentley has anticipated the emendations of

Bothe. Sonnenschein calls attention to this in his Appendix, p. 63, especially with reference to the *Menaechmi*, but it is no less true of other plays. In twelve plays I have observed more than fifty instances of agreement. Some of these I give below.

Bacch. 479, *potis* for *potest*. Capt. 431, *cave tu* for *caveto*; 965, *conpendi* for *conpendium*. Curc. 359, *poctum* for *poculum*, so too Goetz. Men. 214, *quoquetur* for *quoquitur*; 492, *med absente* for *meo absenti*; 499, *non nomen* for *nomen non*; 872, *morbum hercle* for *hercle morbum*. Merc. 183, *In' hinc directus nugaris* for *I hinc hodie directus a me! nugare*, Ritschl reads *Quin abi hinc directus, nugaris*; 191, *nostris nos* (so too Lachmann and Ritschl) for *nos nostris*; 441, *mei animi* for *animi* (so too Scaliger). Mil. 282, *sci soli* for *scis solite*, Ritschl and Fleckeisen read *sci soli*, Brix and Lorenz following Haupt read *scias*; 1165, *nuptiarum*: PA. *omne ordine* for *summe Ordinis Nuptiarum*; 1193, *protinam* for *protinus*. Most. 237, *principe* for *principium*; 238, *his decem diebus* for *iisdem diebus, me isdec B, me isdem CDb*; 396, *ut animo sis* for *animo ut sis*. (Sonnenschein gives *ut sis animo*, which must be incorrect.) Persa. 324, *atque omne ego* for *atque ego omne*. Poen. 472, *pejeras* for *perjuras*. Pseud. 83, *adjuvas* for *adjutus*; 1073, *roga* for *rogato*.

We cannot attempt to give here all the passages in which Bentley and Ritschl hit upon the same devices for the healing of the text. The following may serve as specimens: Men. 85, *dum compediti aut anum*; Ritschl and Bentley insert *aut*, which is wanting in the MSS.; 340, *si quae* for *si qua*. Merc. 106, *Quid verbis opus est? emi eam*, etc., for *Quid verbis opu' est? emi*; 124, *enicat suspiritus* for *enicato suspiritus*; 312, *sum auctor ut* for *auctor sum uti*; 884, *porge* for *porrige*. Mil. 363, *praepropere* for *perpropere*; 601, *cautela locus* for *cat' locus*, a conjecture which lay very near, but which Ritschl of modern editors was the first to propose; 752, the MSS. give *nam proletario sermone*, Ritschl and Bentley both omit the *nam*, which seems to have slipped in here from the following line. Most. 186, *doctam et bene te eductam* for *doctam te et bene eductam*; 373, *cedo bibam* for *cedo ut bibam*. Pseud. 1163, *habē'n argentum* for *habesne argentum*. Stich. 719, *quamvis desubito* for *quam vide subito*.

Some of the passages in which Fleckeisen's changes of the text coincide with Bentley's deserve attention. Amph. 227, *Póstquam id actumst, tubae utrimque contrá canunt* (cretic system), the MSS. give *canunt contra*, which Ussing retains, Fleckeisen and Bentley transpose; 377, *líquere, quid venisti?* for *cloquere*, etc. Capt. 86, Pareus, *sumus: quando res redierunt, molissici*, Bentley proposes *canis sumus: quando redierunt, molissici*, with Fleckeisen, or *quando res redeunt*. In Capt. 749 Bentley and Fleckeisen both transpose *hunc jam* of the MSS. so as to read, *Persistis, nisi jam hunc et conspectu abdicitis*. In Capt. 879 both read *meumne gnatum?* for *meum gnatum?* and transpose the words *facere oportet*. In Curc. 656, where the MSS. give *quem ego tibi*, Bentley proposes for the sake of the metre to read *quem tibi ego*, but Mahler, in his Dissertation "De Pronominum personalium apud Plautum collocatione," has proved that *ego* in Plautus regularly precedes the dat. *tibi*, and Goetz accordingly approves the reading of Guyet, *Hic est ego quem tibi misi natali die*. In Rud. 272, *Quedene ejectae et mari simus ambae, ópsecro*, Fleckeisen and Bentley agree in writing *simus* for *sumus*. Bothe keeps *sumus*.

Several passages might be cited where Bentley and Fleckeisen have made

use of transposition to remedy metrical defects. We pass, however, to the consideration of a few emendations where Bentley has anticipated other prominent critics of Plautus.

Asin. III 3, 139 (729), Pareus read: *Ego pes fui, AR. quin nec caput nec pes sermonis apparet.* Bothe and Fleckeisen both read *sermonum*. Seyffert in Philologus, Vol. XXVII, p. 440, has shown that Plautine usage requires *sermoni*, and here Ussing follows him. *Sermoni* now has Bentley's approval.

Capt. II 2, 71 (321 Fleck.), Pareus read: *Ne patri, tametsi unicus sum, decere videatur magis*, which is metrically false, as no one would think of scanning *decere*. For this reason Fleckeisen, with rather violent transposition, reads: *Ne, tametsi unicus sum, magis decere videatur patri.* Müller, in his "Plautinische Prosodie," p. 268, ingeniously proposes *esse e re* for *decere*, which, singularly enough, Bentley had thought of before him.

Capt. 807 (Brix 804), *Tum pistoris scrospasci, qui alunt furfuribus sues*, B has *furfure*. Bentley would change to *furfuri* or *furfuribus*. According to Schroeder, who is here much more exact than Sonnenschein, the latter change of *re* to *ribus* is in different ink, and was probably made later, thus representing the matured judgment of Bentley. With his fine metrical sense he doubtless felt that a trochaic septenarius ought not to end in a cretic word followed by an iambus, a rule now firmly established by Luchs in Studemund's Studien, Bd. I, p. 59. Luchs has also shown that the change to *furfuribus* is demanded by the sense as the singular of *furfur*, "apud veteres est integumentum unius grani." Cf. l. c., p. 57.

But it is time for us to turn to those emendations of Bentley which are peculiarly his own, inasmuch as no one since his time seems to have independently hit upon the same. Here, of course, for one who does not command the whole Plautine literature and does not possess all the older editions, it is impossible to affirm with certainty that no one has independently reached the same conclusions with Bentley. But the following will, we think, be new to most students of Plautus, and, if they do not all deserve adoption, they bear to such a degree the impress of their author's ingenuity and critical acumen as to be worthy of mention here. Lack of space forbids any discussion of the merits of each one.

Amph. 235 (Ussing 232), *Denique ut volumus, nostra superdt manus.* The MSS. have *volumus*, for which Bentley suggests *vovimus*. Asin. 261 (Us. 259), *Picus et cornix ab laeva, corvus, parra ab dextera consuadent*, Bentley *consident*; 428, *dedo for dedi*; 508 (Us. 505), *Hocinest pietitem colere, imperium matres minuere*. MSS. and Pareus have *matris imperium*, Bentley *matri imperium*. Aul. 195, Bentley¹ *ornat* for *omerat*, which Wagner, Ussing and Benoist keep. 403, for *optati cives*, Bentley *pro Attici cives*, Ussing *opitulamini*. Bacch. 411, *perdit for perdidit*. Capt. 74, MSS. *Estne invocatum annon? planissime*, Bentley inserts *scortum* after *invocatum*, and so Sonnenschein. 797, *ad quemque icero* for *ad quemcumque jecero*, so too Lindemann. 862, *Atque agnum adferri propeere unum pinguem*. HE. *Cur?* ER. *Utsderufces*, so Brix (859); the MSS. BJ have *proprium*; *proprium*, Bentley's conjecture, is adopted by Sonnenschein. Cas. IV 3, 13 (680 Gep.), *Quo argumento?* OL. *Nimis tenax es*; Bentley's change to *Nimis*

¹ Francken, in his edition of the Aulularia, Groningen, 1877, reads *ornat*, and compares Pseud. II 3, 9 and Cas. III 3, 15.

sternax is very plausible. Cist. II 1, 25, for *Abi quaerere, Alibi quaere*. Curc. 413, Goetz reads *Libertus illius, quem omnes Summaniam vocant*, Bentley *homines* for *omnes*. Men. 344, to avoid the synzesis of *navis* into one syllable, Bentley reads *nunc in istoc portu'st navis praedatoria* for *portu stat*. Geppert also *est*. The last editor, Ussing, writes *nunc instat portu navis praedatoria*. Men. 451, Bentley reads *Qui illum di deaque omnes perdidit primus qui commentus est*, which agrees very nearly with Luchs' proposal in Studemund's Studien, Bd. I, p. 31, based on Bothe and Loman, namely, *Qui illum di deaque omnes perdant, primus qui commentus est*. Merc. 121, for *Quam maxime resisto tam res*, Bentley *Quam restito tam maxime res*. Mil. 456, for *fecisti* Bentley *festi*. Ribbeck has, I believe, somewhere proposed *festi* for this passage, all the recent editors read *fecit*. Mil. 604, BCD have *quippe scire sivere*, Camerarius read *quippe si resciverint*, for which Bentley *quippe enim si rescivere*. Most. 50, for *manat* Bentley *mantat*. 204, for *suo* of the MSS. Bentley reads *suo sumtu*—thus *solum ille me soli sibi suo sumtu libertavit*, which is supported by the alliteration, and far better than Ritschl's *aere* or Fleckeisen's *argenti*. Poen. I 2, 55 (262 Gep.), for *servilicolas, servolicolas*. II 1, 35 (473), for *indebant, indibam*. III 1, 35 (529), for *intu'st, non tuumst*. III 1, 67 (561), for *femina, femino*—thus *Quis etiam deciderint vobis femina in talis velim*. Cf. Epid. 670, *Lissitudine invaserant misero ingenua femina*, Geppert reads *submina*. III 2, 11 (579), for *commendo: quique tamen, quomodocumque* qui tamen, Bentley with a *fortasse*. IV 2, 6 (818), for *latera forti ferro, catalo forti ferreo*. V 2, 153 (1101), Bentley for *ore aequae ac oculis, crine atque oculis*, with a reference to Horace C. I 32, 11, *Lycum nigris oculis nigresque crine decorum*. The same conjecture is found, according to Schroeder, in Bentley's copy of Gellius, XIII 30, 6. Poen. V 5, 11 (1279), Bentley deletes *que* and inserts *eum*, so as to read *Ita repleto eum dritate ut de ior multi siet*. Rud. 318, for *totis supercilis, totis, ca.* 1008 and 1009, *exurgere* and *exurgere* for *exurgere* and *exurgere*, which are, however, to be retained. Cf. Gloss. of Paulus Diaconus *Exurgentes, experimentes*. Rud. 1210, for *tamen, tuum*. Trin. 1023, *sursum* for *sursum*. Ritschl and Brix *sursum*.

It remains for us to gather up some odds and ends from Bentley's marginal notes, the *raison d'être* of which it is not always easy to see. Amph. 777, he proposes *harricium* for *harricium*; Aul. 634, *harric* for *harric*; Men. 449, *inhicito* for *hic*; Bacch. 171 and 354, he reads *Ephesum* for *Ephesum*, to avoid hiatus; Men. 301, 310, 471, Poen. 557, 1238, he shows a preference for the form *harric* over *harric* (also for metrical reasons). Truc. IV 4, 10, for *his dies aliquis* he reads *his dies aliquis*; so too according to Sonnenschein in Men. 050, *his aliquis* for *aliquis*, with very small *i*, as though doubtfully. Schroeder gives no hint of a change in *aliquis*. Well known to scholars is Bentley's dictum, several times referred to in his edition of Terence, about *quoniam*. Cf. to Haunton. Tim. IV 1, 19: "*Quoniam* per se vult esse *quoniam* unde cum verbo *permane* *primae* *semper* *conducitur* *unde* *Vim* *autem* *autem*." Consistently with this theory he has changed *quoniam* to *quoniam* in Men. 302, 351, M' 050, Poen. 1229, Rud. 527 where the verb is not in the first person. John Kerr, a poor schoolmaster of Bentley's day, ventured to protest against this rule, but ineffectually, and only to excite Bentley's severe displeasure. Ritschl's *quoniam* was guided by it (cf. Opuscula, Vol.

V, p. 333), but Ribbeck and Jordan, with the wrath of Bentley before their eyes, have had the courage to prove for all time the falsity of this opinion. *Equidem* undoubtedly was used by Plautus, Varro, Sallust and Livy with verbs of the second and third person.

In closing, we commend to all lovers of Plautus these emendations of Bentley as of more than passing interest, especially in the form given them by Herr Schroeder, and we wish him all success in the further prosecution of his project. We remember to have seen, in the National Library at Paris, two manuscripts purporting to contain emendations and notes of Scaliger to Plautus. Perhaps some one will be prompted to examine them, in the hope of finding some valuable suggestions of this remarkable scholar hitherto unpublished. The catalogue titles are, so far as we transcribed them, as follows:

8185. Codex Chartaceus, olim Puteanus. Ibi continentur: 1. Josephi Scaligeri Notae et Emendationes in Plautum. 2. Ejusdem variae lectiones in Isocratis Panathenaicum.

11305. Notes de Scaliger sur Plaute, 1594.

MINTON WARREN.

Origin and Growth of the Psalms. THOMAS CHALMERS MURRAY. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1880.

This book must add greatly to the regret felt by all who knew the author and his work, that he was not permitted to leave behind him a fuller record of his earnest scholarship. In the nature of the case, a volume like the present, consisting of lectures prepared for a general audience, can only indicate—it cannot demonstrate—the acuteness and learning its writer actually possessed. Yet the lectures are singularly adapted to their purpose. Their style is rapid and graceful. Opinions are stated clearly and freshly. Even the occasional diffuseness and repetition, which a strictly scientific purpose would have excluded, served, no doubt, to make the course effective. We must congratulate not only those who heard it, but also the larger public to whom it is now offered, on an introduction so suggestive, and in general so trustworthy, to the literary treasures of the Psalter. And while we wish, again and again, that we knew, as his students know, how he could support his positions by fully developed argument, and so get an insight into his methods as well as his results, and understand him better when we are forced to disagree, we may certainly be glad that the popular form secures to us some of those results which we should have lost without it. The two opening lectures, for example—on the Origin and History of the Shemitic Peoples, and the History of the Hebrew Language and Early Literature—are not exactly in place in a book with the present title, yet we should not be willing to spare them. They show how comprehensive, as well as acute, the writer's thought was, and, without accepting all their positions, we could not do without them in forming an estimate of him. Other paragraphs are scattered through the book, to which the same will apply. We instance only the sketch of Antiochus Epiphanes (pp. 113–118). They do not quite belong to the main topic, and a purely scientific examination of the Psalms would not have admitted them, but they furnish us with additional materials for judging the author's abilities. As it is, with all the incomplete-

ness of all the materials, they yet warrant us in assigning to Professor Murray a very high place among the Shemitic scholars of America. His learning was extensive, his mental attitude fearless but reverent, his position on great critical questions firm and conservative; and underlying all seems to have been that enthusiasm which always crowns achievement with promise. If he had lived, we might have looked forward with great hope to his riper work. We pass to a closer review of the book.

Its object is of course literary and historical. The fascination of such a treatment of our sacred books, especially when it is disconnected with theological training, consists in the fact that it demonstrates the absolute worth, even in comparison with other literature, of those literary productions to which we are accustomed to apply other and peculiar standards of measurement. The church has been in the habit of looking at the Psalter on the religious side and in the devotional spirit. The genesis of the collection, and the special literary and rhythmical qualities of its component parts, have been left to specialists—specialists in the present case being by general consent understood to be the scholarly portion of the clergy. This tendency is perfectly natural, and yet it is certain that the private Christian will prize the Psalms more highly, and will be better able to appropriate them to his own use, when he understands that the divine truth in them is expressed in vigorous and original literary forms, which have shaped the devotional literature of Jews and Mohammedans and Christians in all after ages. It is therefore a positive gain when we are encouraged to study them, not simply as a revelation, but also as a contribution to the world's literature from a gifted people.

When we approach the Psalter with this intention, a question of prime importance at once arises: What age, or what ages, produced our Psalms? The answers to the question have swung from extreme to extreme. From the old and long-abandoned idea that David wrote them all, a reaction has brought some men of learning to the reckless theory that David wrote none of them. This revolution of thought has in fact corresponded, on a small scale, with the critical revolt led by Kuenen against the whole Old Testament history. Its final position, represented by Olshausen, consigns the great mass of the Psalms to the Maccabean period. With this position, even in its modified forms, Professor Murray joins issue, and shows it up in its true light as a purely subjective and unsupported theory, disregarding genuine tradition, failing to account for the assumed disappearance of the earlier songs of worship (which confessedly existed), or for the identity of the Psalm-collection in the Hebrew and the Septuagint (translated not later than the Maccabean period), or for the constant reference of the Psalms to David and the elder writers even in the Maccabean century, or for the fragments of Psalms in I Chron. xvi 36. That even any considerable number of the Psalms date from the time of the Maccabees, Prof. Murray denies. He admits as possible, but not proven, the Maccabean origin of Psalms xliv, lxxiv, lxxix and lxxxiii, which must then have been inserted into the already finished collection. The external evidence, especially from the Septuagint, is very strong against even so slight a modification of the Psalter in the second century, B. C. As the basis for determining the date of particular Psalms, our author names with respect the inscriptions, which he regards, and rightly, as a genuine and valuable evidence. Although not part of the sacred

text, still they proceed from collectors and editors who had better external means of determining authorship than we can possibly have, and the presumption is always in their favor (p. 105). Overpowering internal evidence may indeed lead us to the conclusion that they were mistaken. There are many instances where the editor's note needs corroboration. The Mosaic authorship of Psalm xc, for example, will stand or fall with the Mosaic authorship of the poems in Deut. xxxii and xxxiii (p. 271). But the cases are exceptional where the needed corroboration is not forthcoming.

The appearance of real epic and dramatic poetry in Hebrew literature is well established by Professor Murray. He adduces Ps. lxxviii as a striking example of the former, and Ps. xci of the latter. It is however unjust to exclude from the second category, as he does, most of the so-called "dramatic Psalms" (such as Ps. xxiv). The antiphonal structure is essentially dramatic.

Our author's view of the time and manner in which the Psalter was compiled may be condensed as follows: When the second temple was built there was need of a collection of sacred songs for its worship. Soon after the first band of exiles returned, some priest gathered the 1st Book (Ps. ii-xli) to meet this need. He drew from a much earlier collection, dating at latest from Hezekiah's time, and called "Sacred Hymns of David," because David had written a large number of the hymns it contained. In the following century Nehemiah compiled the 2d and 3d Books, culling still more from the Davidic hymn-book, and using other collections as well—the "Songs of the Sons of Korah," and the "Songs of Asaph." The 4th Book was collected about 370 B. C., in the same manner, and the 5th was added some years later by the Temple board of priests and scholars, and these probably combined the five books into one. All the later compilers used the same liberty with a modern hymn-book maker, in inserting such hymns, of known or unknown authorship, as came to their notice and seemed fit for their purpose. Now it is this part of our volume which really demanded, even for a popular audience, a clearer statement of its arguments. It is certainly probable that the division into books had in part a chronological basis. Our author does not, however, notice that as yet unexplained token of a more artificial division, i. e., the predominance of the name *דָּוִד* in the 1st, 4th and 5th Books, and of *מִלְכֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל* in the 2d and 3d. This variation does not exactly coincide with the book-divisions, but it ought to be noted. Nor does he defend his view against the claim, as old as Hippolytus, that the five-fold division of the Psalter is connected with the number of the books of the Law, nor explain, on the supposition of an interval of time between the 4th and 5th Books, the close connection of Ps. cvi and cvii. And why must the 1st Book, containing none but pre-exilic songs, date from the period after the exile? These are points where any intelligent audience has a right to demand careful proofs.

Some unqualified and inaccurate statements scattered through the book have been amended by the editor, Dr. C. H. Toy. A few others may be noticed. We cannot think that Professor Murray would have published the following as his mature opinion: "The language of the mighty empires of the Euphrates, unearthed during this century from the mounds of Nineveh, stands patiently waiting under the indignities it suffers at 'prentice-hand of tyros" (p. 28). Surely the Assyriologists deserve a better name than this. To say of an ancient

people, "they were akin to the present Turanians" (p. 36), does not convey much exact information, and it is simple inaccuracy to say, on the same page, "it is clearly stated in the Genesis that the Terahite . . . migration had its origin in the district of Ur, on the lower Euphrates." If that ~~were~~ "clearly stated," it would have saved much topographical discussion. If we turn toward the end of the book, we find at p. 204 a criticism of Ps. xlix and of Ecclesiastes, which one does not like to call shallow, but in view of Ps. xlix 15 and Eccl. xii 14 we are surprised to read, . . . "death, which he says is to end all, and of aught beyond which the singer has no hope or intuition." Nor is it fair to say, at least of *all* the imprecations in the Psalms, "they have never been defended, save by a special pleading unworthy of the scholarship and the enlightened morals of its authors" (p. 221). When we come to these words (p. 233), "In the poetry of many peoples, and markedly in that of the Shemitic people, there is no trace of formal rhythm, such as we understand by the term," it is impossible not to wonder why the parallelism and strophic division of the Psalms, in all their variety and expressiveness, should be thus utterly ignored. To discuss them at length was perhaps not within the scope of these lectures, but to deny "formal rhythm" to Shemitic poetry, with no allusion to those very characteristics of it which constitute its rhythmical peculiarities and give it a form at once regular and flexible, is a singular error. The remark which immediately follows, trivial enough in itself, would raise the suspicion, if it were not absurd, that two distinct things had been strangely confounded. He says: "I doubt if there is a single song in the Psalter which, in the original, *could be made to rhyme*!"

But in spite of minor defects like these, the volume is one of which we may heartily be glad. While we feel that Shemitic studies in America have lost an eager devotee, and one who would have become an acknowledged master, we have ground to hope that even his unfinished work will stimulate others to walk in the path he has marked out, and by patient, zealous labor to signalize as an era in our scholarship the new decade on which he could not enter.

FRANCIS BROWN.

REPORTS.

MNEMOSYNE, Vol. VII, Part III.

Cobet continues his annotations, critical and historical, on Plutarch's Life of M. Brutus. He first takes occasion, from the comparison of a passage in c. 22 with one in c. 45 of the Life of Cicero, to raise the question of the genuineness of the Correspondence of Cicero and Brutus, which forms the subject of a second long article in this number. He shows that many of Plutarch's expressions imply his acquaintance with these letters. For instance: Plutarch, Brut. 22, says that Brutus found great fault with Cicero for truckling to Octavianus from his hatred to Antonius, γράφων ὡς οὐ δεσπότην βαρύνοντο Κικέρων ἀλλὰ μισούντα δεσπότην φοβοῖτο καὶ πολιτεύοντο δουλείας αἰρεσιν φιλανθρώπου; and again, in Cic. 45, he quotes a letter of Brutus to Atticus in which he says that Cicero διὰ φόβον Ἀντωνίου θεραπείων τὸν Καίσαρα δῆλος ἐστίν οὐκ ἐλευθερίαν τῇ πατρίδι πράττων ἀλλὰ δεσπότην φιλάνθρωπον αὐτῷ μνόμενος. With these passages is compared the letter of Brutus to Cicero (I 16, 6), *si Octavius tibi placet, a quo de nostra salute petendum sit, non dominum fugisse sed amiciorem dominum quae-sisse videberis*; and the same sentiment is more plainly expressed in a letter to Atticus (I 17, 4), (Cicero) *dum habeat a quibus impetret quae velit et a quibus colatur ac laudetur, servitutem, honorificam modo, non aspernatur*. Again: in Brut. 29 Plutarch says that Brutus wrote to Atticus, saying ἐν τῷ καλλίστῳ τῆς τύχης εἶναι τὰ κατ' αἰτόν: ἢ γὰρ νικήσας ἐλευθερώσειν τὸν Ῥωμαίων δῆμον ἢ δουλείας ἀποθανὼν ἀπαλλαγῆσθαι. "Gemella his leguntur in Epist. I 16, 9, veluti 'si secuta fuerit, quae debet, fortuna gaudebimus omnes; sin minus ego tamen gaudebo. Quibus enim potius vita factis aut cogitationibus traducatur quam iis quae pertinent ad liberandos cives meos?' in quibus est eximia quaedam εἰσφομία, namque hoc dicit: *quid enim dulcius est quam pro libertate mori?*" Cobet quotes Orelli's opinion that the letters in question were composed by some rhetorician twenty or thirty years after Cicero's death, and says: "quid consilii hic rhetor secutus fuerit difficile dictu est. Utrum stili exercendi causa illa scripsit an ut lectoribus imponeret? Qui potuit, quum verae epistolae exstarent? Equidem (ut supra dixi) omnes esse genuinas existimo et ex maiore collectione excerptas."

A passage in Plutarch, Brut. 25, introduces a discussion of the events in Syria in B. C. 43, in the course of which Cobet takes occasion to refute one of Tunstall's criticisms on a letter of Brutus to Cicero (I 11, 1), in which he explains the statement that Antistius Vetus would have proved a hearty supporter "communis libertatis, si occasione potuisset occurrere" by saying: "the conjunction or occasion, then, of acting both against Caesar and Antony, at which Vetus could not be present, was no other than the battle of Modena." On this, after pointing out in a lucid way that the "occasion" was really the murder of Caesar the dictator, Cobet proceeds: "Praeterea si Tunstallum sequeris quid est *in Caesare?* in utro Caesare? dictatore an Octaviano? nempe

Octaviano, scilicet in bello et proelio Mutinensi. Potuitne igitur Vetus simul et Octaviano et Antonio in bello Mutinensi obsistere, quum Caesar acerrime cum Antonio depugnaret?"

Commenting on a passage in Brut. 40, 2, Cobet devotes several pages to an examination of the career of M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus, and, after quoting the letter from Cicero to Brutus (I 15), concludes with the words: "teneamus hoc: si forte haec non ab ipso Cicerone scripta sunt, *tamen eadem iisdem verbis a Cicerone verissime scribi potuisse.*"

After making many such observations, and in particular discussing the circumstances and the time of Porcia's death, which he maintains to have happened before that of Brutus, Cobet says: "quo saepius Bruti et Ciceronis Epistolas relego et ad illorum temporum historiam exigo et dicendi genus considero et animi sensus ac motus utriusque aut liquido apparentes aut facile pellucentes tota mente examino rerumque aliunde incognitarum notitiam animadverto, corroboratur mihi magis magisque suspicio *Epistolas hasce injuria Ciceroni et Bruto abiudicari.*"

In a second article of thirty-three pages Cobet treats directly of the letters of Cicero and Brutus. He expresses the highest admiration for the able manner in which K. F. Hermann defended the genuineness of the letters against Tunstall and Markland, of whom he says: "quid Cicero agat, quid consilii sequatur non magno opere cogitant aut explorant, sed exiles minutias veluti mures arrodunt. Quid? Cicero dixit *infideliter*, quod nemo unquam dixit. Nulla est dubitatio quin sit epistola spuria et supposita. Lepidum modo dixit *semper amicum*, modo *semper inimicum reipublicae* fuisse. Fieri non potest ut idem homo sit bonus et malus. Sine controversia epistola est a falsario ficta. Quanto melius et sanius Hermannus iudicat." Cobet does not, however, in all cases agree with Hermann. For example, on Epist. I 2, 3, "in hoc quoque vehementer ab Hermanno dissentio quod putat verba, *magis mihi probatur militum severitas quam tua*, sana et integra esse (*Vindic. Lat.* p. 40), nam ζεινυα hoc esse et lenitas vel clementia ex opposito *severitas* cogitatione suppleri. Quis vidit unquam ζεινυα in *magis-quam*? Orellius quoque defendit vulgatam *ὀζεινυορ* esse ratus, in quo τὸ μὲν μωρὸν video, τὸ δ' ὀζει non video. Omnino aut *lenitas* aut *clementia* addendum."

On a passage in I 5, 3, in which Cicero begs Brutus to favor the admission of his son into the college of Pontifices, Cobet discusses the matter at length, and establishes, against Tunstall and Markland, (1) that the so-called *pontifices minores* were merely the *scribae pontificum*; (2) that C. Marius was made augur after his sixth consulship *ex lege Domitia*; (3) that youth was no bar to such advancement; (4) that the verb *cooptare* continued to be applied to these elected members after, in consequence of the *Lex Domitia*, it ceased to be appropriate.

In a paper by Ch. Giraud, in the *Journal des Savants*, in which an analysis is given of an inscription recently discovered in Spain, and the inference is drawn that "la lettre à Brutus n'est pas l'oeuvre de l'imagination d'un faussaire."

Markland's objections to the genuineness of these letters is founded on I 15, 3. Solon is called "sapientissimus ex septem," while in the same passage he is declared to be so. "One of the two Ciceros must have written the letter." Upon this Cobet remarks, "si foret in terris rideret

Cicero quum audiret suo iudicio et testimonio constitui quis esset inter septem omnium sapientissimus. De septem sapientibus Cicero non multo plura quam nos noverat, id est propemodum nihil, poteratque unusquisque eorum per vices sapientissimus nominari."

Upon Markland's objection to Epist. II 1, on the ground of its containing the ἀπαξ εἰρημένον *infideliter*, Cobet has some excellent remarks, saying, "optimum quemque scriptorem Latinum pro re nata vocabula nova ex certa analogia sibi fingere, eaque omnia, si modo idonea sint et venusta et aurem non laedant, perinde esse proba et Latina atque ea quae frequenti omnium usu terantur. Cavendum tantum erat ne quis σκληρά et μοχθηρά et κακόφωνα fingeret, in caeteris analogiam ducem tuto sequebantur."

J. J. Cornelissen proposes a satisfactory emendation of Pliny, H. N. XVI 1, 1, writing, *aeternam pariens rerum naturae controversiam dubiamque, terrae sitne pars an maris.*

H. T. Karsten: several omissions and emendations in Cicero, *pro Flacco.*

J. J. Cornelissen proposes emendations in eighteen passages of the Achilleis of Statius. The following may be taken as a specimen:

178. "Protinus ille subit rapido, quae proxima, saltu Flumina, fumantesque genas crimemque novatur Fontibus." "Pro ridiculo *fumantesque* scribendum est *fuscantesque.* 'Fuscare' pro 'fuscum esse' Statiano dicendi generi consentaneum est. cf. Silv. III 4, 66: pulchrae fuscaret gratia formae. Vs. 159 narravit poeta, Achillem pulvere obsitum fuisse."

H. Van Herwerden continues his emendations of Lucian, of which some specimens may be of interest:

In 490 (Reitz.) he insists on ὦ φίλτατον Ἐρμῆδιον after the analogy of γῆδιον, κῆδιον, and predicts that Fritzsche will restore to Lucian διολισθάνοντες (for *θκιν-*) and in 493 σιστεῖλαι for *στεῖλαι* "quod miro iudicio edidit Jacobitzius."

In 494 he objects to ἀρ'οὖν ὁ Καύκασος ἐπιτήδειος ἢ ὁ Παρνασὸς ὑψηλότερος ἢ ἀμφοῖν ὁ Ὀλυμπος ἐκεινοσί, on the ground that Mercury, god as he was, must have known the relative heights of the mountains, and that anyhow he didn't need to be instructed by Charon. He would write, therefore, ἢ ὑψηλότερος ἀμφοῖν (ὦν) ὁ Ὀλυμπος. It is not surprising, he says, that Lucian should not have known that Caucasus was really higher than either of the others.

In p. 498, ἀλλὰ βούλει κἀγὼ κατὰ τὸν Ὀμηρὸν ἐρήσομαί σε he thinks we must either read, with Cobet, εἰ βούλει, or change ἐρήσομαι to ἐρωμαι.

In p. 510, εἰ γε πάρωδεῖς ἦδη, ὦ Χάρων, he objects to ἦδη, as Charon had done very well (pp. 499 and 501) with his Homeric adaptations.

In *de Sacrif.*, p. 536, he expresses his surprise that no one has yet suggested the emendation of τὰ ἔγκατα ἐξαίρων by reading ἐξαιρών, comparing Prometh. 20 τὰ ἔγκατα ἐξαίρησαντας.

In *Vitar. auct.*, p. 550, καὶ τὸ ἐρωθριῶν ἀπόξεσον τοῦ προσώπων παντελῶς, he corrects ἀπόξεσον, comparing Alciph. III 40, τὴν αἰδῶ τῶν προσώπων ἀπόξεσται [in his note on this passage Bergler quotes Lucian with ἀπόξεσον], and remarks that the MSS. constantly confuse ξύειν *radere* and ξεῖν *polire, laevigare.*

In p. 562, ἀπορῶ γὰρ ὁ πρότερον εἰπὼν ἀπολόβοιμι, he remarks that regular syntax would require ἀπολάβω. "Sed Lucianus in utriusque modi, coniunctivi et optativi, usu parum accuratus fuisse videtur."

In *Piscal.*, p. 591, ἡμεῖς δ' ἐν τοσοῦτῳ προσκνησόμεν τῇ θεῷ, as read by Jacobitz and Fritzsche, he follows one MS. in substituting τῆν θεόν, "quo casu constanter noster ad Atticorum exemplum in hoc verbo usus est. Προσκνεῖν τινι aequè vitiosum est quàm προσαγορεύειν τινί, et faciè Graeculorum relinquendum."

In p. 596 he condemns Fritzsche for allowing οὔτε ἰορτῆς ἐπιούσης, neque festo *appropinquante*, to stand, on the ground that "effrenata illa dicendi libertas et petulantia" was tolerated not before but during the Dionysia. He suggests οἰσῆς, or the reading of Φ ἐπιούσης, and says, "operæ pretium est videre, quantopere homines docti horreant probabilem lectionem e codice minus bono (Φ tamen minime spernendus) prolatam, ita ut haud raro felix veteris correctoris emendatio loco alicui magis fere obsit quam prosit."

In *Catapl.*, p. 626, he again objects to ἐκτεθειμένων as a perfect passive, thinking that here the reading of some MSS., ἐκτεθειμένων (*quæ exponebantur*), suits the sense better. "Perfecto ne locus quidem est Graecæ, ubi actionis effectus non permanet, nec infantes abducti a Mercurio amplius ἐξέκαστο. Confunditur enim perpetuo in his fabulis umbrarum et cadaverum notio."

Emendations are proposed also on the *de mercede conductis*, *Apologia*, *Pro lapsu in sauit.*, and *Hermotimus*. In the last, p. 783, τὸν μὲν τὸ ἄλλα ἔχοντα τῷ τὸ ἕτερον ἄλλα ἀνσπακοῦ παλαεῖν—καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς ὁμογράμμους κατὰ ταῖτά, he approves of Fritzsche's change of τοῖς ὁμογ. into the dative, but adds, "sed simul corrigere debuerat τοῖς ὁμογραμμάτοις, siquidem ὁμόγραμμος, formatum a γραμμῆ, *linea*, significat, *quæ cum alio communem habet lineam*, ὁμογράμματος vero, derivatum a γραμμα, *littera, quæ eandem habet litteram*, quod est huius loci."

In *Hermot.* 793 he approves of Fritzsche's reading βιώη for βιώση, remarking that Lucian "ad veterum Ionum aequaliumque suorum exemplum uti solet in praesenti forma βιώ pro Attico ζῶ, et aoristo βιώσαι pro Attico βιώναι, unde fit ut βιώη, qui aoristi optativus est antiquis, praesentis fiat apud Lucianum." If ἦν is retained we must read βῶ (βωῶ?), "nam aoristum ferri non posse certum est."

PART IV.

H. Van Herwerden continues his criticism of the text of Lucian. Sixty pages of this number are thus filled. He passes in review all the tracts contained in the second and third volumes of the Teubner edition. As most of these have now undergone the critical care of Fritzsche, Van H. does not find much that is novel or striking to say; and many of his observations are repeated several times, as often as an expression or word occurs which he deems non-Lucianic. For example: he more than once substitutes the middle for the active form of the perfect of ἀναγγεῖν: he changes repeatedly κρητισμοστατος to κορυφαίος: he again and again removes ἐκ from before the genitive of material, substitutes δὴ for ἕδε, κερμ for ἵπτε in the sense of "concerning," gives the Attic for the uncontracted form of such futures as ἐπιπύπτω, omits the preposition in such expressions as ἀβύσσου τινος ἐπὶ τὰ ἴπτε, substitutes ἴπο for ἀπό before the genitive of the agent, and changes the optative to the past indicative after final particles depending upon an unfulfilled condition.

There is not much in this article which can be extracted, as being of general interest apart from its context. Occasionally he disapproves of Fritzsche's decisions. For example, in *Zeuxis*, p. 847: for the σοβηθῆσανται of Fr. he desires to substitute εὐνοῦσται, as in *Dial. Mort.* XXIII 3, etc. In *Harmo-*

nides, p. 854, he insists on changing *ἔφθη ποιῆσαι* into *ποιήσας*, remarking that such a solecism may be tolerated "apud Plutarchum similesque," but not in Lucian. In *Quomodo Historia sit Scribenda*, p. 31: *ὥστε τὸ πρῶγμα εὐκόως εἶναι τραγῳδῶ τὸν ἕτερον μὲν πόδα ἐπ' ἐμβάτον ὑψηλοῦ ἐπιβεβηκότι, θάτερον δὲ σανδάλῳ ἰποδεδεμένῳ*, his note is: "Conspirant in hac lectione optimi codices, nec tamen ita is scribere potuit, qui in Pseudolog. cap. 29 tam acerbè perstringit hominem dicentem: Ἀπέκτεινε θάτερον τῶν πενήτων. Nec tulit eam stribliginem Fritzschius, qui ex duobus libris recepit θατέρῳ δὲ σανδάλῳ ἰποδεδεμένῳ. Equidem praetulerim τὸν ἕτερον δὲ σανδάλῳ ἰποδεδεμένῳ. Vix enim recte dicitur: ἰποδέσθαι τῷ ποδὶ σανδάλῳ s. σανδάλιον."

p. 64, he prefers to write *ἀνὰ λόγον τοῖς πράγμασι* (rather than *ἀνάλογον*), "quod cum Dativo construi nihil vetat, siquidem, ut hoc utar, *περὶ πόδα eundem casum asciscit supra cap. 14 [περὶ πόδα τῇ ἱστορίᾳ].*

In *Vera Historia*, p. 90, *τοῖς ὀφθαλοῦς περιαιμετοῖς ἔχουσι*, he suspects *περιαίμετοῖς* on the ground that *περιαιμεῖν* can be applied with propriety only to things which surround something else, as *τεῖχος*, *στέφανον*, *τσιώραν*, *δακτύλιον*, *χιτῶνα*, *δέρμα*, and metaphorically of what can be so conceived, as *χρήματα*, *ὄπλα*, *συνμάχος*, *ἀξίωμα*, *ἔξουσιαν*, *κάλλος* and the like. As immediately after we have *καὶ ὁ βουθόμενος ἐξέλων τοὺς αὐτῶν τυρῳττεῖ ἐστ' ἂν δεηθῆ ἰδεῖν οὐτῷ δ' ἐνθέμενος ὀρή*, he thinks we should read in the former sentence *τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῦς γὰρ ἐξαιμετοῖς ἔχουσι*.

In *ὄρωμεν θηρία καὶ κῆτη πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα ἐν δὲ μέγιστον ἀπάντων* (p. 94), he follows Mehler in bracketing *καὶ κῆτη*. [Is not *καὶ* here epeexegetic, as in *Thucyd. I 80, 3?* See Shilleto's note.]

On the concluding words (p. 141) *ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς βιβλίους δηλώσομεν* [sic. *Luc. διηγήσομαι*] he remarks: "hinc male concludas revera scriptorem id fecisse, sed sequentes libros temporis iniuria interiisse. Promissum aequè verum videtur ac tota *Vera Historia*."

On *Tyrannicida*, p. 158, *μαρτυροῦμενον ὅτι μοι πιστῶς δηκονήσατο* he says: "notandus est usus verbi medii *μαρτυροῦσθαι* pro *μαρτυρεῖν* ἐαυτῷ, non observatus, ut videtur, a lexicographis."

On *de Saltat.* p. 273, *Πυρρίχιον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ κελημένον* he refers to the lines of *Eur. Androm. 1135: δεινὰς δ' ἂν εἶδες πυρρίχας θρουρουμένου βίβριμα παιδός, κ. τ. λ.*, saying that the commentators have missed this confirmation of the supposed connection of the Pyrrhic dance with Neoptolemus.

On p. 285 after it is said that the objection to mimic dancing, that men enact the parts of women, would apply equally to tragedy and comedy, the text continues: *πλείους γούν ἐν αὐταῖς τῶν ἀνδρῶν αἱ γυναικες*; upon this H. remarks: "at in plerisque fabulis utriusque generis ipsum contrarium obtinet, neque id ignorare potuit Lucianus." He therefore attributes these words to some Byzantine scribe who knew nothing about the ancient drama and had in his mind the mimes of his own day.

On the *Asinus*, p. 529, *καὶ τράπεζα μηδὲν ἔχουσα παρέκειτο*, he proposes to insert *πω* after *μηδὲν*, for though Hipparchus has been described as *φιλαρῶρωπτος δεαῶς*, it does not follow that such persons are mean, and Lucius himself declares that he was handsomely entertained, and the subsequent meal is described as *οὐ σφόδρα λιτόν*. On *μηδὲν* he remarks: "in usu τοῦ *μηδὲν* pro *οὐδὲν* in hoc scriptore, qui cum Luciano nihil habet commune, non haerendum est." Further

μένην ἀποθανεῖν. He also expresses a confident opinion that the treatise *περὶ ὑψηλῶς* was not written by Longinus, but by some far earlier rhetorician, who "Caecilio aequalis in cruda servitute quum superessent etiam morientis libertatis vestigia" wrote certain passages which seem to indicate an experience of life and manners which Longinus could not have had.

Cobet has also a series of interesting remarks on the Scholia in *Odysseam* (Oxford, 1855). A single specimen may be quoted, "Odys. B. 373, Bekkerus edidit: ἀλλ' ὁμοσον μὴ μητρί φίλῃ τὰδε μῆθησασθαι. Scholion: γρ. (i. e. γραπτέον) διὰ τοῦ Ε μῆθησασθαι. Antiquissimum hoc est erroris genus, quo *futuri* et *aoristi* formae et in infinitivis et in participiis temere et inconsulto inter se permiscantur cum sententiae detrimento vel cum barbarismo et solocismo. Ὅμοσον μὴ μῆθησασθαι est: da iusiurandum te non DIXISSE. Neque Bekkerus hoc sentiebat, neque longe maxima pars eorum, qui scriptores Graecos nunc edunt id sentire videntur."

Referring to the cruelties inflicted on Melanthius *Odys. X 474*, he says: "non sunt haec *καταπληκτικά*, sed *βδελυρά τε καὶ μιαιρά*, and after quoting corresponding *threats* from the "poeta vetus" in *Il. Ψ. 20, Odys. Σ. 86*, he says, "arripuit haec aut aliquanto deterior cantor aut *διασκευαστῆς* nescio quis, et quas animus ardens minas iecerat inanes, eas poenas a misero Melanthio intolerabili saevitia sumtos esse fingit, et addidit etiam de suo aliquid, *χεῖρας τ' ἡδὲ πόδας κόπτει*, quasi nondum esset satis. Praeterea multum dubito an *praecidere manus* Graece dici possit *χεῖρας κόπτειν* pro *ἀποκόπτειν*."

This number contains also emendations by Cobet of passages in *Diodorus Siculus*; and a comparison of the text of *Thucydides* (*II 75*—in the edition of *Herwerden* which he highly commends), with a fragment he has himself copied in the *Paris library*.

On *Gellius, N. A. I 18. 5*, "*nonne sic videtur Varro de fure tamquam Aelius de lepore?*" he says: "Excidit vocabulum sententiae necessarium; *de lepore ERRARE*. Varro serio credebat et graviter docebat: 'FUREM ex eo dictum quod veteres Romani FURVUM atrum appellaverint et fures per noctem quae atra sit facilius furari.' Multo melius *Etymologia* a *furvo* appellati fuissent. Nihil enim absurdius esse potest quam sunt *Stoicorum, Ictorum, Antiquariorum et Grammaticorum Etymologiae*. Exemplo esto quod *Verrius Flaccus* apud *Gellium XVI 14, 3*, excogitavit: 'FESTINAT, inquit, a FANDO dicitur, quoniam isti ignaviores, qui nihil perficere possunt, plus verborum quam operae habent.' Has ineptias ne *Gellius* quidem devorare potuit, qui addit: 'sed id nimis coactum atque absurdum videtur neque tanti esse momenti potest prima in utroque verbo litera ut propter eam unam tam diversa verba FESTINARE et FARI eadem videri debeant.' *Stoici* autem non dubitabant quin NEPTUNUS a NANDO nomen haberet."

C. D. MORRIS.

ANGLIA. Zeitschrift für englische Philologie. Herausgegeben von R. P. WELCKER und M. TRAUTMANN. II Band. Halle, 1879.

I.—J. Phelan, Memphis, U. S. A., opens the first number of the second volume of the *Anglia* with a long article on 'Philip Massinger, his Life and Plays.' Massinger's father was in the service of the Earl of Pembroke, and under the Earl's patronage Massinger entered Oxford in 1602, but left without taking a

degree, most probably because he became a Roman Catholic while at college, and this also caused the withdrawal of the Earl's favor. We know little of his life in London until 1622, when he wrote plays on his own account, having previously been a collaborator with Fletcher. Phelan considers him as modest and retiring, reverent and never profane, naturally pure, but yielding to the tendencies of the age, and hence justly accused of obscenity. Thirty-one plays attributed to Massinger are briefly noticed, but of some of these merely the title is known, and others were simply altered by Massinger from older plays. Phelan hopes to have added some facts of the poet's life not known to his previous biographers.

H. Krebs contributes some remarks on The Anglo-Saxon Translation of the Dialogues of Pope Gregory, of which work he will soon publish an edition. The translation is not by King Alfred, but by Werferth, Bishop of Worcester, 873-915, and is by no means literal. We possess three MSS. of it, not five, as Wanley says, but only one of these is complete. Krebs gives King Alfred's short preface, and the beginning and end of the translation.

H. Varnhagen supplies nine verses of the Middle-English Poem 'Long Life,' from Dan Michel's Avenbite of Inwyt, which vary from the MSS. noticed by Zupitza in *Anglia* I 410, and were probably cited from memory by Dan Michel.

W. Sattler continues his useful examples of The Use of Prepositions in Modern English with—IV, *in—at—on*, and V, *to part from—to part with*. No collection of examples so complete has been made, as far as I know, by any English grammarian.

R. Kohler finds still another German story similar to Chaucer's Miller's Tale in a book published in the second half of the seventeenth century with the curious title, 'Lyrum Larum Seu Nugae Venales Ioco Seriae.' He also supplies the song from which a verse, relating to the Man in the Moon, is given in Rowley's play, 'When you see me, you know me.'

R. Walcker furnishes from Grein's papers a copy of Aelfric's Anglo-Saxon paraphrase of the Book of Judges arranged in metrical long lines, Grein having published it as prose in his *Bibliothek der A. S. Prosa*. The alliterative feature of this work had been long since noticed by Dietrich in his monograph on the Abbot Aelfric (*Z. für die hist. Theol.*, bde. 25, 20).

M. Trautmann presents a very interesting investigation of Layamon's Verse. After giving the views heretofore expressed, which are 'contradictory enough,' he states that Layamon's Verse has a great similarity to that of Otfrid and the Middle High German verse of four accents. Nine points are given in which this is shown by comparison; and the first five hundred lines of Layamon's Brut are subjected to a careful examination, with the result that nine-tenths of them fulfil the laws of Otfrid's verse. Trautmann then seeks the origin of this verse, which he finds—*not* with Luchmann in the Old German and Anglo-Saxon alliterative half-line, but with Wackernagel—in the iambic dimeter catalectic of the Latin church-hymns. Examining the first fifty half-lines of 'Beowulf' he shows that not more than one-third comply with the rules for Otfrid's verse, and concludes that the view that the Old German alliterative half-line has four accents is no longer tenable. Heyne, however, in his 'Beowulf' is a strong supporter of this view, and employs some Procrustean pro-

cesses to sustain it; and Prof. March, in his Anglo-Saxon Reader, follows him. We can at least be grateful to Trautmann for having vindicated the rhythm of Layamon's verse, which even Mr. A. J. Ellis pronounces as "very irregular and little better than prose."

K. Elze suggests certain emendations in two stanzas of Dryden's *Annus Mirabilis*, but Dryden is too modern a writer to practice on in this style, and we must leave him to the tender mercies of Mr. Furnivall.

W. Wagner rightly corrects two notes in his edition of Marlowe's *Faustus*.

B. Ten Brink closes the first part of this number with some additions and corrections to his *Englische Lautlehre in Anglia I 517*.

In the Book Notices D. Asher reviews Warnke and Proescholdt's edition of 'The Comedy of Mucedorus'; W. Hertzberg discusses at some length A. Schmid's edition of Shakespeare's 'Coriolanus,' which is frequently referred to with respect by W. A. Wright in his C. P. edition of that play; J. Zupitza notices a Heidelberg inaugural dissertation by A. Tanner on 'The Romance of Guy of Warwick'; and R. P. Wülcker reviews with much commendation the first volume of B. Ten Brink's 'History of English Literature' (Berlin, 1877), which comes down to Wiclif. Wülcker considers, and rightly, that a new history of the earlier English literature was a pressing want, which has now been supplied by Ten Brink, who promises an 'Outline' which shall give the sources for the results stated without references in this 'History.' While taking exceptions to some statements made by Ten Brink, Wülcker's opinion is that this is the first successful attempt to write a *history of English literature*, i. e. of the literary development of the English people, instead of giving, as heretofore, a view of the Anglo-Saxon and Early English literary monuments. [A similar attempt, and a very commendable one as far as it goes, has been made by Brother Azarias, in his 'Development of English Literature: Old English Period,' which includes the Anglo-Saxon literature.] Ten Brink's work is to be in four volumes. The present one reaches Wiclif and Chaucer, and is divided into four books, the first extending to the Norman Conquest—the most thorough critical treatment of Anglo-Saxon literature that has yet been made; the second, to King Henry III, including the Anglo-Norman and so-called Semi-Saxon literature; the third, from Edward I to about 1350; and the fourth introducing Wiclif and Chaucer. Wülcker concludes his notice with the statement that the book is a popular work in the highest sense, and deserves to be read by the learned as well as the great public, offering much instruction to both.

II and III.—The second and third parts of the second volume form a double number. H. Suchier begins this with an article on the Versification of the Anglo-Normans, which is chiefly taken up with combating criticisms made by Koschwitz in the *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* II 338, on a treatise of Suchier's entitled 'Über die Matthaëus Paris zugeschriebene Vie de seint Auban,' in which he had tried to discover the laws of Anglo-Norman versification.

H. Varnhagen gives the text of three Middle English Poems: I. The Disputation between the Body and the Soul (536 verses). This well-known poem

appears in mediæval literature in different languages. At least nine English copies exist, of which two are Old English [Anglo-Saxon] and the rest Middle English. Varnhagen prints the same form of the poem as heretofore printed by Thomas Wright and by Mätzner, but from a different MS. (Brit. Mus., Royal 18 A X). His notes contain readings from four other MSS., and a collation to Mätzner's text of the Laud MS. (A. E. Sprachproben, I 92). II. A Song to the Virgin (53 verses), from the Digby MS. 127, heretofore printed from another MS. by Wright, Wülcker and Bøddeker, all of whom assumed some connection between this poem and the 'Stabat Mater,' which is denied by Varnhagen and by Ten Brink. III. A Riddle (five verses), from MS. Egerton 1995, of the fifteenth century.

S. Levy combats the view of C. S. Weiser (*Anglia* I 252), that Byron's 'Hints from Horace' was imitated from Pope's Essay on Criticism, while acknowledging that Pope's influence on Byron's earlier poems was very great.

W. Sattler continues his examples of The Use of Prepositions in Modern English with—VI, *Ann. of.*

F. Charitius subjects to a very full and thorough examination the Anglo-Saxon Poems about St. Guthlac. The question of the authorship of the poems attributed to Cynewulf was fully discussed by Wülcker (*Anglia* I 483), with the result that the Christ, Helena, Juliana and some of the Riddles are the only genuine poems of Cynewulf, thus confuting the views of Dietrich, Leo and Kieger. Rieger noticed that the Guthlac-legend consisted of two different parts, A=1-700, B=701-1353, but both were attributed by him and by Ten Brink to Cynewulf. Charitius makes a very full comparison of these poems (the details of which lack of space prevents me from giving) with the genuine poems of Cynewulf, and concludes, from the character of the versification, the use of substantive-compounds, and the phraseology, both in use of single words and of phrases and combinations of words, that A and B are by different writers, that B is by Cynewulf, and that he was acquainted with A, which was written somewhere about 730-740 A. D. The investigation is very interesting, and deserves the careful attention of all Anglo-Saxon students.

W. Wagner remarks on Marlowe's *Faust* that it was in the hands of the 'Lord Admiral's Men' before November, 1584, hence Marlowe could not have used the English *Faust*-book (which first appeared 1520), as Dantzer assumes (*Anglia* I 47). Marlowe used the German *Faust*-book directly, and the English translator used Marlowe's drama.

O. Schöke contributes an essay on Dryden's Paraphrase of Chaucer's Poems, discussing the relation of these 'Fables' of Dryden to their originals. After a synopsis of Dryden's Introduction, he treats—I, *Paradise and Amite*; The Knights' Tale, and—II, *The Cock and the Fox*; *The Nun's Priest's Tale*, and concludes, after a lengthy examination of each, that Dryden has worked with great freedom, having made some changes, omitted much, enlarged somewhat, and introduced a great number of new thoughts. The metre is preserved, but not used. The diction of Chaucer is simpler than of Dryden's verse.

R. P. Wülcker reports on his examination of Manuscripts in English Libraries: I, Salisbury and London; II, Exeter. From the former he gives—1, the *Stabat Mater*; 2, the Hymn of Athanasius; 3, the *Fourth*

Psalm in four MSS.—all accompanied by interlinear Anglo-Saxon glosses; also from Salisbury the beginning of a MS. of Chaucer's Boethius, which was unknown to Morris when he published his edition for the E. E. T. Society. From Exeter, out of the well-known Exeter-Book, he gives critical texts of two A. S. poems, the Message of the Husband to his Wife, and the Ruin, with remarks on each, correcting the texts of Thorpe, Grein and Schipper.

R. Köhler quotes several lines from the beginning of the English poem, 'How the Plowman learned his Pater Noster,' and furnishes four prose versions of the same story, one Italian, one Latin, one German, and the beginning of an English translation of a French version.

M. Trautmann prints the Early English poem, 'Golagrus and Gawain,' preceded by an introduction on its origin, contents and source, language, time and author. It is known from a volume printed at Edinburgh in 1508, long lost but rediscovered and presented to the Library of the Faculty of Advocates in 1788, reprinted in *facsimile* 1827, and again from this edition by Sir Frederic Madden for the Bannatyne Club in 1839. It was printed also by Pinkerton in his 'Scottish Poems,' 1792. Madden thinks it borrowed from the French romance 'Perceval,' by Chrestien; Trautmann thinks it indirectly borrowed, as the name Golagrus is not in Chrestien. The language is Scotch, time, the end of the fifteenth century, and author, probably Clerk of Tranent, not Huchown, as some think. As the other editions are rare, Trautmann reprints it with some corrections.

A. Fritzsche contributes a carefully studied article on 'The Anglo-Saxon Poem Andreas and Cynewulf.' His introduction notices briefly all that has been written about Cynewulf and the Andreas from the printing of the Codex Vercellensis by Thorpe in 'Cooper's Report,' and Grimm's edition of 'Andreas and Elene,' 1840, to Wülcker's article on Cynewulf in *Anglia* I, and that of Charitius (see above) in the present volume. He also combats Dietrich's views, and then examines the sources of Cynewulf's genuine poems and of the Andreas, the contents of the Andreas, its verse, style and language, vocabulary and borrowings, and sums up his conclusions as follows: I. Andreas is no work of Cynewulf, as shown by—1, the different treatment of the sources; 2, differences in respect to the verse; 3, the language; 4, the vocabulary; and 5, the runes forming Cynewulf's name are lacking. II. Andreas is by a scholar or imitator of Cynewulf, who was acquainted with other Anglo-Saxon works, as shown by—1, the choice of subject; 2, numerous borrowings from Cynewulf; and 3, agreements with the vocabulary of 'Beowulf.' A very thorough investigation of the subject has led to these conclusions, and it must be admitted that this article of Fritzsche and the above-mentioned one of Charitius are important contributions to the Cynewulf-question and to Anglo-Saxon philology.

R. P. Wülcker has an appreciative obituary notice of the distinguished scholar, Thomas Wright, who died December 23, 1877. While denying to him the title of philologist, he fully recognizes his antiquarian and archaeological learning and his zeal for his favorite pursuits. Some of the most important of Wright's works are omitted in the notice, and notably his edition of 'Piers Plowman' and his 'Celt, Roman and Saxon.'

Wülcker also supplies corrections to *Anglia* II 253 and II 230.

F. J. Furnivall closes this portion of the volume with Two Protests, one against Dr. Phelan, in his article on Massinger, and the other against Dr. Elze, on Dryden. His criticism of the latter's emendation is manifestly correct, but its tone is rightly objected to by Dr. Elze (p. 548).

The Book Notices open with J. Schipper's notice of K. Böddeker's 'Old English Poems from MS. Harl. 2253.' He finds but one of these thirteenth century poems, 'Marina,' which has not already been printed, and thinks a new edition was unnecessary, that the texts were not suitable for an introduction to the study of Old English, and that the grammatical introduction is defective. Schipper's first objection is not valid; there is room enough for many more such works—the more the better—and every school-book should have a grammatical outline of the Old English dialects prefixed, notwithstanding the eminent services of Koch and Morris, or rather in consequence of them. Schipper gives Böddeker credit for improved texts, and, while correcting some errors, pronounces the glossary 'a valuable contribution to English lexicography,' which is itself a sufficient justification for the work.

L. Proescholdt notices Three Shakespeare Studies by E. Hermann. Part I, 'The importance of the *Midsummernight's Dream* for Shakespeare-biography and the history of the English drama.'

W. Wagner compares his own edition of Marlowe's *Faustus* (London, 1877) and Ward's edition of Marlowe's *Faustus* and Greene's *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* (Oxford, 1878).

E. Sievers finds many corrections necessary in Leo's *Anglo-Saxon Glossary*. A list of over *four* pages is given as the result of an examination of the first 120 pages of the work. While recognizing Leo's great services to Anglo-Saxon studies, Sievers thinks he was not a philologist in the strict sense of the word: he lacked accuracy in investigation. He concludes, then, that the work is only valuable as an *index verborum* to a number of sources, heretofore imperfectly or not at all used, and so welcome as a contribution to Anglo-Saxon lexicography.

J. Koch reviews the Latest Publications of the Chaucer Society, 1876; and D. Asher notices Sainte-Claire's *Dictionary of English, French and German Idioms*.

The volume closes with a valuable bibliography of books and essays in English philology which appeared during the year 1876.

JAMES M. GARNETT.

REVUE DE PHILOLOGIE, IV 2. pp. 111-144.

1. pp. 111-117. The future imperative (by Charles Thurot). Neue (II 400 ff.) collects many examples of imperatives in *-to, -nto, -tor, -ntor*, referring to the distant future, but opposes to them some examples which, he thinks, throw some doubt upon the ordinary distinction. Thurot examines the examples cited by Neue, and concludes that, although the present may be employed for the remote as well as the immediate future, the future form relates to the immediate future in too few instances to justify us in denying that it regularly refers to the remote future.

2. p. 117. H. W. changes Ἐγνώκα τοῖσδε (Prom. 51) into Ἐγνώκα· τίς δ' οὐ ;
 3. pp. 118-120. Notes on Xenophon (by O. Riemann). (a) On ἀνοίγω: in Hell. I 1, 2, I 5, I 3, I 6, 21, change ἦνοιγε, ἦνοιξεν, ἦνοιγον into ἦνυτε, ἦνυσεν, ἦνυτον (the Attic orthography requiring the aspirate in this word). (b) Hell. I 1, 35, which implies that the sea off Peiraeus can be seen from Dekeleia is not to be changed, as some think, for that portion of the sea *can* be seen from the eminence of Παλαιόκαστρον.
4. p. 120. E. Chatelain places *en* before *Agrigentini* in Sidon. Apol. II 367.
 5. pp. 121-124. Further discussion of the fragment of Eur. Melanippe, recently discovered by Blass. Text printed in full, with restorations (by Henri Weil).
 6. p. 124. Henri Weil changes οἰδέ οἱ ἵπποι (Il. XII 49) into οἰδέ τῷ ἵπποι.
 7. p. 125. Note on a MS. of Florence containing some letters of Seneca (by E. Chatelain). Shows that this MS., which has never been used in editing Seneca, is of great importance.
 8. pp. 126-7. O. R. shows that the omission of *animus* in Liv. XXII 5, 8 by Madvig is supported by Orosius, who drew from Livy.
 9. p. 127. H. W. puts ἐμπεριφαινόμενον for ἐν περιφαινόμενῳ in the second epigram in his *Papyrus inédit*.
 10. p. 127. O. R., defending ἡγγέλης in Iph. Taur. 932, cites ἐπαγγελῆ from an Attic inscription assigned to the fifth century B. C., and adds in a foot-note some further information drawn from the same inscription.
 11. p. 128. Henri Weil makes out a fragment of Agathon from Dionysius Hal. Dem. 26.
 12. pp. 129-144. The plural of respect in Latin (by Emile Chatelain). After giving the views of several writers on this subject, the author collects examples, beginning with the first that even seem to present this use of *vos, vester* for *tu, tuus*. He concludes that the plural of respect did not exist until the fifth century after Christ, and that it never under any circumstances excluded the use of the singular. He is of opinion that its origin was due to the habit of including other members of the imperial family in addressing emperors.
 13. pp. 139-140. Notes on grammar (by O. Riemann). (a) Note on inscription mentioned on p. 58 *Rev. de Phil.* IV. (b) In Xen. Hell. III 4, 1, retain Ἡρώδας, writing it with ψ. (c) ξυββάλλεσθαι in an Attic inscription. (d) *Tot, quot* employed substantively.
 14. p. 140. On Depidii, Defidii (Delfidii), Digidii (by L. Havet).
 15. pp. 141-4. Book notices.
 16. Appendix: *Revue des Revues*, pp. 1-64. Germany: Bursian's *Jahresbericht*.
 M. W. HUMPHREYS.

NEUE JAHRBÜCHER FÜR PHILOLOGIE U. PAEDAGOGIK. FLECKEISEN U. MASIUS.
 1879.

IX.

1. Review of H. Guhrauer's Essay on the History of Flute-music (αὐλοψοδία) among the Greeks, by K. von Jan (pp. 577-592). The point in dispute is

whether αἰθολός means the flute-player, who would occasionally sing a strain without the accompaniment of a flute, or the singer who was accompanied by the flute-player. G. cites in support of his view of the separate character of the αὐλοποιός and the αἰθολός Plut. de Mus. 8, Paus. X 7, 5, Athen. XIV c. 14, and especially Plut. de Mus. 36, where the reviewer holds that ἡ ὁμοφωνία αἰθολοῦ refers not to the harmony of the flutes with the singer, but of the two parts of the αἰθολοῦ with each other. (In showing that the αἰθολοῦ was double he need not have gone to the desperate length of deriving αἰθολοῦ from the *Egyptian man*.) The reviewer tries to show that there was a similarity between the rhapsodic recitation of Homer by Terpander and these *aulodic* recitations. He interprets [incorrectly?] ἰσογῆτα προσάδουενα τοῖς αἰθολοῖς. Paus. X 7, "reciting elegies to the flutes, i. e., after a prelude or with an interlude upon the flute." In tracing the history of flute-music the reviewer admits that in the flourishing period of Greek art singing and playing commonly went together, but he makes [without sufficient evidence] a distinction between the earlier *aulodic nomos* and the later flute-music.

2. Critical Observations on A. Hug's Edition of Plato's Symposium, by Chr. Cron (pp. 593-599).

3. The Scrutiny (δοκιμασία) of Magistrates at Athens, by Th. Thalheim (pp. 601-608). From a discussion of Lysias 26, 12 and 6, Dem. 40, 34, Aeschin. 3, 14, 15, Pollux VIII 44, and Deinarchus 2, 10, the writer draws two conclusions as undoubted: (1) that all magistrates *elected by vote* had to pass scrutiny before the Heliastic court; (2) that the law of δοκιμασία recognized a distinction between the magistrates who were *elected* and those *chosen by lot*. As probable he holds: (1) that *all* officers chosen by lot appeared for examination (as in the case of the archons) before both the senate and the court; (2) that the relation of the court to the senate in the scrutiny of those chosen to the archonship was that of a court of appeal.

4. Notice of Susemihl's Edition (Greek and German with index and copious notes) of the Politics of Aristotle, by W. Dittenberger (pp. 609-615). Four textual emendations and a few criticisms on the interpretation.

5. Composition of the Group of the Aeginatan Marbles, by Konrad Lange, reviewed by L. Schwabe (pp. 616-620). An interesting notice of an important contribution, as it appears, to the study of ancient art. Prachow, a Russian archaeologist, published in 1873 an essay on this group of statuary, in which he held that a study of the fragments found with the statues *in situ*, and preserved in Munich, warranted the belief that an additional figure leaning forward to rescue the fallen warrior was originally present in each gable. Lange has followed in the path of Prachow, and finds evidence in the thirty-five pieces which seem to belong to the figures of the pediments of the existence of *fourteen* instead of the well-known *eleven* statues in each pediment. The reviewer is convinced by Lange's proofs, and praises the artistic skill with which he disposes the fourteen figures, two rows deep, in the field of the pediment.

6. The Treasure of Ptolemy Philadelphus, by F. Rühl (pp. 621-628). According to a comment of St. Jerome on Daniel xi 5, Ptolemy's revenue from Egypt amounted annually to 14,800 talents (i. e. Alexandrian silver talents). But Appian, Proem. c. 10, states that Ptolemy had in his treasury 740,000 *Egyptian*

talents. The discussion turns upon what is meant by *Egyptian* talents. Droysen takes them to be *silver*, so does Boeckh, who accounts for the surprising disparity between the annual revenue and the immense treasure by supposing that the statement of Appian refers to the sum total of revenues received from all sources during the thirty-eight years of Ptolemy's reign. The writer defends the view of Latronne, who understands these Egyptian talents to be *copper*, making the treasure equal only to 12,333 silver talents.

7. Emendationes [tredecim] Petronii Satirarum, by A. Strelitz (pp. 629-634).

8. On the Ordinarii as represented by Vegetius in his *Epitoma Rei Militaris*, by H. Bruncke (pp. 635-639). The writer shows that Vegetius confounded the Ordinarii of the time of Diocletian with the *antiqua ordinatio* of Hadrian.

9. Emendations to Eutropius, by R. Duncker (pp. 641-656). These twenty emendations deserve careful attention. Many of them are supported by the Greek translation of Paeanius, whose value in the criticism of Eutropius Duncker promises to defend against the attack of Sylburg and others.

In the paedagogical part of this number the article of most general interest is that entitled "Ein angebliches Lautgesetz des Neuhochochdeutschen," in which the difficulties that beset the spelling reform in Germany come to view.

X.

1. Wecklein gives a favorable notice of Prinz's Edition of the *Alcestis*, and adds several conjectural readings, of which the most noteworthy are: *φέγγος* for *ιηνός* (450), *ἐν νομοῖς* for *ἐν δόμοις* (574), *μείζονα ζώης* for *μείζον' ἀν ζώης* (713).

2. Textual Criticism of Euripides (*Hercul. Fur.* 76-77, 81, *Medea* 160 ff., *Alcest.* 132 ff.), by S. Mekler (pp. 661-668). One illustration of the writer's method must suffice. In the common reading of *Medea* 160, *Ἄρτεμι* is objectionable (cf. 168). Weil conjectures *ὦ μεγάλη Ζεῦ καὶ Οἴμι πότνια*. But how are we to explain the transposition of *Θέμι*? Better suppose that ΠΟΤΝΙΑ ΑΡΤΕΜΙ originally only ΟΝΙΑΔΑ Ε was genuine, and from this we could make [ΚΡ]ΟΝΙΑΔΑ [Ζ] Ε [Υ]. The whole line then would read: *ὦ μεγάλη Θέμι καὶ Κρονίδα Ζεῦ!*

3. Thirteen emendations of the text of Solon's fragments, by J. Sitzler (pp. 668-672). Some of these conjectures are ingenious, but are not required either by the sense or the grammar of the traditional reading. A few, like *τέτρωσιν* for *τιμῶσιν* fr. 13, and the changes proposed in fr. 24 (which are corroborated by *Theognis* 719 ff), seem worthy of adoption.

4. Pederasty and Sexual Love in Plato's *Symposium*, by M. Wohlrab (pp. 673-684). The writer contends for the quasi natural and unsensual view of *παιδεραστία* presented in the *Symposium*. Socrates speaks of *ὀρθῶς παιδεραστεῖν*. A strong case is made against the interpretation of this Dialogue which is based upon the modern view of pederasty. The consistency and the nobility of the sentiments expressed by Phaedrus, Pausanias, Eryximachus and Aristophanes, are defended against the criticisms of Hug and Rettig.

5. The Tongues of Animals offered in Sacrifice, by P. Stengel (pp. 687-692). From a discussion of Athenaeus I 28, of the scholia on *Odys.* γ 332, *Apollonius Argonaut.* I 517 and Cornutus *περὶ θεῶν* c. 16, the writer concludes that the tongues of victims were not burnt in sacrifice to *Hermes*, but in the instance of

Odys. γ 332 to Poseidon [cf. Nitzsch and Hayman ad l. c.] and in that of Apoll. Argonaut. to Zeus. From Aristoph. Plutus 1110 and the scholiast (Καλλιογράφος) τῶν θυσμένων (φῆσι) τὰς γλώσσας τοῖς κήρυξιν ἀπονέμεσθαι, and from two inscriptions, ἦν δὲ θῖνθαι (ὁ ἱερεὺς) λάφεται γλῶσσαν — τῷ ἱερεῖ γλῶσσα κ. τ. ε., the writer infers that at one time [when?] it was customary to give the tongue of the victim to the officiating priest or herald.

6. R. Löbbach disputes the statement of Christ's *Metrik* p. 187, that the penthemimeral caesura cuts the hexameter into two nearly equal parts, and maintains that, counting 24 *morae* to the line and two additional for the pauses, this caesura cuts the line into two parts whose proportion is as 10 to 16, which is nearly the same ratio as that between the larger (second) part to the entire line, sc. 16 : 26.

7. From a great many examples P. Egenolf shows that Apollonius Dyscolus, as in his *Scripta Minora* (cf. Fleck. Jahrb. 1878, p. 845), so in his *de Syntaxi* wrote either μέρος λόγου or τὸ μέρος τοῦ λόγου. (pp. 693-698.)

8. Critical discussion and emendation of passages in Lucian's *Tὰ πρὸς Κρόνον* and *Πλοῖον ἢ Εὐχαί*, by O. Wichmann (pp. 698-700).

9. A critical discussion and emendation of Sallust Jug. 14, 3; 94, 1; 97, 5, by Hellwig and Gneisse (pp. 701-704).

10. Glossae, by G. Löwe (pp. 705-712). Forty-seven in number and supplementary to the author's "Prodromus Corporis Glossariorum Latinorum."

XI.

1. The Pre-Socratic Philosophy, by A. Gladisch (pp. 721-733). An interesting paper, whose aim is to show the popular misconception of this philosophy. After criticizing Hegel's subjective treatment of this period, the writer proceeds to a sharp discussion of Aristotle's statement (*Metaph.* I 3 f.) of the progressive development of philosophy, the correctness of which he calls in question. Gladisch argues that Thales meant by ἀρχὴ πάντων ὕδωρ not that water is the origin, but, as Cic. de Nat. Deorum I 10, 25 has it, "initium rerum." So the ἀήρ of Anaximenes and the πῦρ αἰώνιον of Heraclitus he takes not as the material cause but as the visible symbol of the first cause of the universe, only a shade removed from the more spiritual νόος of Anaxagoras, for which Gladisch claims all the essential attributes of the Hebrew Jehovah.

2. W. H. Roscher makes out a good case for the change of the name of the festival held at Delphi, in honor of Apollo's victory over the Python, from σκεπήριον (of uncertain etymology) to στεπτήριον = feast of crowning.

3. Studies in the Nicomachean Ethics, by F. Susemihl (pp. 737-765). This is an able discussion of the terms ἐπιστημονικόν, λογιστικόν, δοξαστικόν, as applied by Aristotle, at the beginning of the sixth book of the Ethics, to the parts of the rational soul (τὸ λόγον ἔχον). The author thinks that the generally received view which takes τὸ ἐπιστημονικόν as including all the activities of the theoretic and τὸ λογιστικόν only those of the practical reason, is contradicted by the right interpretation of the language of Aristotle; that τὸ λογιστικόν, while properly called so from one of its activities, sc. λογίζεσθαι = βουλευέσθαι (which is its practical side), has also an activity in relation to what is theoretical or scientific and yet not necessary (ἐνδεχόμενον καὶ ἄλλως ἔχειν), and hence may be called also τὸ δοξαστικόν.

4. Wecklein, in commenting on Plato's Apology, decides in favor of Uhle's interpretation of $\mu\upsilon\omega\psi$ = "gadfly" against Cron's = "spur," and shows how the double sense in Greek of the word suits the thought of the passage in the Apology.

5. Fleckeisen proposes, for reasons based in part on the metre, to read v. 64, 65 of the Epidicus of Plautus thus:

*Quid nunc me retines? istam amatne quam emit de praeda? rogas?
Immo deperit. Degetur corium de tergo meo.*

6. *Observationes Criticae in Lucretium*, by J. Woltjer (pp. 769-786). This critical paper, in which fifteen emendations are proposed, is the fruit of a careful collation of the Leyden MSS. A and B, and shows remarkable acumen.

7. An attempt by C. Venediger (pp. 786-790) to show that chaps. 7 and 8 of Book III of Caesar's Commentaries, from peculiarities in the diction and in the syntax, are not of Caesar's composition, but constitute one of several instances in which he transcribed literally the documents and reports which formed part of the material of his history. Many of the alleged peculiarities may be charged to the critic's anxiety to prove his point.

8. *The Date of the Composition of the Tenth Eclogue of Vergil*, by H. Flach (pp. 791-798). From the reading of the first line ("*extremum*") critics regard this as the last written of the Eclogues, without supposing that all were composed in the order of their arrangement. Flach finds evidence in the allusions to Gallus for assuming a date earlier by three to five years (42 B. C.), supposes that the poet subsequently placed this at the end of the collection of Eclogues, either because he thought it possessed but little general interest or was conscious "*dasz das gedicht ein verunglücktes war*," and changed the original reading of the first line so as to indicate by "*extremum*" the present order of the idyll. In the obscurity of the tone and of many of the expressions of this eclogue Flach sees complimentary (!) imitation of the style of Gallus's elegies written after the model of Euphorion.

9. M. Bechert extends the researches of Th. Vogel (vid. Fleck. Jahrb. 1878, p. 393), on the "representative" use in Latin of the preposition *in* (e. g. *in vobis liberos, parentes, consanguineos habeo*), to the *Astronomicum* of Manilius: with but meagre results, for he finds only three undoubted instances.

XII.

1. *The Poet Homer and the Wolfian Hypothesis*, by A. Kiene (pp. 801-806). The writer contends for the unity of authorship of the Homeric poetry on the following grounds: (1) The poetic diction and form preserve their identity (leaving unquestioned interpolations out of account) throughout the Iliad and the Odyssey. (2) Both poems contain a consistent and complete action, according to the criteria given by Aristotle (*Poetics* 24, 7). (3) The Epics of Homer are in the points just named, according to the testimony of Aristotle, far superior to those of the other epic poets. (4) While the other epic poets narrate in their own person, Homer represents the action dramatically and delineates his characters most vividly. The freshest feature of the paper is the discussion of the "*gestaltende kraft der sage*" in the consistent portrayal of the character.

2. J. Golisch shows the absurdity of supposing that the preposition $\pi\rho\acute{o}$ origi-

nally meant "with the back towards" by applying this sense in such passages as Xen. Hellen. VII 1, 30, Plut. Themist. 15, and in others.

3. K. J. Liebhold discusses the interpretation of *ιερῶν καὶ δοιῶν* Thuc. II 53, and of *ἄξιον τοῦ παρὰ πολὺ πράξειν* Thuc. II 89.

4. Review of Wieseler's critical annotations on the Cyclops of Euripides, by J. Kvičala (pp. 809-815). Some of Wieseler's emendations are highly commended. In v. 591 and v. 648 the traditional text is defended.

5. Another attempt is made, this time by J. Sitzler, to make respectable Greek and good sense of the Epigram found in Dem. de Corona, § 289. Most noteworthy is the proposal to strike out vv. 5, 6 as a gloss on *ἀντιπάλων ὕβριν ἀπεσκήδασαν*.

6. Cron comes once more to the rescue of his interpretation of *μίσωψ* in the Apology, in answer to the criticism of Wecklein noticed above under XI 4.

7. P. Stengel shows good evidence for writing, the name of the courier in Herod. VI 105, *Φιλμππίδης* instead of *Φειδμππίδης*.

8. L. Mendelssohn, in a criticism on an emendation in Appian by Roscher, shows the danger of proposing changes in the text without a thorough acquaintance with the usage of an author. So, e. g., Usener proposes to change *ἔθνων* into *ἰσθμῶν* in App. Prooem. 3, plainly unconscious that Appian elsewhere uses *ἔθνος*, in the sense of *country* and as a translation of *provincia*.

9. Review of C. Hoffmann's dissertation de Verborum Transpositionibus in Cornificii Rhetoricum ad C. Herennium Libris, by A. Römer (pp. 823-832). The Rhetoric of Cornificius gives us the *τέχνη* of Roman oratory in its purest form, and ought to be more widely known. After praising the acumen and soundness of the dissertation, the reviewer discusses five passages in which he dissents from the conclusions of H. He agrees in charging Cicero with indebtedness to Cornificius for "de Inventione," and subscribes to the remark of L. Spengel: "derselbe (Cicero) glaubt es immer anders und besser machen zu müssen (als Cornificius), macht es aber gewöhnlich schlechter."

10. Emendationes [una et viginti] Petronii Satirarum, by A. Strelitz. This critical paper in Latin is followed by one in German, written by E. Rohde, in which conjectural readings of nineteen passages in Petronius are discussed. (pp. 833-848.)

11. R. Thimin shows that the statement of C. Wagener (Fl. Jahrb. p. 271), "that in the perfect forms of verbs in *eo* and their compounds the *v* is always syncopated and *ii* is contracted when followed by *s*," is corroborated by the usage of Suetonius.

12. This number closes with two critical papers on the Commentaries of Caesar and their Supplement, the first written by C. Fleischer, the second by O. Schambach in review of a former paper by Fleischer (Fl. Jahrb. 1878, pp. 273-282) on the same topic. F.'s article shows thorough acquaintance with the textual criticism of Caesar, and offers many plausible emendations. A footnote of the editor gives the opinion of W. von Humboldt that "Berones" mentioned in Bellum Alex. 53, 1, is not to be taken there as the name of a people, but as the Celtic word for *armed men*, and is connected with the Welch word *ber* = spear.

M. L. D'OOGHE.

HERMES. 1880. No. 1.

1. H. Jordan. Notes in Linguistic Development. Jordan doubts the etymology of *esquiliae* as from *exquiliae* opposed to *inquilinus* [Mommsen]; he doubts whether any such weakening of *x* is to be assumed for archaic Latin [exfocient, Duilius column]. It would rather have become *ec-quiliae*, *equiliae*, although even Varro in his time suggested the above etymology. J. then discusses how pomerium came from *po-mœrium*. In a bronze tablet from Lago Fucinus the form *doivom* occurs from *deivom*, *devom*, *divum*; cf. Gr. *Foivos* vinum, *Foikos* vicus. The series then probably was: *moiros*, *murus*, *meiros*, *po[s]-merium*. Query: is *mei-moi-rus* merely augmentation of Indo-European *i*, or is *ei* a secondary affection of *oi*? These explanations of course cannot be based on the phonetic practice of classical Latin.

2. Inscription from Lago Fucino with facsimile: *caso, cantovios, aprufscano ceip apurfinem esalico menurhid casontonio socieque doivom atoierdattia pro. l. . nibus martzes*. Probable time before 250 B. C. Provincial (Marsian) Latin; a dedication by some Marsian legions.

4. On *olea oliva*. Query: is it borrowed from *ἐλαιον*, or is it a case of ancestral kinship? Cato de Re Rustica uses *olea* and *oleum* and *oletum* only, [not *oliva*]; *oleitas* *olearius* *oleaginus*; once only *olivetum*. But Plautus *olivum oliva*; *oliva* would seem to be an adjective form. It cannot as yet be decided whether *olea* should be considered a word borrowed from *ἐλαια*.

E. Stutzer [Barmen]. The time of composition of some Lysian Orations, especially 7, 14, 18, 21, 25. For 7 he arrives at 396 B. C. (the reading of § 10 being controverted); for 21 he gets 403 B. C. as terminus post quem; for 18 not later than 397 B. C. nor earlier than 402. No. 25 was written between 404 and 402, at all events after the expedition against the oligarchs at Eleusis.

E. Hübner (the editor). Citania: Antiquities in Portugal. Citania is near Braza in Northern Portugal, province of Douro e Minho. The name *Citania* occurs several times in localities of Northern Portugal, but about its age or its form in classic times (if any) nothing can now be confidently stated. In the ancient writers the name does not occur. The ruins of Citania are on a mountain almost entirely detached from the range of the Falperra. This mountain bears three concentric circular walls of about two metres in breadth. Some eight to nine paved roads lead to the mountain and there cross each other. Mr. Sarmento, the owner of the land, has caused excavations to be made with the following results. There have been found: circular cabins, the doors of which seem to have been in the rear, away from the road; a few huts are square or oblong. Further: stone troughs and rings in the wall, suggesting cattle; a highly ornamented slab, with crude ornamentation of a very early stage, 2.90 m. high, 2.80 m. broad, and 0.24 m. thick. The use of this slab is much disputed, some Portuguese archaeologists thinking of the surface of an altar; Prof. H. himself suggests a sepulchral monument. Further: stone pillars, stone thresholds; a few bases of columns, unmistakably in Graeco-Roman style; stones with linear, geometrical, circular and spiral ornamentation, reminding one of the later Celtic type: fragments of very rudely sculptured heads: two nude figures in relief, one pursuing the other: Inscriptions: *Coroneri Camali domus*, sepulchral, H. thinks: another: *Coru . . . abe Medamus Camali*. The A M A L

incised thus: AA a monogrammatic shift. *Camalus* appears everywhere in these inscriptions. Pottery: these fragments, too, repeat the name of *Camalus*. Other fragments, of finer pottery, are probably of imported goods, with Roman stamp. A few small coins (municipal, Northern Spain, time of Augustus and Tiberius). All these relics point to a small native oppidum, whose inhabitants, faintly touched by the civilization of the Roman conquerors, lived on in their native and primitive way. No stone implements or remnants of a bronze period have been found. Summing up, Hübner points to analogies of Celtic remains in Gaul.

T. H. Mordtmann (Pera). Archaic Inscription from Kyzikos. This inscription is boustrophedon, and Mordtmann puts it down for about 520-510 B. C. Kyzikos was a Milesian colony, the dialect of the inscription is pure old Ionic. The subject-matter is a decree of partial ἀριστεία and of the privilege of free dining in the city hall. *δέδοται* is used in active sense. The slab is now in the museum of the Greek Philological Society at Constantinople.

Mommsen (Th.), p. 99 sqq., on Porcia. Porcia, the wife of M. Brutus (literary friend of Cicero, constitutionalist, etc.), married her husband after the death of her first husband Bibulus, Consul 59 B. C. Bibulus died 48 B. C., leaving at least two sons by Porcia. One of these was studying at Athens in 45 B. C., and was born therefore about 63 B. C. Therefore his mother Porcia cannot well have been born later than 81 B. C. But Cato Uticensis, the reputed father of Porcia, was born in 95 B. C., only 14 years before. Appian alone (probably after Asinius Pollio) makes her the *sister* of Cato Uticensis. It is very remarkable that all the other authors have the wrong statement, Valerius Maximus, Martial, Plutarch, Cassius Dio. Mommsen quotes *Shakespeare* (Julius Caesar) as the most potent and probably most permanent repository of the mistaken tradition, and assumes a wilful falsification on the part of the authority from which Plutarch (Cato Minor) drew his data.

Mommsen (Th.) Horace's letters on Literature (Ep. II). It is the date of their composition which M. discusses, calling them "the most graceful and enjoyable work in all Roman literature" (p. 103). M. weighs the indicia for the first Epistle and makes the year 13 B. C. For the second Epistle he assumes 19-18 B. C. The date of No. 3 (ad Pisones) remains uncertain.

Jordan. The "Parabasis" in Plautus Curculio, IV 1 (cf. *Hermes*, 1867, 89 sqq.). This is the sketch of life on the Roman forum. J's paper, which is partly antiquarian and partly hermeneutical and critical, comes to the conclusion that the lines in question are not Plautine. At the same time antiquarian considerations prompt J. to set the interpolation prior to 153 B. C.

Ed. Zeller. The Pseudophilonian report on Theophrastus. Z. assumes for this treatise (περὶ ἀφθαρσίας κόσμου) an author and also a later interpolator, whose work (turgid padding) it is an easy task to remove from the body of the discourse. The author seems to have lived about 50 B. C., at Alexandria, and shows good reading of Plato, the Stoics Chrysippus, Panaetius, Boethus, the Pythagorean Ocellus Lucanus, etc. The point of Zeller's present paper is this: Z. reasserts his belief that the arguments, quoted as from Theophrastus, for the eternity of the world (ἀφθαρσία) are genuine, and that at the time of their pub-

lication by Theophrastus they were actually directed against his younger contemporary, Zeno, the head of the rising Stoic school at Athens. This point has recently been controverted by H. Diels in his recent voluminous and erudite publication, *Doxographi Graeci* (Reimer, Berlin), a work crowned by the Berlin Academy and highly commended by Zeller himself.

Ernst Curtius. Harmodius and Aristogeiton: The late archaeologist, Count Stackelberg, found a marble chair at Athens, in relief, the figures of two warriors hastening forward. He called them Harmodius and Aristogeiton. The late Professor Friederichs discovered at Naples a copy of these reliefs in full statues. The view that these represent the two tyrannicides has been maintained by Friederichs, Schwabe, Petersen, Overbeck, but it never satisfied E. Curtius. He now points out both other incongruities and the fact that no arrangement of the two whatsoever brings about a group. He himself takes them for Miltiades and Callimachus at Marathon in the assault, Paus. I 15, copied from the famous painting of Panainos in the Stoa Poikilé. Curtius professes to have been greatly strengthened in his view by the fact that the two figures have recently been discovered on a vase, the "Lekythos Sercunang," edited by Petersen.

E. G. SIHLER.

LANX SATURA.

In the last number of Kuhn's *Zeitschrift* Karl Brugman discusses the etymology of some Greek words. To the generally accepted derivation of *δευτερος* as a comparative formation of *δύο*, *duataras *δφετερος, he objects that the *v* is not thus accounted for; for δφετερος should reduce to *δετερος as δφαιός to δαιός. The suggestion of Savelsberg that *δευτερος* is for an older *δυνότερος and that of Westphal that the *ev* is a "diphthongische Verstärkung von *v* zu *ev*" are both untenable. The use of the superlative form as in T 51 *αὐτὰρ δ δεύτατος ἦλθεν ἀναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων*, and in a 286, ψ 342, requires the meaning "novissimus" which can only by forcing be got out of "second." And the employment of *δευτερος* itself with the construction of a comparative is not satisfactorily explained from its sense as a numeral. Cf. Dem. XIX 24, *πάντα γὰρ τὰλλα δεύτερα ἦν τῶν ὑποκειμένων προσδοκιῶν καὶ τῶν ἐλπίδων* (Thuc. II 97, 5, Hdt. I 23). Ψ 248 *οἱ κεν ἐμεῖο δεύτεροι* (=ἐμοῦ ὕστεροι) *ἐν νήεσσι πολυκλήμσι λιπρωθε* (H 248, Ψ 605, Pind. Ol. I 43). These passages show that *δευτερος* and *δευτατος* are much more than mere numerals. It is more probable that, standing originally outside of the numeral series, like the Latin *secundus*, they made their way into it in Greek, than that the simple idea of "two" should develop itself into a predicate so full of meaning as seen above. The explanation, therefore, of the old grammarians is to be preferred who find the origin of the words in *δεινομαι*, and with whom of the moderns Doederlein agrees (Hom. Gl. 153.) *δεινομαι* and *δέω* are to be connected with the Sans. *dūrā*, "far" (chiefly in a local sense), compar. *dvīyas*, superl. *dvishṭha*; and so *δεινομαι τινος* means

properly "I am at a distance from something," and so like *δέντερός εἰμί τινος*, "I remain behind something, *inferior sum*." Ε 636 ἐπεὶ πολλὸν κείνων ἐπιθεύσαι ἀνδρῶν (Ψ 484, δ 264, φ 253). Δεύτερος means, therefore, originally "standing at a distance from," "following after in time or order," and is to be compared in formation with *φέρτερος*, *βέλτερος*, *φίλτερος*. Its use as the regular expression for "second" was no doubt helped by its external resemblance to *δύο*. It is not a phenomenon of rare occurrence that when two words are near akin in meaning, and there is also a resemblance in their internal form, a yet closer approximation develops itself, so that the notion of the one is colored and modified by that of the other. So by many Germans the word *sucht* in the expressions *die sucht nach gold*, *ehrsucht*, etc., is understood as if connected with *suchen*, and *bevormunden* as if derived from *mund*.

The etymologies hitherto proposed of *σέβομαι* are unsatisfactory. The suggestions of Sanskrit *sev*, *śevati* (Bopp, Pott, Curtius), 'to wait upon,' and of *sap*, *sapati* (Benfey), 'try to reach,' 'depend on,' recommend themselves neither in point of meaning nor by conforming to the phonetic laws of Greek. In *σέβομαι*, *σέβας* the meaning evidently is that of *separation*, *reverential shrinking back*, not that of *approach*; and for the *s* of the Indo-European a *σ* in Greek is not to be looked for. Σεβ- is the Sanskrit *tyaj*, the primitive form of the root being *tjag*⁹: and there is a formal correspondence between *tyajate* and *σέβεται*, *tyakti* and *σεντό*, *tyaktar-* and *(θεο-) σέπτω*, etc. The root means 'to move away from a thing,' 'give up,' 'renounce.' In Greek the physical meaning is most apparent in *σολέω*. The proper meaning, therefore, of *σέβομαι* is *to withdraw*, *recede from before* and then *to be shy of*, *to honor with pious awe*. It is confessed that no other example of the correspondence of *σ* with *tj-* is forthcoming: but though this is the single instance, it is not on that account to be rejected: for (1) *σ* is that which in accordance with phonetic laws we ought to expect for *tj*, and (2) the only other word in Sanskrit beginning with *ty* besides our *tyaj* is the nominal stem *tya-*.

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ERRATUM.

In the second Number of this Journal, p. 196, l. 15 from top, "it would be impossible" should be "it would *not* be impossible."

AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY.

VOL. I.

No. 4.

I.—THE *NEAPOLITANUS* OF PROPERTIUS.¹

It would be difficult to find two editors more completely dissimilar in scope and treatment than Herr Bährens and Mr. A. Palmer. The former is revolutionary, the latter conservative. Bährens flings aside the venerated traditions of the school of Lachmann and Haupt; declares the Naples MS., on which Lachmann mainly and Haupt almost exclusively based the constitution of the text of Propertius, interpolated; and after an enlarged examination of the many codices in different libraries, selects four, either unknown or never thoroughly collated before, as authoritative sources for future editors, merely admitting the Naples MS. as a pendant to these—chiefly, it would seem, from the high authority which has been assigned to it for half a century. Mr. Palmer, himself the rediscoverer of the long lost codex which Cujas lent Scaliger, and which is known to scholars as the Cujacianus, is satisfied with giving a complete collation of this (which he renames Perusinus), while he bases his edition almost exclusively on the Naples MS., reëxamined by him specially for his edition. But the two editions are opposed to each other, not merely as exhibiting directly antagonistic views as to the value of the MS. sources of the poet's text, but even more as regards the

¹ Sex. Propertii Elegiarum Libri IV. Recensuit Aemilius Bährens. Leipzig, Teubner. 1880.

Sex. Propertii Elegiarum Libri IV. Recensuit A. Palmer, Collegii Trinitatis iuxta Dublinum Socius. London, G. Bell. 1880.

treatment of the poems. Mr. Palmer, in spite of the bold tone of his articles in *Hermathena*, ends with a text which on the whole deviates but slightly from those with which we are familiar. Herr Bährens, on the other hand, believing that the poems have come down to us in a form widely removed from that in which the poet left them, introduces a large number of lacunae, transpositions and alterations. Both editors contribute a considerable stock of new emendations; many of them plausible, many very improbable, some few likely to remain as, if not certain restitutions, at least unusually clever *rifaccimenti*.

It will be seen from the above sketch that neither work can be dispensed with by anybody who intends to study the problem of the Propertian poems *de novo*. To determine the relative importance of Bährens' four new MSS. will require much patient investigation. To form a new and modified estimate of the Neapolitanus will equally demand long scrutiny. To assign its proper place to the Perusinus is not a matter which can be settled by an *ipse dixit*. I hold it to be a real error in Bährens to discard all MSS. as useless of which he cannot confidently pronounce that they are uninterpolated. But interpolation is a matter of degree, as any one familiar with MSS. will soon discover. And no statement about interpolation that I have ever seen, however much of truth it may contain, is so absolutely true as not to admit disproof in particular cases. For instance, it may be true, *as a rule*, that XVth century MSS. are liable to be interpolated, and more liable as they recede more and more from the beginning and approach nearer to the end of the century. But the rule is open to the most marked and indisputable exceptions. The well-known Datanus of Catullus was written after 1470, and yet presents, as a whole, such indisputable marks of genuine antiquity as to rank it, in the judgment of the great majority of critics, in the first class of Catullian codices. Again, there are cases in which Catullian MSS. of the middle XVth century seem to have preserved relics of ancient orthography which have disappeared in MSS. of an earlier date. Thus in the last strophe of Catullus' Hymn to Diana the two XIVth century codices (GO) have *solita es*, two middle XVth *solitas es (est)*, i. e. as L. Müller seems rightly to point out, the old form *solita's* side by side with the later *solita es*. One of the most difficult questions probably in classical criticism would be to determine the amount of interpolation which makes a MS. of any one of the amatory works of Ovid worthless. For owing to their immense celebrity, the perfection of their style, the

interest of the subject, they were probably more read and copied from the very earliest times than anything in Roman literature with the single exception of Virgil. It was inevitable that a great variety of readings should by degrees find their way into the MSS. These readings are as false as corrections introduced by the Renaissance copyists of the XVth century. But they occur in very early MSS., and have in a sense the sanction of antiquity. Hence readings as obviously *made up* as the famous *oculos, sidera nostra, tuos* in the Amores for the real reading *oculos qui rapuere meos*, not only find admission in modern editions, but are scarcely eliminated after long and patient determination. Yet it remains true that a MS. is less liable to be interpolated in proportion to its age, and that a sixth century codex is more precious than a seventh because it has the advantage of a century.

In a review of the works before us the question of interpolation confronts us on the very threshold. If no interpolated MS. is worth anything, the Perusine codex by which Scaliger set so much store need not detain us an instant. For it is undeniably interpolated. Was Mr. Palmer then acting unadvisedly when he determined to publish his collation of it? I hold that he was right in his decision, and that his edition is more valuable for exhibiting this collation. For, from what has been said above, it appears that even where an author is preserved in quite early MSS., we cannot be safe from interpolated readings. Or, reversing the form of the statement, we may say that MSS. of a period very much earlier than that of the Catullian and Propertian codices combine readings of an interpolated with others of a genuine character, with such strange intricacy as to make the task of estimating the exact value of any given reading a very difficult one. Now no MS. of Propertius has yet been found earlier than the XIVth century, though some have assigned a date before this to the Neapolitanus. I am not disposed to admit what Bährens has so confidently stated in his Catullus and elsewhere, that from 1400 onwards MSS. become untrustworthy. It was not till the middle of the XVth century that the Renaissance can be said to have been really dominant. Hence MSS. rediscovered in the XIVth century were copied with very little change till some way on into the XVth. It is so with Catullus; from Bährens' own Apparatus Criticus for Propertius, it would seem that it was so with Propertius also: for two of his four primary codices are, as dated by himself, not earlier than the first or second decade after 1400, and no one

who has observed the fluctuation of opinion on the dating of MSS. even in adepts of the greatest experience can feel a confident certainty that any assigned date (when not actually stated in the MS.) may not be wrong by at least fifteen or twenty years. It does not follow, therefore, from the late date of the Perusinus that it should be largely interpolated; for though written in 1467 it might be as *sincere* as the Datanus, the spelling of which is alone almost sufficient to prove that it had not been *doctored* by the scribes of the Renaissance. It is from internal evidence alone that we know that the Perusinus is interpolated and only a second-rate MS. Any one who wishes to test this may satisfy himself by comparing its readings with those of Bährens' four primary MSS. on the one hand and those marked as interpolated (7). A specimen may be taken from Book III. El. I 19 is written in all the primary MSS. *Mollia Pegasides date uestro sarta poetæ*, the fourth foot being composed of a spondaic dissyllable. The Perusinus (P) has *uestro date*, a rhythm more familiar to ears trained by Ovid, and of far commoner occurrence. Bährens, I think, is right in pointing out that the change is really due to transcribers who were intolerant of the rarer rhythm, and altered it to suit their fancy. Yet in this same elegy P retains unaltered in v. 22 *onus* as written in the same primary MSS., and has no trace of *honos*, the interpolated correction. Proceeding to El. second of the same book P has the correction *grata* in 15 instead of the original and sincere reading *cara*. In the third, if Mr. Palmer's collation is complete, it shows little sign of corrected readings, neither *cecini* (7) nor *lares* (11) nor *flare* (42), although *Victorisque moram fabii* in 9 is a new reading and perhaps a mere correction. In the fifth, on the other hand, P presents two readings which Bährens marks as interpolated, *inertem* (9) and *ab inferna rate* (14); and such beyond a doubt is the spelling *Quorne* (37). Yet in the same poem P gives what we may fairly call the most uncorrupt reading, that found also in two of Bährens' best MSS. (DV), of v. 24 *sparserit integras*, from which the Italians restored the probable emendation *sparserit et nigras*. These examples are enough to show what is the fact about the Perusinus. It is interpolated, even considerably; yet not so decidedly as to deprive of all value readings which are unique and which there is reason to believe genuine relics of antiquity. Take as an instance II 33, 12, where, addressing Io metamorphosed into a cow, Propertius says, according to Bährens' best MSS., *Mansisti stabulis abdita pasta tuis*. Here instead of *abdita* P has *abbita*,

whence Mr. Palmer, rightly, in my opinion, restores *arbata* (*arbata*), altering *Mansisti* to *Mandisti*.

This leads me to a doubt which concerns the whole question of MS. authority. It is true that in constituting the text of an author it is of the first moment to determine what are the sources with which the copyists have not tampered, the sources which present the ancient, and where an archetype can be traced, the archetypal tradition in its most unaltered shape. This is the point which Lachmann seized with such clearness, and which he carried out in his editions of Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, and even more rigorously in his Lucretius. And this is the point on which Bährens lays so much stress in his editions of the Roman *Erotici*. But it is a fact notwithstanding that readings not found in these first-class MSS., readings, too, which from their character cannot be suspected as modern corrections, are not unfrequently far nearer the truth than those of MSS. which as a whole are much more reliable. There is one of these, in my judgment, in the second book of Propertius (El. III 22). The line is given in all the best MSS. thus: *Carmina que quiuis non putat aequa suis*. Following this reading Scaliger emended, *Carminaque aequaeuis*; Mr. Palmer, *Carmina quae quaeuis*; Bährens, *Carminaque a uiuis*. Compare these with the old and long received emendation of Volscus *Carminaque Erinnes*. Can any one doubt which is the most probable? Yet *Erinnes* was based not on the reading of those cardinal MSS., but on the word *lyrnes*, which occurs in a MS. now held of secondary importance, the Groninganus. To me this *lyrnes* or *lyrines* (as it is written in the margin of one of Bährens' MSS.) has a stamp of genuineness which, whatever the ultimate verdict passed on the value of the Groninganus, leaves little doubt as to the goodness of the emendation. I cannot accept as in the least degree plausible the explanation suggested by Bährens and adopted by Mr. Palmer, that the word is a gloss on *lyricae*. And I confess my decided distrust of the Bährensian method of summarily dismissing as worthless all MSS. which do not belong to the first class. Between such a MS. as the Groninganus or the Perusinus and the interpolated MSS. of the worst kind (they are usually written elaborately on parchment and got up in a splendid style) there are many steps; to treat them as all equally worthless is a grave error, and a much worse error in authors which at the best do not go back beyond the XIVth century.

But it is time to give some account of the position which Bährens

claims to occupy among editors of Propertius. It is uncertain when the poems were brought to light. But in the middle of the XIVth century we know that Petrarch possessed a MS. of them, and it was about the same time that two copies of the archetype seem to have been made. Two families of MSS. stem from these; the first represented by A, a codex written about 1360, once in the possession of Voss and employed by Burmann for his edition, and F, in the Laurentian library at Florence, written toward the beginning of the XVth century, and bearing a note which states it to have belonged to Colluccio Salutato. Unfortunately A, the earlier and better MS., is imperfect, extending only to II 1, 63. The second family is represented by V, a Vatican MS. of the end of saec. XIV, once in the possession of the Jesuit College in Rome, and D, a Netherland codex written about 1410-1420, and employed like A by Burmann, who quotes various readings from it. These excerpts alone were known, it would seem, to Lachmann, who pronounced the MS. on their showing a poor one, a verdict which Bährens emphatically denounces: 'est enim hic unus ex optimis codicibus Propertianis dignusque qui tandem suo reddatur honori' (Proleg. p. vii). From these four MSS., AF, DV, and from these alone the archetypal reading is to be restored: all the other MSS. examined by Bährens he considers to be more or less interpolated, including, as I have above remarked, even the Neapolitanus (N). As Propertian controversy is pretty sure to turn on the estimate formed of this celebrated codex, I will abridge what Bährens says of it (pp. vii, viii). N is a parchment codex, in octavo form, containing on seventy-one leaves the Elegies. It has no inscription at the beginning or where a new book or poem commences, the change to a fresh poem being marked merely by the initial letter. The most widely diverse views have been held as to its age: Lachmann and Hertzberg assigned it to the XIIIth, Keil to the XIIth or XIIIth century. L. Müller believes it to be written in the XVth, and this is the view of Bährens, who considers it not earlier than 1430, partly from the character of the paper, partly from the style of the writing, which combines letters of an antique cast with others of a more modern type: a point in which it resembles other MSS. of lower Italy, which present a similar admixture of old and new. It may indeed have been written at Naples, as on the last page the name *Manetti* would seem to point to the famous Neapolitan of that name. It was examined in the XVIIth century by Heinsius, who gave it the name by which it has ever since been known. It

is derived from the family AF, but its text does not represent these exclusively, but contains also readings found in the other family DV, and has besides given admission to many corrections of the Italian scholars, wherever these seemed unusually plausible. Thus many variants found in the margin or by the side of the actual text of F and V are found in the text of N. In some particular verses the copyist of N has introduced a wholly new reading, whether of his own or derived from some now unknown source is doubtful. The MS. is so decidedly interpolated that Bährens justifies the exhibition of all its readings only on the ground that a comparison of them with those of AFDV will be the best way of exhibiting the difference between good and interpolated MSS.

Mr. Palmer, whose book appeared three months after that of Bährens, combats this view (pp. lxiii, lxiv), though far more briefly than might be wished. He points to five passages in which N alone seems to preserve the outlines of the true reading, and to two others (IV 4, 55, II 32, 22), in which what we may believe to be the very words of Propertius are to be found in N only; and he remarks that the orthography, which bears a decided stamp of antiquity, does not seem *introduced*, as Bährens holds, but handed down from an early and uncorrupted source. It seems worth while to examine this question a little more minutely, especially as most students are so entirely ignorant of MSS. as to be utterly at the mercy of an editor of whose insight they feel sufficiently assured to be indifferent to his erroneous or rash assertions. And in this case the discussion is really unavoidable; for, if N is interpolated, then not only Lachmann, Hertzberg, Haupt, three of the greatest names in modern Latin philology, but Heinsius, a scholar of the widest knowledge of MSS. and with a sense of Augustan nicety far beyond most editors, are wrong.

1. Readings found in N, not in AFDV, which, on internal grounds, *cannot have been introduced* by an interpolator.

III 5, 6:

Nec miser aere paro clade Corinte tua.

For *aere* AFDV have *ire*, for *clade* DV have *classe*, F *pace*.

The accepted and doubtless right reading of this line, which seems to date from the XVth century (we may remark in passing that the new editor is not explicit enough in his statements as to the gradual formation of readings), is *Nec miser aera paro clade, Corinthe, tua*. N's *aere* alone preserves the traces of this, at the same time that it shows the way in which the rest of the line was

gradually corrupted. *Aere* once changed to *ire*, *clade* was changed to *classe*. Here then N is only removed by one step from the truth, DV have advanced far beyond it towards error.

II 23, 22:

Me iuuerint nolim furta pudica tori. N.

FDV: *Me capiant.*

On this B. remarks 'iuuerint N *interpolate*.' How can this be demonstrable, or even likely? If it was an interpolation of the XVth century, why admit a false quantity? Surely it is in every way more probable that it was a second reading of equal authority with *capiant*, perhaps even the cause of *iuerint*. Originally it was written *iuerint*, in process of time was corrupted (as in Cat. 66, 18) into *iuuerint*, and gave way to what seemed a more correct reading. Mr. Palmer, we see, admits it into his text.

II 24, 17:

Hoc erit in primis quod me gaudere iubebas? N.

FDV: *erat.*

Erat is obviously right, *erit* wrong. If the scribe of N introduced corrections, as B. thinks, into the text he was copying, how strange that he should not have done so here. I prefer to believe that he copied the MS. before him *as he found it*, mistakes, and palpable mistakes, not excepted. Such *mistakes* are—

III 1, 23:

Fame post obitum fingit maiora uetustae. N.

FDV: *omnia p. obitum — uetustas.*

III 5, 7, *frangenti* N for *fingenti*; II 33, 19, *humo* N, *Iuno* FDV, and perhaps II 30, 19, *Non tamen inmerito* for *Nunc tu dura paras* of DV. The words *Non tamen inmerito* occur again in III 19, 27, whence they seem to have been transferred to II 30, 19, by an error of some copyist. Here again B. says 'N *interpolate*': which to say the least is to *assume* the very point in dispute.

Another specimen of a variant found in N alone, not in FDV, is in IV 1, 31, *Soloni* for *coloni*. I believe this to be right; but whether right or wrong, the whole balance of probability is on the side of N against the other MSS. *Luceresque Soloni* (the Solonian Luceres, a piece of learned antiquarianism quite in keeping with the character of this book of Propertius) might very easily be altered to *coloni*; it is difficult, if not impossible, to believe the reverse.

III 15, 32:

Eurus sub aduerso desinit ire notho. N.

Eurus in aduersos — notos.

FDV.

Most editors agree in accepting Lachmann's emendation *Eurus ubi adverso* — *noto*, on this reading of N alone. If this is right, we have here a very indubitable instance of the goodness of N, which has preserved under the corruption *sub* the traces of the truth, wholly obliterated in FDV, B.'s uninterpolated MSS.

2. Readings found in N alone, not in (A)FDV, which it is easier to explain as descending from an earlier MS. than as corrections of the XVth century.

I begin with a crucial instance.

II 33, 37 :

Cum tua praepondent demissae in pocula sertae. N.
FDV: *demissa sertae.*

The feminine form *sertae* is expressly mentioned by Charisius, and the line of Propertius quoted in illustration. It is also found in an anonymous grammatical treatise printed in the Vth Vol. of Keil's *Grammatici Latini*. B. accordingly has this note '*sertae Charisius et ex hoc interpolatus N.*' That is to say, the scribe of N was learned enough to have read either one of the very rare MSS. of Charisius (at the time B. supposes N written, still, it would seem, undiscovered), or the grammatical treatise *de dubiis nominibus*, or at least some other collection of Charisian excerpts. How strange that so erudite a man should not have been equally careful to correct the very doubtful word *tendisti* which all the MSS. give in III 8, 37. For Priscian, who quotes the passage with *nexisti*, existed in hundreds of copies, and cannot have been unknown to any one capable of correcting MSS., which, on the Bährensian hypothesis, we must assume. For my own part I cannot but think such assumptions dangerous and unsatisfactory. And in the present instance B. is setting up a theory in direct antagonism to the great scholars who preceded him; for this feminine *sertae* is adduced by Haupt as one of the clearest vouchers for the independent value of N.

II 9, 21 :

Quin etiam multo duxistis pocula risu. N.
duxisti. FDV.

The sudden change from the singular *potuisti* in which Cynthia is addressed, to the plural *duxistis*, in which she and her new lover are mentioned together, is thoroughly Propertian, and has been generally admitted as true. B. alone prefers *duxisti*. I say nothing of the probabilities of *interpretation* on either side; but it is very unlikely that a copyist would have *introduced* the plural

de suo, and if he did not, it is reasonable to refer it to an earlier MS. In the same elegy N alone has preserved in v. 26 the right reading *poterentur*, against the *polarentur* of F and *peterentur* of DV. Why should we suppose this a correction? For here we have not even the plea of an agreement in FDV to make such a supposition *ex hypothesi* necessary. Or take v. 12, *Propositum fluuiis in Simoenta uadis*, as read in FN, against *Appositum* in DV. Both readings are possible, neither looks like a correction. But if one is a correction of the other, which of which?—a remark which, we believe, must have occurred often to those who have studied B.'s critical apparatus. If any correction *was* introduced by N's copyist, it would surely have been of *fluuiis*, which can hardly be right. Yet *fluuiis* remains intact in all the four MSS. NFDV.

III 11, 13, 14:

Ausa ferox ab equo quondam oppugnare sagittis
Iniectis Danaum Penthesilea rates.

So FDV. For *Iniectis* N has *Meotis*, which is also written by a second hand in the margin of F. B. restores *Iniectis*, which *may* certainly be right. But so also may *M(a)eotis*, which has long been the accepted reading. Is *Meotis* then a correction? or is it another and a more exact rendering of a word written obscurely?

II 25, 41, 42:

Vidistis pleno teneram candore puellam
Vidistis fusco, ducit uterque color.

So N: *dulcis* for *ducit* FDV, which B. accordingly restores to his text. Editors are likely here to be differently minded as to their choice; with B. I lean to *dulcis* as less commonplace than *ducit*. But neither is in any true sense a *correction* of the other; and the last thing which we have a right to infer from finding *ducit* in N alone is that N is interpolated, DFV sincere.

II 26, 43, 44:

Certe isdem nudi pariter iactabimur oris:
Me licet unda ferat, te modo terra tegat.

So N rightly: FDV have *te quoque*, which is without meaning. The two words can hardly have been confused, and here again the most reasonable hypothesis is that *modo* descended to N from some source which was either not known to the scribes of the other MSS. or passed by in favor of the other reading.

II 32, 33, 34:

Ipsa Venus fertur corrupta libidine Martis
Nec minus in caelo semper honesta fuit.

So N: instead of *fertur* DFV have *quamvis*. Here the case is more doubtful; *quamvis* does not accord with *Nec*, and *fertur* might seem to have been introduced to make the construction legitimate. Yet it is in support of the genuineness of *fertur* that the following distich, and that not a new sentence, but a clause appended to vv. 33, 34, begins with *Quamvis*, an iteration which Propertius would hardly have allowed, and which would supply a reason for *quamvis* making its way into v. 33.

Mr. Palmer says, rightly, 'Cur ab optimo libro *subito* desciscam non video.' It is indeed only too palpable that the determination to make his theory good on all possible occasions has dominated Bährens in cases where an unbiassed judgment would probably have led him to a different verdict.

III 24, 6:

Ut quod non esses, esse putaret amor. N.
esset DV, *essem* F, *saepe* for *esse* FDV.

I would ask any one with the least acquaintance with MS. corruptions whether they have any doubt as to the fact here. N is clearly the one conservator of the true reading; FDV conspire in what is as evidently a gradual accretion of error. If B. ventures to maintain that this erroneous *esset saepe* has been *altered* by the copyist of N into *esses esse*, he is bound to prove it by something more convincing than the mere agreement of his four primary MSS. in the wrong against N alone in the right. To ascribe to a copyist of the early XVth century a felicity of correction worthy of a Bentley or a Lachmann is a somewhat dangerous experiment. That Propertius wrote *esses, esse* is as certain as anything in Propertian criticism; that this is found in a MS. *ex hypothesi* written about 1430, whereas four *ex hypothesi* earlier MSS. agree in an agglomerated falsity (for such is *esset saepe*), would lead any sane critic, not to the conclusion that the one MS. which presents the truth was corrected, but that it was drawn from an originally independent more trustworthy source. This single instance is, in my opinion, enough to prove B.'s view of the value of N wrong, enough to make us cautious in accepting his whole theory of the relation of the Propertian MSS. to each other, too much to permit uninquiring acquiescence in his judgment of the age of N, however carefully it may have been formed.

3. I will now mention together a number of cases in which N presents the right reading against AFDV, but in which the hypothesis of a corrector is conceivable, though not likely to be true.

They are, as might be expected, single words: IV 2, 19 *Mendax fama nocēs N, uocēs F, uacēs DV*; IV 2, 26 *secta N, facta FDV*; III 18, 20 *gemmea FN, semina DV*; II 33, 4 *Inacis N, Inacus FDV*, which seems exactly comparable with *Thessalis* in I 19, 10, the reading of DV against *Thessalus* NF; II 7, 3 *Ni nos diuideret N, Quis nos FDV*; II 8, 15 *Ec quando ne N, Et quando ne DV*; II 9, 25 *poterentur N, peterentur DV, potarentur F*; II 12, 8 *non ullis N, non nullis FDV*; II 15, 27 *sint N, sunt DVF*; II 15, 49 *dum lucet N, dum licet FDV* (I cannot accept L. Müller's hypothesis that *dum lucet* is a Christian reminiscence, at any rate it is very like Catullus); II 18, 22 *Huic N, Nunc FDV*; II 19, 20 *monere N, mouere FDV*; II 20, 8 *lacrymas N, lacrymans FDV*; II 22, 6 *incinit N, incit DV*; II 25, 45 *sit N, sic FDV*; II 29, 11 *at N, et FDV*; II 30, 18 *palladis N, pallidus FDV, tumor N, timor FDV*; II 32, 22 *meretur N, mereris FDV*; II 33, 3 *pereant N, pereat FDV*; II 34, 25 *seros N, sacros FDV*; III 3, 32 *gorgoneo N, gorgonico FDV*; III 13, 3 *et N, est FDV, 47 At N, Et FDV, 51 limina N, lumina FDV, 53 diras N, duras FDV* (the exact reverse is found in III 23, 20, where N has *diras* wrongly, FDV rightly *duras*), 58 *nusquam N, nunquam FDV*; III 16, 3 *cadit N, cadet FV, cadent D*; III 17, 21 *fulmine N, flumine FDV*; III 15, 19 *papillis N, capillis FDV*; III 16, 34 *sic N, si FDV*; III 24, 28 *ire N, esse FDV*; IV 5, 5 *docta N, nocte DV, nocto F, 24 sectaque NV, sextaque DF, 38 quidlibet N, quilibet DFV*; IV 7, 8 *Eosdem N, Hosdem FDV* (this is a very telling instance, for in the line before N like FDV has *hosdem*, and it is inconceivable that a corrector who altered the one would not also alter the other); IV 7, 81 *anio N, hamo FDV, 84 uector N, uictor FDV, 93 nunc N, nec FDV*; IV 8, 11 *corripit N, colligit FDV, 21 spectaculum N, spectandum FDV, 34 nouare N, notare FDV, 36 utrique N, uterque FDV m. pr., 56 spectaculum N, spectandum FDV*; IV 9, 27 *limina uitae N, lumina uitrae (uitre F) FDV, 54 limina N, lumina FDV*; IV 10, 37 *tolumni N, columni DV m. pr.*; IV 11, 81 *sint N, sunt FDV*.

4. My fourth argument in support of the sincerity of N is from the orthography. It preserves in a number of words the more right spelling, several times against the doctrine of the scholars of the XVth century. Thus *ei* not *hei* (the interjection) I 3, 38, IV 1, 58, IV 8, 48; *nequiquam* II 4, 15, III 17, 23; *pelice* not *pellice* III 22, 35; *templare* I 3, 15, II 12, 19, II 3, 19, IV 7, 57, I 4, 25; *Parnasus* III 13, 54; *querellae* IV 8, 79; *umeris* IV 10, 11; 11, 47; *murra* I 2, 3.

In other cases it preserves an archaic spelling, *Clytemestrae* II 19, 19, perhaps *onaerare* for *onerare* III 9, 26, *oportuna* IV 2, 21. But these traces of antiquity are crossed, as is always the case with MSS. so far removed from the time of the Roman empire, with the barbaric and erroneous spellings of the middle ages. See L. Müller, p. xv of the preface to his Propertius; and it is only to some small degree that it can be dwelt upon as an argument in support of N against other MSS. To sum up in brief what I have here been enlarging upon: The conclusion at which I have arrived is that N is *not* an interpolated MS.; that it stands on a level, as regards sincerity, with Bährens' four primary codices; that the same arguments which are used to prove it interpolated might be turned against a variety of readings in these four MSS.; that, as a corollary to this, the archetype which Bährens would reconstitute from these four is only partially to be accepted.

R. ELLIS.

II.—A PROPOSED REDISTRIBUTION OF PARTS IN THE PARODOS OF THE *VESPAE*.

The Parodos of Aristophanes' *Vespae* has already given rise to not a little discussion, and indeed the scenic difficulties and problems which it presents can hardly fail, upon close scrutiny, to become evident. Dr. Arnoldt, in his treatise of nearly two hundred pages (*Die Chorpartien bei Aristophanes, scenisch erläutert, Leipzig, 1873*), has entered into a detailed discussion of the passage. As, however, his whole work is one of general interest on account of important modifications which his results entail upon our understanding of Greek comedy, and as it is to take exception to some of these results in detail that the proposed redistribution is here offered, it may be best to review in outline his work for the benefit of any to whom it may be at present inaccessible.

In cap. I he treats of the chorus where it is divided up among the individual choreutae, viz., with a certain portion assigned to each member of the chorus, and consisting neither of an ode sung by them all collectively nor of half-choruses. This he claims is to be looked for especially in the Parodos, but names (p. 5) as exceptions *Nubes*, *Ranae* and *Thesmophoriazusae*. The others (with the exception of the *Plutus*) he takes up in detail, and includes a passage in the *Thesmophoriazusae* (vv. 655-727) as one among several examples of this assignment of parts to the individual choreutae taking place elsewhere than in the Parodos. The general theory is not new with Dr. Arnoldt, and he acknowledges his indebtedness to Bamberger (*De Carminibus Aeschyleis a partibus Chori cantatis, 1832*), Hermann and others who had done the same thing for Aeschylus; and in particular he discusses Hermann's application to Aristophanes himself in his treatise "*De Choro Vespærum Aristophanis, Lipsiae, 1843.*"

The general truth of this theory as applied to Aristophanes, Arnoldt seems to have established conclusively. The proofs lie partly in the matter, partly in the metrical form of the choruses. The most obvious indicia of change from one member of the chorus to another are (vid. Arn. p. 4): addresses; exhortations; demands and questions, all of which are directed by one member of the

chorus to some other member, often indeed addressing him by name; the use of the dual number; the frequent repetition of the same thoughts; and, finally, abrupt changes and oppositions in thought. As a good illustration of the necessity of assuming in certain passages one speaker and one only, Pax v. 496 may be quoted, where it is surely absurd to imagine the chorus tugging away at the rope and giving vent *collectively* to the sentiment *ὡς παρόνοι τινές εἰσιν ἐν ἡμῖν*, and again, in v. 499, *ἀλλ' εἴθ' οἱ κωλύουσιν*.

In cap. II Arnoldt treats specifically of the functions of the Coryphaeus as concerned with the actors, and gives a valuable table of all the choral passages in Aristophanes, which are here in point, classed according to two main groups: 1. Where the Coryphaeus speaks alone, for the chorus, with the actors. 2. Where the chorus itself first speaks as a unit and then the Coryphaeus condenses and repeats its thought; thus observing, in the transmission of the same to the actors, the law that one individual only may speak with one actor alone.

In cap. III the Parabasis is discussed; also other choral odes, and the peculiar Parachoregemata and Parascenia.

In cap. IV he considers the chorus alone, and finally, in cap. V, the position of the chorus in Parodos, Epeisodion, Stasimon and Parabasis respectively.

An investigation so comprehensive and yet so detailed as is this of Arnoldt's cannot fail to be of great importance for all subsequent investigations in this field, and it seems probable that much of his work will firmly hold its own. It would scarcely be surprising, however, if in certain minor matters something remained to be said, and his application in the case of the *Vespa* seems unsatisfactory, even from a superficial examination, while a closer inspection renders desirable, if not imperative, a redistribution of details. The whole passage which enters into the discussion is *Vespa* vv. 230-487. The following is Arnoldt's arrangement by which the individual parts succeed one another *κατὰ στίχους*, according to the external shape of the chorus.

I. Six choreutae (viz. at v. 230, 233, 235, 240, 242 and 246 respectively), or the first *στίχος* in the Iambic tetram., vv. 230-247.

II. Six choreutae (viz. at 249, 251, 258, 259, 262, 266 respectively), or the second *στίχος* in the syncopated catalectic Iambic tetram., vv. 248-272.

III. Six choreutae (viz. at 273, 278, 281, 282, 286, 290), or the third *στίχος* in the Dactylo-epitrites, vv. 273-290.

IV. Six choreutae (viz. at 293, 297, 300, 309, 310, 313), or the fourth *στοῖχος* in the Strophes, principally Ionic, vv. 291-303-304-316. Thus each one of the twenty-four members of the chorus takes part separately.

The redistribution of parts which I would propose to make is also given here, illustrated by the accompanying figure. This arrangement, as well as that of Arnoldt, observes the natural demarcations of the changes in metre, corresponding to the changes in the parts.

A, B and C represent the link-boys; 9, the Coryphaeus.

I. Verses 239-247: Eight choreutae (Iambic tetram. catalectic).

Interlude first, vv. 247-257: Coryphaeus and boy A.

II. Verses 258-272: Eight choreutae (syncopated tetrameter).

III. Verses 273-290: Eight choreutae (Dactylo-epitrites).

						<i>σκηνή.</i>						
		4		5	⋯	12		13	⋯	20		21
	3		6	⋯	11		14	⋯	19		22	
	2		7	⋯	10		15	⋯	18		23	
	1		8	⋯	9		16	⋯	17		24	
B					A				C			
					<i>θέατρον.</i>							

The two choreutae introduced by Arnoldt in the Interlude, vv. 247-257, and the six choreutae of his "Part IV," may then be introduced as follows:—

V. 237, *ἄτα*, or v. 241, *σίμβλον δέ*; v. 244, *ἀλλά*; v. 263, *φιλεῖ δέ*; v. 264, *δεῖται δέ*; v. 268, *οὐ μὴν*; v. 270, *ἀλλά μοι δουκεῖ*; v. 277, *καὶ τὰχ' ἄν*; v. 285, *ἔστι γάρ*.

In the first Epeisodion Arnoldt shows that a four-fold arrangement similar to his distribution of parts in the Parodos may be assumed, viz:—

- | | | |
|---|---|--------------------------------|
| I. First <i>στοῖχος</i> : vv. 334-364 | } | containing six choreutae each. |
| II. Second <i>στοῖχος</i> : vv. 365-394 | | |
| III. Third <i>στοῖχος</i> : vv. 403-429 | | |
| IV. Fourth <i>στοῖχος</i> : vv. + ¹ -487 | | |

This is apparently a strong argument in favor of his arrangement in the Parodos, but to estimate the whole matter rightly, it will be necessary to review in brief the situation.

¹Arnoldt (p. 18) assumes with Helbig the omission of two trochaic tetrameters of the chorus, corresponding to 403, 404. This omission is indicated by the + sign.

Philocleon has been shut up by his son Bdelycleon, with the hope of overcoming the former's unseemly lust for acting as dicast. In the chill of the early morning, before dawn, a chorus of old dicasts now enter (v. 230), picking their way through the muddy street by the dim light of lamps borne by some boys who attend them. As they enter they discourse *individually* upon past exploits, speak of Philocleon, the weather, the muddy streets, and of the suit which is to come before them that day. This is answered, presently (v. 317), by a wailing ode from Philocleon, who, unable to get out to them, calls upon Zeus for deliverance. Two by-plays, however, are included (vv. 247-257 and vv. 290-317) in the above, i. e. between the boys who are carrying the lamps and members or a member of the chorus. Finally, v. 332 sqq., the Coryphaeus and chorus engage in sympathetic dialogue with Philocleon.

Now, to Arnoldt's distribution of parts the following objections may be made:—

1. As regards the sense. In the by-play (vv. 247-257) between the chorus and the link-boys he assumes that each one of the three boys takes part in the conversation and a corresponding number of the choreutae likewise. The passage in question commences with a boy breaking in suddenly upon the tetrameter Iambics with a halting 'versus asynartetus.' That it is a continuous conversation between one boy and one member of the chorus seems evident upon inspection (Vespae, vv. 247-257):—

- Boy.* τὸν πηλὸν, ὦ πάτερ πάτερ, τουτοὺν φύλαξαι.
Chorus. κάρφος χαμᾶθεν νῦν λαβὼν τὸν λόχον πρόβυσσον.
Boy. οὐκ, ἀλλὰ τιθεῖ μοι δοκῶ τὸν λόχον προβύσειν.
Chorus. τί δὴ μαθὼν τῷ δακτύλῳ τὴν θροαλλίδ' ὠθεῖς,
καὶ ταῦτα τοῦλαίου σπανίζοντος, ὠνόητε;
οὐ γὰρ δάκνει σ', ὅταν δέῃ τίμιον πρίασθαι.
Boy. εἰ νῆ Δί' αἰθῆς κονδύλοις νοουτήσεθ' ἡμᾶς,
ἀποσβέσαντες τοὺς λόχους ἄπιμεν οἴκαδ' αὐτοί·
κᾶπειτ ἴσως ἐν τῷ σκότῳ τωτοῦ στερηθεῖς
τὸν πηλὸν ὡσπερ ἄτταγᾶς τυρβάσεις βυδιζῶν.

Even more certainly spoken by one choreutes and one boy is the second by-play (vv. 290-316):—

- Boy.* ἐθελήσεις τί μοι οὖν, ὦ πάτερ, ἣν σοῦ τι δεηθῶ;
Chorus. πάνυ γ', ὦ παιδίον. ἀλλ' εἰπέ τί βούλει με πρίασθαι
καλόν; οἴμαι δέ σ' ἐρεῖν ἀστραγάλους ἀήπουθεν, ὦ παῖ.

Boy. μὰ Δί', ἀλλ' ἰσχάδας, ὦ παππία· ἦδιον γάρ.

Chorus. οὐκ ἄν,
μὰ Δί', εἰ χρέμαιοσθέ γ' ὅμοις.

Boy. μὰ Δί' οὐ τᾶρα προπέμφω σε τὸ λοιπόν.

Chorus. ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦδέ με τοῦ μισθαρίου 300
τρίτον αὐτὸν ἔχειν ἄλφιτα δεῖ καὶ ξύλα κῶψον.
σὺ δὲ σὺκά μ' αἰτεῖς.

Boy. ἄγε νῦν, ὦ πάτερ, ἦν μὴ τὸ δικαστήριον ἄρχων
καθίσῃ νῦν, πόθεν ὠνησόμεθ' ἄριστον; ἔχεις ἐλ-
πίδα χρηστήν τινα νῶν ἢ πόρον Ἕλλας ἱρόν εἰπεῖν;

Chorus. ἀπαπαῖ, φεῦ, ἀπαπαῖ, φεῦ, μὰ Δί', οὐκ ἔγῳγε νῶν οἷδ' 310
ὅπόθεν γε δεῖπνον ἔσται.

Boy. τί με δῆτ', ὦ μελέα μήτηρ ἔτικτες,
ἴν' ἐμοὶ πράγματα βύσκειν παρέχῃς;

Chorus. ἀνόνητον ἄρ' ὦ θυλάχιόν σ' εἶχον ἄγαλμα

Boy. ἔ, ἔ· πάρα νῶν στενάζειν.

A common-sense interpretation of the passage just quoted points to a continuous conversation between one boy and one member of the chorus. How could, for example, v. 310 be put into the mouth of any one else than the 'father' before appealed to? This one member of the chorus, it is natural to assume, was the Coryphaeus.

2. A second reason for a redistribution of parts is, that in Arnoldt's arrangement certain turns of expression are ignored which in accordance with his own principles should involve a change of speaker. Thus he regards the particle *ἀλλά*, when used not simply adversatively, but to introduce a new idea, as one of the most obvious indicia of a new part. In v. 244, however, where it breaks in abruptly upon a screed about Kleon, he ignores it and likewise the expressions v. 270 *ἀλλά μοι δοκεῖ* and v. 268 *οὐ μὲν*. The other proposed insertions of new parts, while they are not so obvious, are neither forced nor without analogy in Arnoldt's own divisions. If we introduce, at v. 237, a new choreutes at the words *κᾶτα περιπατοῦντε νόκτωρ*, we are simply supposing that No. 3 has turned from No. 2 on his left and addresses the words, from the middle of v. 235 on, to his neighbor on the right, who immediately chimes in and gives some specific details of their past exploits. Or if it seems preferable to introduce a new speaker at v. 241, he is there merely adding a new detail, as would be natural enough in the vivid style of conversation represented. The same

may be said of the introduction of the two choreutae at v. 263 and v. 264 respectively. As a parallel for the transition made by the simple particle *δέ*, Arnoldt's own introduction of new speakers in *Equites* v. 253 and *Acharnenses* v. 219 and v. 302 may be cited. It must be admitted, of course, that it may sometimes be questionable just where the division is to be made, but when once it is granted that there are twenty-four parts to be assigned, the few which do not assign themselves must be disposed of according to individual judgment.

There remain two more proposed insertions, viz., at v. 277 *καὶ τάχ' ἂν βουβωνιώῃ* and v. 285 *ἔστι γὰρ τοιοῦτος ἀνὴρ*. If now the formal construction of this whole part (vv. 273-290) be considered, it will be seen that these additional choreutae introduced at the end of the first and third quarters, correspond to the speakers of the line, *ἔπαγ' ὦ παῖ, ἔπαγε*, which is to be read at the end of the part and also in the middle, at v. 280, where Arnoldt shows it has probably dropped out. In addition to this improvement in balance and equalizing in amount, the sense is benefited by the proposed arrangement, a new choreutes offering in the one case a fresh suggestion, and in the other a confirmation of the foregoing words of his neighbor, which are peculiarly in keeping with the tone of the whole. And, finally, as an accidental confirmation it may be mentioned that Hermann's original distribution assigned eight choreutae to these lines.

3. Arnoldt's order of succession is objectionable. For (*a*), in the first place, the choreutes who at v. 251 cuffs a link-boy would, in accordance with his assignment of parts, occupy an inside position (No. 7 in Fig.) where he could not reach the boys, who are supposed by Arnoldt to have walked on in front of the whole chorus. The only way in which it would be easy to conceive of a boy being near the choreutes in question, would be to suppose the boys to have been scattered through the ranks; but on this supposition it were hard to see how the episode would preserve any unity or animation if first No. 8 (according to Arnoldt's division) addressed a boy in front of him, and then No. 9 (who in the *κατὰ στοίχους* arrangement would be behind No. 8) addressed a boy behind the third row, and so on. But by the arrangement suggested the three boys are in a position properly to light the chorus, the by-play is brought directly in view of the spectators, and since the whole part is assigned to No. 9, the Coryphaeus, and to the boy beside him, all mechanical obstructions disappear.

The mechanical objections are even stronger in the second by-play (vv. 291-316) where Arnoldt makes the boys hold a conversation with nine several choreutae scattered all along two files—a conversation which, as above indicated, does not make very good sense unless as a dialogue between two only. We might use here almost the very words of Arnoldt where, objecting to Richter's assignment of the conversation, Pax v. 114 sqq., to more than one of the daughters of Trygaeus, he says (p. 168): "an dem Gespräch mit Trygaeos nur eine und dieselbe Person sich betheiligte und in ihm als Wortführer für die übrigen fungirte. . . . jede neue Frage der Tochter fusst auf der letzten Antwort des Vaters."

(b) Again, by the arrangement suggested, sub-dialogues between two or three members of the chōrus fall to those who are walking side by side, and although the chorus is arranged externally *κατὰ στοιχούς*, this seems more effective and natural than that each should address the man behind him and that the conversation should leap over in each case from the back end of the one file to the front of the next.

(c) That the succession of parts should run along the files—i. e. first that next the *θεάτρον*, then the next, and so on—and the action thus pass further and further away from the spectators, seems less natural than that the *ranks* as they successively near the focus of interest should carry on the action.

This involves, however, the whole question of arrangement *κατὰ στοιχούς* and *κατὰ ζυγά*, and Arnoldt has laid it down (p. 29) as a law that to the one or the other of these two are the choruses to be referred, according as the natural demarcations in sense, metre, etc., partition them off into groups of sixes or fours respectively. Now in this is contained an important admission in favor of the proposed theory, for Arnoldt assumes that the order of succession in both cases was from one choreutes to the one behind and not *transversely*, even when the chorus was marching *κατὰ ζυγά*. This indicates that in his estimation the *external* shape of the chorus had no necessary connection with the succession of the parts, which is all that is needed negatively. But as a positive confirmation of the possibility of the transverse order, we may quote the example from the Ecclesiazusae, which, as he says (p. 99) himself, consisted of three *ζυγά* of choreutae, one in the Pro-ode (vv. 478-482), one in the Strophe (483-492), and one in the Antistrophe (493-503), each containing four persons. So that the metre here forces us to accept the transverse order of succession. Likewise in the passage in the

Lysistrata, v. 352 sqq., he changes to the transverse order. At least it is clear that there was nothing in the nature of things to prevent this arrangement from being the one adopted in the *Vespa* provided that the natural demarcations of metre are observed. In the case of the *Acharnenses* (v. 204 sqq.) it may be questioned whether he has not been over-hasty in assuming his groups of fours, as the clumsy device of making the first four choreutae speak twice in succession and the ignoring of breaks like *ἀλλά μοι μηνύσατε* (v. 206) and *διωκτέος δέ* (v. 221) point to the necessity of re-arrangement. Possibly vv. 280-284 may have come round to the Coryphaeus, who would then occupy very much the same position that Lucian (*Piscator* I), in his humorous imitation of this passage, causes Socrates to assume. Arnoldt's most cogent proof of the succession by file is the *Parodos* of the *Aves*, where he finds confirmation in the circumstance that the names of the birds are mentioned in sixes by *Euelpides* and *Peithetaerus*. But even in the face of this the mechanical difficulties seem greater than in the transverse order, and *ὄπισθεν* (v. 299) could have been said just as well of No. 5 in reference to his position in the second row behind No. 4.

4. Upon the four-fold division of the chorus in the *Epeisodion* (vv. 334-434) Arnoldt relies as strongly confirming the four-fold division of the *Parodos*. But if the strictures made above upon the conversation between the boys and the chorus be found cogent, Arnoldt's arrangement in the *Parodos* would fall of itself, and, furthermore, this four-fold division in the second case is confirmatory of the proposed redistribution into three parts, and in particular of the transverse succession. For the chorus having now faced round towards *Bdelycleon's* house, each *στοιχος* becomes a *ζυγόν*, so that the chorus would now be naturally divided into four transverse sections of six each.

5. Finally, the proposed arrangement brings the centre of interest back again to the *Coryphaeus*, catching up, as it were, the loose ends of the *Parodos* and binding it together into one whole before the fresh turn given, v. 317, by *Philocleon*.

In conclusion, then, it may be claimed that the proposed change, while undoubtedly open to some objections, offers advantages of a two-fold nature :—

1. An improvement in sense in particular passages.
2. A more natural arrangement for the chorus, both collectively and individually.

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III.—IMPERFECT AND PLUPERFECT SUBJUNCTIVE IN THE ROMAN FOLK-SPEECH.

Of the classical form of the Latin Imperfect Subjunctive the Romance languages, even in their oldest monuments, afford no trace whatever. Did this form exist in the unwritten speech of the common people of the old Roman world? The language of Romance grammarians—even of those who, like Diez, accept fully the theory of the derivation of the Romance languages from the popular and not the literary Roman tongue—implies that it did; for they speak of its absence from the modern languages as a “disappearance,”¹ and say that it disappeared on account of the inconvenience arising from its resemblance to certain other tenses: thus *amarem*, through a careless pronunciation of the vowel *e* of the termination, might have been misunderstood by the person addressed for the abridged form of the Pluperfect Indicative (*amaram*), or of the Future Perfect Indicative (*amaro*), or of the Perfect Subjunctive (*amarim*); people therefore ceased to say *amarem* and used instead the Pluperfect form *amassem*.

Other forms of the Latin verb, however, which present the same liability to confusion, are found in the Romance languages; as the Imperfect and Future Indicative of *esse* in Old French and Provençal, and in all the conjugations two of these very tenses in question—the Pluperfect and Future Perfect Indicative, transformed into the First Conditional and Future Subjunctive—in Spanish and Portuguese.

In the verbs of the Romance strong conjugation, moreover, the difference in the forms of the Imperfect Subjunctive and of the other tenses above mentioned is so unmistakable that there could have been no possibility of confusion, while the difference in accent would have prevented error in such verbs of the weak conjugation as do not accent the penult in the Imperfect Subjunctive: there could be no confounding, for example, of *facerem* with *feceram*, *fecero* or *fecerim*; of *arderem* with *arseram*, *arsero* or *arserim*; of *haberem* with *habueram*, *habuero* or *habuerim*; nor of *venderem* with

¹ Diez, Gram. der Rom. Sprachen, II 118.

vendideram, vendidero or *vendiderim*. If the literary form of the Imperfect Subjunctive had existed in the popular Roman language at the time when the Romance languages were in process of formation, it might easily and would naturally have been preserved, so far at least as to leave some slight traces. Instead, therefore, of speaking of its non-appearance in the modern languages as a disappearance, it is reasonable to suppose, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, that it was not generally used in the folk-speech of the Roman world.

In contrast, or rather in correspondence, with the total absence from the Romance languages of the classical form of the Imperfect Subjunctive, is the existence in them all of the Latin Pluperfect Subjunctive, and its use, in all except Wallachian, to represent the meaning of the Imperfect Tense (e. g. Latin Pluperfect *amassem*, French Imperfect *j'aimasse*), while the modern languages express the Pluperfect Tense by the Latin Perfect Participle Passive combined with the Pluperfect Subjunctive of *habere* or some other auxiliary (Latin *habuissem amatum*, French *j'eusse aimé*). The correlated conclusion to be drawn from this fact is that in the popular Roman language the classical form of the Pluperfect was commonly used, as it is in the modern languages, in the sense of the Imperfect. In no other way can we account for the existence of this phenomenon throughout the whole Romance domain with a single exception. That an exception should be presented in Wallachian—where indeed the form of the classical Pluperfect Subjunctive is also preserved, but with its meaning changed to Pluperfect Indicative instead of Imperfect Subjunctive—does not destroy nor seriously affect the force of the argument; for the earliest literary remains of that branch of the language extend no further back than the end of the XVth century, before which time there was ample opportunity, under the corrupting influences to which the Roman speech was there exposed, for the production of this and the many other divergencies from the characteristics of the sister languages which are found in the North-East.

While the classical Latin that has come down to us furnishes no example of the substitution of the Pluperfect for the Imperfect Tense, further proof that such a usage prevailed in the Roman folk-speech is afforded by some of the Low-Latin texts of a date anterior to that of the oldest specimens of the modern languages. In these texts the Imperfect and Pluperfect Tenses are both found in the Imperfect sense, presenting an example of the curious way

in which the literary and popular idioms were mingled in the Low Latin. In some instances, where the context shows that the Imperfect force should be given in the case of both verbs alike, the two forms are found in the same sentence with only the conjunction *et* or *aut* between them; as—

Ut non *fecissemus* et *inquietaremus* (Esp. sagr. XIX 339);

Nulla persona ad vicem sua direxit qui ipso placito *custodisset* aut sonia nonciare *deberit* (Form. Andeg. XIV).

Other examples of this substitution in Low Latin are given by Diez, Gram. der Rom. Spr. III 330. It is possible that in the popular speech both the Imperfect and Pluperfect forms were similarly employed without discrimination, and that the Imperfect form was afterwards crowded out by the Pluperfect; but, as has already been said, the Romance languages, which are a truer indication of the old folk-speech than is the Low Latin, afford no evidence that such was the case.

. Let us now inquire whether the Pluperfect Subjunctive of the classical Latin was used in the popular speech to express the Pluperfect as well as the Imperfect idea, thus doing double duty; or whether, as in the modern languages, the compound form and that only was employed for the Pluperfect. No doubt the compound form existed in the folk-language: this is established by the same proof as has been adduced above to show the use of the literary Pluperfect in the sense of the Imperfect, namely, its general adoption in the Romance languages, the one phenomenon being co-extensive with the other; and concurrent, though less conclusive, evidence is afforded by the somewhat similar application in classical Latin of the Perfect Participle Passive as secondary predicate with the Present, Imperfect and Perfect of *habeo*; as—

Fidem quam *habent spectatam* jam et diu *cognitam* (Cic. Div. in Caecil. IV).

Multis jam rebus perfidiam Haeduorum *perspectam habebat* (Caes. B. G. VII 54).

Verres deorum templis bellum semper *habuit indictum* (Cic. in Verr. V 72).

The compound form of the Pluperfect Subjunctive, as presented in the Romance languages, expresses the Pluperfect idea—at least from the classical point of view—in an exaggerated and emphatic manner; being not *haberem amatum*, *I might have loved*, as we should expect from the analogy of the classical examples and from the other compound Romance tenses, but *habuissem amatum*, *I*

might have had loved. This calls to mind the so-called super-compound tenses of modern French, which, discarded by the educated classes, are not uncommon in the speech of the people: *j'ai eu aimé, j'avais eu aimé, j'aurai eu aimé*, etc.

But there is reason to believe that the simple Pluperfect form of the classics also existed in the folk-language with the Pluperfect meaning. This may be inferred, first, from the persistence in Wallachian, even to the present day, of the Pluperfect sense, though with a transfer to the Indicative Mood; and, secondly, from the not infrequent appearance of this form as a Pluperfect as well as Imperfect Subjunctive in the early literature of the other Romance languages. Indeed, Huc Faidit, a Provençal grammarian of the XIIIth century, in his "Donatus Provincialis," gives this tense the name of Pluperfect. The following examples from the Italian, Provençal and Old French show how the Latin Pluperfect (Romance Imperfect) form was once used in these languages where the compound would now be required:

E se non *fosse* che da quel precincto,
 Piu che dall' altro, era la costa corta,
 Non so di lui, ma io sarei ben vinto.
 (Dante, Inf. XXIV, 34-36.)

E certo il creder mio veniva intero,
 Se non *fosse* il gran Prete, a cui mal prenda,
 Che mi rimise nelle prime colpe. (Inf. XXVII, 70-72.)

La donna di sapere ebbe disio
 Chi *fosse* il negromanto, ed a che effetto
Edificasse in quel luogo selvaggio
 La rocca. (Ariosto, Orl. Fur. IV 28.)

E c'el no lan *crees*
 E deu fruit no *manjes*
 Ja no murira hom
 Chi ames nostre don.
 (Prayer to the Virgin, XIth Century, Bartsch, Chr. Prov. 19, 5-9.)

Entre lo dol et l'ira et lo maltraire,
 Si no *fos* sa molher, no *visques* gaire.
 (Gir. de Ros. 6639, 40.)

Quar s'el no *fos* faiditz et tant desers,
 Ja no *partis* de mal ne *fos* convers.
 (Gir. de Ros. 6742, 3.)

Ki lui *veist* Sarrazins desmembrer,
 Un mort sur altre a la terre geter,
 De bon vassal li *poüst* remembrer.
 (Chans. de Rol. 1971-3.)

Se *fust* armés, je cuit ne *fust* ocis.

(Garin le Loherain, 5610.)

La *veissies* mainte crois aportee.

(Amis et Amiles, 3179.)

Ichil qui la *fust* donc a chel asseblement
Et del pere et del fil *veist* l'embranchement,
L'un l'autre regreter, seignour, tant douchement,
S'il *eüst jeüné* trois jours en un tenent,
Sachiés que de mengier ne li *presist* talent.

(Herman de Val., Bib. de Sap. 97-101.)

In this last citation while the simple forms (*fust*, *veist*, *presist*) have the Pluperfect signification, the compound form (*eüst jeüné*) may have been introduced to indicate a period antecedent to that of the time expressed by the simple Pluperfect.

Similar to the use of the simple form of the Pluperfect Subjunctive in a Pluperfect sense, is the frequent employment in Spanish and Portuguese of the simple instead of the compound tense of the First Conditional, or, as it is sometimes called, First Imperfect Subjunctive,—this simple tense being in form the Latin Pluperfect Indicative,—thus:

Que *dijera* el señor Amadís si lo tal *oyera*? (Cervantes, Don Quix. II 7).

Se os antigos philosophos, que andaram
Tantas terras por ver segredos dellas,
As maravilhas, que eu passei, *passaram*,
Que grandes escripturas, que *deixaram*!

(Camões, Os Lus. V 23.)

I have noted, chiefly in Provençal and Old French, many other instances of the use of the simple instead of the compound form of the Pluperfect Subjunctive with a Pluperfect meaning. Of some of them it may perhaps be said that they are not Pluperfects but Imperfects, the Imperfect Tense being used exceptionally in conditional and potential clauses with respect to past time just as is sometimes the case in Latin. A few of the examples above given, for instance, are more or less analogous to the following from the Latin, and regarded as Imperfects, might be explained in the same way:

Pecuniae an famae minus parceret, haud facile *discerneret* (Sall. Cat. XXV).

Si hoc optimum factu *judicaret*, unius usuram horae gladiatorum isti ad vivendum non dedissem (Cic. in Cat. I, 12).

Si Protogenes Ialysum illum suum caeno oblitum *videret*, magnum, credo, *acciperet* dolorem (Cic. ad Att. I 21).

Inasmuch, however, as the instances of this usage in the older

Romance texts are so numerous as to make it the rule and not the exception, and as the peculiar shades of meaning conveyed by the Latin Imperfect referring to past time in conditional clauses do not apply to many of the Romance examples, it seems best to explain the latter in most cases as a persistence of the simple Pluperfect form of the Latin in a Pluperfect signification.

It would be interesting to compare the Romance languages with the classical Latin to see how far the common people of the old Roman world agreed with or differed from the literati in the use of the Subjunctive to express various shades of thought. Such a comparison would show a general resemblance between the two idioms, but some important divergencies. The Subjunctive would be found to have had a more restricted range in the popular than in the literary idiom, certain of its offices in the latter being supplied in the former by the corresponding tenses of the Indicative, and others by that compound of the Infinitive with the Imperfect or Perfect Indicative of *habere* of which scarcely an indication is discovered in the classical authors,¹ but which produced the so-called Conditional Mood of the Romance languages. This comparison, however, would take us far beyond the limits proposed for the present paper.

Of course any conclusions drawn from the Romance languages concerning the speech of the Roman common people can be asserted positively only for that later period of its existence during which the modern languages were in process of formation. There may be other evidence to show that at an earlier epoch there was a closer correspondence with the literary usage than is here indicated. The purpose of this paper has been merely to present the testimony of these languages concerning one feature of the idiom from which they were derived or, more correctly speaking, which they perpetuated. That testimony may be summed up as follows:

1. The classical form of the Imperfect Subjunctive probably did not exist among the common people, and its place was supplied by the Pluperfect form.

2. The Pluperfect idea was probably expressed sometimes by the simple Pluperfect Tense, and sometimes by a compound of the Past Participle with the Pluperfect Subjunctive of *habere* or some other auxiliary.

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¹ Perhaps the nearest approach to it is found in Ovid, *Trist.* I 1, 123:

Plura quidem *mandare* tibi, si quaeris, *habebam*,
Sed vereor *tardae* causa fuisse *morae*.

IV.—PROBLEMS OF GENERAL SEMITIC GRAMMAR.

A number of causes have combined to retard the study of the general grammar of the Semitic languages. Chief among these has been the real paucity of materials. The various dialects, especially those known up to thirty years ago, seemed so much alike in inflections and vocabulary as to offer little hope of fruitful comparison; it was felt that the phenomena approached too near to identity to allow a penetration behind the present stage of linguistic development into a markedly different one. And it has happened, besides, that during the present century Semitic scholars have been much occupied with working up new dialects, especially the Babylonian-Assyrian and the Sabeian. In general, as the workers in this department have for various reasons been relatively few, while the field is large, the greater part of the available force has been expended on more or less special investigations. To this it must be added that scientific methods have been comparatively slow in making their way into Semitic grammatical studies. Old Jewish grammatical traditions still linger in our text-books; the grammars of Arabic, Hebrew and the related languages have hardly yet reached the conception of an independent treatment of the phenomena with which they deal; their terminology and mode of treatment are largely derived from medieval Arabic writers who were disciples of the early Greek schools, and from the current Indo-European grammars. For these reasons there has been no attempt at a full comparative treatment of the grammatical facts of the Semitic family. Renan announced his intention to prepare a comparative grammar, but never carried it out. Ewald, Olshausen, Bickell, Philippi and others have made occasional and valuable contributions to the subject, but there has been no general connected presentation of the facts. It is a gain, however, that the necessity for such work is recognized, and that much preliminary work has been done and is being done. It is to be hoped that these preparatory investigations will rapidly increase in number, and the material gotten ready for the future historian of Semitic grammar. Meantime it may be of use to state briefly some of the morphological questions that require solution.

In the first place, passing over palaeographical questions (of which, however, there are many that need working up), we find in the phonology not a few points that have not received satisfactory examination. Unfortunately, all early Semitic writing, with the exception of the Assyrian, is without vowels, and as there are no very early transcriptions into languages provided with vowel-signs, a good deal of uncertainty rests on the pronunciation of all these languages down to a short time before the beginning of our era. The one example of an ancient vowel-system, the Assyrian, has the disadvantage of being taken from a foreign, non-Semitic language, and probably fails to give the nicer differences of the vowel-pronunciation. The elaborate schemes of the Ethiopic and Hebrew were made at a time when the pronunciation of these languages had already undergone considerable changes, and when, in the case of the latter, a somewhat artificial system of the schools had taken the place of the original. There are no transcriptions into Indo-European languages earlier than the proper names that are found in the Septuagint, and these are mostly made by translators who did not speak Hebrew as their vernacular. Such transliterations in ancient times are often, indeed, of little value; it was not usual to take more trouble than might be necessary to give the most convenient representation in one's native tongue of a foreign word. Even now, as is well known, transcriptions from one language into another are not often reliable. Still some help may be got from a careful comparison of such renderings as exist of Semitic words in foreign alphabets. What Renan undertook to do for Greek by an examination of Syriac translations of Greek words might profitably be attempted for Latin, Greek and other transliterations of Semitic words. In the absence of early vowel-signs we have to resort to the later systems (devised some centuries after the beginning of our era) and to general grammatical principles. No attempt has yet been made to determine the original vowel-sounds, to trace them through the changes they have undergone in the various dialects, and to define their etymological functions. In the decision of such questions some use may be made of the modern Semitic languages, especially Arabic; but the present pronunciation has to be treated with great care, since it is obvious that it is different from that of a thousand years ago, and it may be inferred that it is still more different from that of four thousand years ago. As to whether the vowels had symbolic significance, it does not appear that there are sufficient data for deciding such a question; but if ever any con-

clusion in respect to it is reached, it must be after their powers and uses have been settled.

The consonants offer several interesting points of inquiry. The sounds of some of them are not yet clearly determined. The group of sibilants, for example, is difficult; what is the relation of the *Sin* to the *Samek*, and what is the reason of its absence from the Syriac? Ethiopic has a curious *p*-sound, and Sabeian an equally curious *t*-sound, and modern Arabic presents some noteworthy fluctuations of usage, as in the sonant palatal, which is our *g* in Egypt, and our *j* elsewhere (and in some regions French *j*). There are traces also of the origination and dropping of sounds; sometimes it is a question whether one language has differentiated the original sound, or another has dropped one of two consonants, substituting for it one nearly related, as in the *Cheth* and *Ayin*, which have two forms each in Arabic, and only one in Hebrew. The early transliteration of Hebrew *Çade* by *st* raises a question as to its pronunciation. The interchanges of letters between different languages and within the same language require more careful statement than has hitherto been made of them. Of the former there are the interchanges between the dental and the sibilant, and between *Ayin* and *Çade* and others; of the latter, that between *m* and *w* in Assyrian, the change of *s* before *t* into *l* in the same dialect, and the Sabeian change of *m* to *b*. This is a point that is often very loosely handled. Some lexicographers allow themselves the greatest license in attempting to trace the connection between various stems of similar meanings. Perhaps Semitic etymology does not furnish materials for a Grimm's Law, but at least it should be settled which letters interchange and which do not.

Next, there is the standing problem of the trilateral roots, much discussed, but still unsolved. The difficulties connected with it are so great that some scholars are disposed to dismiss it as insoluble. But, though its treatment has often been unscientific and arbitrary in a way to bring discredit on the whole investigation, and though data for the determination of all the questions involved are not at hand, there is no reason to despair of progress. Something has been done towards clearing away misconceptions, and particularly in abandoning *a priori* assertions. Thus it has been said (and is still said) that polysyllabic original roots are inconceivable, or that it is impossible to conceive of anything else. But it is now generally believed that we know too little of primitive speech to say what was or was not possible; soberer feeling leads

us to refrain from pronouncing opinion on times whose conditions are not fully known to us, and to wait till examination of the facts shall carry us step by step to sure results. One thing may be considered as established, that the great mass of the Semitic primitive roots were trilateral; beyond this not much progress has been made. The essays of Friedrich Delitzsch and Philippi towards the decomposition of the trilaterals into bilaterals are admirable specimens of scientific work; but the results obtained by these and similar attempts are not wide and general and coherent enough to give assurance of their correctness. One thing that stands in the way of reliable and useful results is the fact that these attempts at the analysis of dissyllabic into monosyllabic roots are usually made for the purpose of comparing Semitic roots with Indo-European in order to prove the formal identity of the two families, and there is naturally undue haste in making the comparisons. The substitution of such an ulterior in the place of the purely scientific aim of discovering the facts beclouds the vision and vitiates the conclusions. For the present Semitic and Indo-European students must give up the attempt to show that the two families are identical in their word-material, and confine themselves to determining, as far as possible, the original forms and meanings of the roots. The immediate problem in the Semitic department is to look for traces of root determinatives, and as preliminary to this there should be a more careful lexicographical treatment of the various dialects. The decision of other, more general questions must depend in like manner on the accumulation and examination of the phenomena of primitive speech. It has been asked how the Semites came to adjust their radicals to this three-syllable measure. It is no answer to this question to say that they had a trisyllabic instinct, or a sense of euphonic fitness that required just this form; that is merely stating the phenomenon in different words. Nor does it help to point out the advantages of this system, to say, for example, that the consonant skeleton, filled out with vowels combined in a great variety of ways, gives symmetry to the language, or to define the inflectional and other functions of the two classes of letters, or to say that the developments of the consonant and vowel elements of words went hand in hand. All these things may be true, but they do not explain the trilateral form of the roots. On the other hand, if these be regarded as original and uncompounded, it has to be explained why this form remained in one family of languages and not in others. The question would then belong to the science of

language, and its decision would involve an examination of all the linguistic families in the world. Whether we proceed from this point of view or not, there are some groups of languages that the Semitic student must take into account, especially what has been called the Sub-Semitic, and the Egyptian, the grammatical treatment of which has not, however, been carried very far. These are most akin to the family with which we are dealing, and, though the time may not yet have come for a serious lexicographical comparison, it is probably to this point that we must look for light on the vexed question of the origin of the Semitic trilaterality.

When we come to the formation and inflection of stems there is less mistiness, though here also there are many questions awaiting solution. In the first place, it is generally agreed that noun and verb, in their present form, both come from an original noun-verb, which, as a simple uninflected stem, performed the functions of both. This appears from the fact that the inflections of noun and verb are in the main identical, the chief difference being in the forms of the personal pronouns that are attached to them. There is no difficulty in supposing a time when only nouns, or nouns and pronouns were used in speech; in classic Hebrew there are sentences without verbs, the verbal idea being expressed by the abstract noun of action (Infinitive), nouns also acting as prepositions and adverbs. The succeeding history of the language may then be regarded as a process of differentiation of this previously existing material. The noun developed itself in one direction, and the verb in another. The precise form of the original trilateral noun-verb is doubtful, whether it had only one vowel or a full trivocalism.

Passing now to the history of the development of the noun, we have first the formation of derivatives by prefixes and suffixes; to the former belong *t, s, m, n, y*, and to the latter *m, n, y, w*. The same letters occur in the two classes; is there any difference in their force before and after the stem? This question can be answered only by fixing the meanings of the affixes, which it is not easy to do. The significations are most of them very general. To two of the prefixes it may be possible to attach definite values, namely, to *m*, which denotes the place, instrument, agent or act, or, in general, the place, and *y*, which expresses the agent or, more generally, the category. The first of these has, as suffix, a very general attributive sense; it is, perhaps, nothing more than the determinative attached to the noun, which will be mentioned further on. The suffix *y* is equally general in meaning, signifying 'be-

longing in the category of.' Is *n* the noun-determinative? and are *w* and *y* to be connected with the case-endings *u* and *i*? From the simple noun-forms in which the *t* occurs as prefix it would appear to signify first the action (as in the abstract noun of action or Infinitive in Arabic), and then the result of the action, and sometimes, perhaps, simple attribution, as in *tirosh*, 'new wine,' literally 'shining,' from a stem meaning 'to be bright.' Possibly *t* is found as suffix, distinct from the feminine-ending, in Ethiopic, in the ending *ot*; but if so, it has a general attributive sense. The *s* is found only as prefix, and then apparently as connected with the derived stem known as Shaphel. Are these formative letters to be referred to original nouns or pronouns? Those who regard the sentence as the primitive unit of speech would explain them as originally meaningless elements of the polysyllabic unit to which significations were in process of time attached; but even in that case it is necessary to determine the oldest assignable signification of the suffix, no matter what its origin may have been. The question as to the nature and origin of these formative letters will be answered differently by different persons according to their conception of the nature and origin of the pronoun, and will not be settled till this second question is determined.

Next come the noun-inflections proper, the feminine, the cases, the determinative syllables and the plural. It is a question whether these are to be considered as identical with or different from the formatives above-mentioned. It would be in accordance with analogy, and would greatly simplify the treatment to regard all developments of the stem as derivatives. But this is a different thing from regarding the similar formative additions as identical in signification and origin, and the proof of this it is difficult to furnish. There are two feminine endings, *t* and *i*, which resemble in form the suffixes and prefixes above-mentioned, but it is not easy to see any resemblance in the meaning. It would be necessary to assume a very general attributive meaning for the ending, and suppose that this had in some way unknown to us been assigned to the expression of the feminine. This is certainly possible, and it cannot be said to be improbable. On the other hand, two endings originally very different in form and meaning, may in time have come to assume the same form. It would be a pleasing generalization to bring all the formative uses of the letter *t* under one original, but it would be arbitrary and precarious. The immediate question as to the feminine ending is whether it had originally a

nominal or a pronominal signification, to which no satisfying answer has yet been given. For the feminine *i* it must first be determined whether this or *ya* was its earlier form, and the conclusion on this point will probably go along with that reached in relation to the case endings. If we may judge from the present form of the noun, the feminine was the earliest modification of the uninflected stem, after which came the designations of case, now existing under the forms *u*, *i*, *a* for the singular, *ú*, *í* for the plural, and *á*, *ai* for the dual. The explanations of these forms at present proposed fall into the two classes mentioned above: those that regard them as originally meaningless and gradually invested with a numerical signification, and those that look on them as from the first significant agglutinations, either nominal or pronominal. For the purposes of etymological investigation, however, the difference between these two is not important, since in either case the object is to determine the earliest assignable form and meaning of the termination, and these are independent of the theory of origin. All who have written on the subject agree that the endings in the three numbers are composed of the same elements, and it is only necessary as the first step towards the solution of the problem of origin to determine what original form will satisfy all the conditions of the terminations as they now exist. Was the form *u*, *i*, *a*, or *wa*, *ya*, *ha*, or something different from both these schemes? According to the first the plurals and duals are made from the singulars by an extension of the vowels, sometimes by a simple vowel-broadening (*u* into *ú*, etc.), sometimes by the insertion of *i* or *y* (as in the dual). This insertion is somewhat arbitrarily assumed, and the second scheme seeks to meet this difficulty by supposing a symmetrical agglutination of the three syllables, *wa*, *ya*, *ha*, which under certain phonetic conditions are retained, under others become *u*, *i*, *a*, or, by doubling, *ú*, *í*, *á*. They are thus brought into connection with the formative endings *w* and *y*, as in nouns ending in the singular in *út* (or *ít*), *ít* and *út*, which are regarded as being for *ha. ha. t*, *ya. ya. t* and *wa. wa. t*—a somewhat cumbrous set of forms. Both these schemes furnish more or less satisfactory explanations of a part of the facts, and neither explains all. For the meanings of the endings, *u* or *wa* and the others, nothing beyond a general demonstrative sense, 'this' or 'that,' has been suggested. The internal plurals, which are confined to southern dialects, are properly derived nouns, but the derivation is effected by peculiar means, and constitutes a charac-

teristic of these dialects. The same principle is carried out to some extent in the formation of derived verb-stems, but far more elaborately in the noun. The singular and plural forms sometimes change places, and it seems most probable that the internal or broken plurals are only nouns used as collectives and therefore naturally as plurals. The external plural of the feminine in *at* resembles these in so far as it is made by broadening the vowel *before* the feminine sign *t*, after which come the case endings of the singular. It is doubtful, however, whether this fact favors the view that the ordinary plural case-endings are formed by broadening the vowels of those of the singular. It is merely a grouping of a number of objects of the feminine gender into a single mass and regarding them as a unit, as happens, for example, in the Greek use of a singular verb with a neuter plural subject. The ending *at* is, however, sometimes explained as coming from *a(t)*. *at*. After the case-ending the Semitic noun takes a determinative letter or syllable, which indicates sometimes a definite, sometimes an indefinite state. The form is commonly *m* or *ma* (mimation), or *n* or *na* (nunation), but in one dialect, the Sabean, *han* also occurs; this last would most naturally be regarded as a compound of *ha* and *na*, the second element being the nunation, and the first connecting itself with the Aramaic *a*, the sign of the emphatic state (which is by some, however, regarded as the accusative ending). On phonological grounds the *m* is generally regarded as older than the *n*, but this is uncertain. The fact that the same dialect (as the Assyrian) uses *m* in the singular and *n* in the plural shows that the two existed side by side. This proves nothing as to chronological priority, but may indicate that both the endings were found in the primitive Semitic language. These determinatives have sometimes been brought into connection with the adjective or formative endings *m* and *n*, but without any satisfactory result. As to their origin the classes of opinions are the same as in similar forms above-mentioned: they are regarded as differentiations of meaningless endings, or as significant appendages, nominal or demonstrative.

This last difference of opinion recurs in the discussion of the pronouns themselves, which are held by some to have originally had the pronominal sense, by others to have been nouns on which a demonstrative sense was grafted. This question is not likely to be soon settled. In the case of one word, the Hebrew relative pronoun *asher*, a nominal origin has been made probable; but for the simple forms common to all the Semitic languages, whose origin

goes back to a remoter antiquity, it is not likely that any such derivations could be discovered, if they had taken place. In this discussion, however, no weight can be attached to *a priori* assertions, as, for example, that the nature of the pronoun is so different from that of the noun that it could not have had a nominal origin. The form of the stems or roots is plain, except in the case of the personal pronouns. In these it is commonly supposed that the syllable *an* enters as a component (in the third person in Jewish Aramaic), leaving easily recognizable stems except in the first person, of which the original may have been in the singular *an-a-ki* (or *an-a-ku*), and in the plural *an-aḥ-na* (modern Egyptian Arabic *aḥ-na*, modern Syriac *aḥ-nan*, *aḥ-ni*); here the stem left, after omitting the *an*, seems to be *ak* or *ka* or *ki*, or the variants *aḥ* or *ḥa*. Another form, *ti*, occurs as personal affix of the verb in the Perfect singular, and the same co-existence of *t*- and *k*- forms is found in the second person. This has been explained as an interchange of *k* and *t* or (what amounts to nearly the same thing) an assimilation of one to the other, or as the co-existence of two independent stems, or a compound stem combining the two is assumed, of which one part or the other is supposed to be selected by the different dialects, or in the same dialect to be assigned to different uses. The simplest supposition is that of interchange, though it is not without difficulties. There is yet another form of the first person which occurs as suffix in Assyrian, Arabic and Ethiopic, namely, *ya*, of which no explanation has been offered, except a suggestion that it may be a phonetic extension of the *i* found in *anoki*. In the third person we have for the masculine and feminine of the singular respectively *su*, *si* (Assyrian) or *hu*, *hi* (Hebrew) or *tu*, *ti* (Ethiopic); Arabic shows the longer forms *hu-wa*, *hi-ya*, and Ethiopic *we-e-tu*, *ye-e-ti*. The *s*- form is commonly regarded as the original. The *wa* and *ya* are brought into connection with the supposed case-endings above-mentioned, whereby, however, the vowels of *hu* and *hi* remain unexplained; for if they be regarded as identical with the case-endings of the noun, which arise from *wa* and *ya*, then the presence of these syllables in *hu-wa* and *hi-ya* seems superfluous. Whether the *u* and *i* originally marked a difference of gender is doubtful; the vowel-difference is not always found in the plural, the objective feminine sometimes has the form *hā*, and in early Hebrew *hu* is used for both genders. The plural in the second and third persons is now marked by the addition of *m* or *n*; usually the former is employed for the masculine and the

latter for the feminine, but in Assyrian *n* occurs in both genders, the distinction being made by the vowel (*u* for the masculine, *i* for the feminine, as in the singular): the dual (in Arabic) has *m* in both genders. These endings are usually compared with the mimation and nunation in nouns; and it is to be noted that Arabic, which employs only the *n* in nouns, has *m* in the plural and dual masculine of the pronoun, while Assyrian, which has *m* in the singular of the noun, shows only *n* in the pronoun—whence it may be inferred, as suggested above, that both letters existed as determinatives in the primitive language. It has been attempted to find distinctions of case in the personal pronouns, for example, in the different forms used as suffixes to verbs and to nouns in the first and second persons, the former being supposed to represent the subject and the latter the object; but it seems clear that they are merely different fragments of the pronominal stem expressing the same relation of the person to the nominal or verbal stem; there is no case-difference between *malak-ta* and *malke-ka*, the pronouns in both mean “in respect to thee,” and usage alone has fixed the present difference in the sense. The striking similarity between the Semitic personal pronouns and the Egyptian is by some regarded as an accidental coincidence, by others as the result of borrowing by one language from the other, and by others as the indication of the original unity of the two; it is a point that needs further investigation.

In the verb the first question relates to the form and tone of the simple stem, and the origin of the derived stems. It is generally agreed that the original simple stem was trivocalic; not much attention has been paid to the tone; the facts of later tone-usage in the various dialects seem to favor the view that the accent was originally on the first syllable. It may be assumed of the derived stems, as of the simple, that they are nouns, and formed according to the laws of noun-derivation, without deciding whether their origination was prior or posterior to the full elaboration of the verbal conception. Their ultimate elements are few and simple, though the combinations in the various dialects are numerous and complicated, and their origin difficult of explanation. They may be reduced to two classes: 1. Those made by modifications of the existing material, as by doubling a radical or a syllable of the simple stem, by broadening a vowel, or by inserting a weak consonant, as *y, n*; 2. Those made by the addition of new material, as by pre-
fixing or inserting *sa, ha (a), ta* or *na*. The first class expresses

an intensifying or directing, or some similar modification of the meaning of the simple stem, the second adds a substantive idea, usually causative or reflexive; there is apparently a symbolism in the modes of formation. The same questions here arise, and the same sorts of explanation are given as have already been mentioned in the case of the noun. Are the prefixes and infixes nominal or pronominal? That the original significations were very general may perhaps be inferred from the fact that they sometimes interchange: the reduplicated form, usually intensive, is sometimes causal, and the *ta* is sometimes reflexive and sometimes causal. Or, this may result from a coalescence of originally distinct forms. What has determined the prefixing or insertion of these formative syllables? and can they be brought into connection with those of the noun? A more general question is that of the reasons for the choice of their particular form of verb-development (which is found in other languages also); but this goes outside of the domain of etymology. Of the two verb-forms, the Perfect and the Imperfect, the former is generally held to be a concrete noun with personal pronouns attached, except in the third person, which is a bare noun, the plural being formed regularly. The Imperfect also is a concrete noun, made from the simple stem by the prefix *ya* (mentioned above), the three cases in *u*, *i* and *a*, the last also with *n* added, being made the bases of separate forms which have been differentiated into various syntactical uses. It is noteworthy that all the dialects, whether they employ *m* or *n* as the determinative of the noun, have *n* in this form of the verb; similar phenomena have been referred to above. The chief difficulty in the Imperfect is found in the prefixes, especially those of the second and first persons. Are they pronouns, or are they forms that preceded the differentiation of the pronoun? If the other persons are formed on the third, what has become of the *y*? and if not, what is the nature of the prefixes? if they are pronouns, why are they prefixed? and if they are not pronouns, whence come the personal significations? These are some of the questions that have to be answered.

C. H. Tov.

V.—NOTES ON THE AGAMEMNON OF AESCHYLUS.

The following observations occurred in a course of lectures on the *Oresteia*, which I had the pleasure of giving at Oxford last Summer Term; and although I cannot hope that they will in every case be new to the readers of the *AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY*, yet I trust that they may be found neither so trite nor so ill-founded as to be wholly unacceptable.

1. The fact that Aeschylus nowhere mentions Mycenae has been remarked by many scholars,—amongst others by Bishop Wordsworth in his book on Greece, and more recently by Professor Mahaffy. It has been usual to connect it with the suppression of Mycenae by the Argives in B. C. 468, which is mentioned by Plutarch. It is certainly curious, as Mr. Mahaffy has pointed out, that an event of such importance should not be noticed by Thucydides. But his account of the period in question is confessedly a mere fragmentary sketch, and the importance of the event is rather a reason for supposing the tradition which records it to be genuine. However this may be, we recognize in Eum. 762–774 clear evidence of the desire of Athens to conciliate Argos, and the exclusive prominence attached to that city by Aeschylus may reasonably be associated with this desire.

But without dwelling on political motives, it is interesting to observe that throughout the *Oresteia*, Aeschylus assumes a conception of the circumstances of “the tale of Pelops’ line,” which differs in many particulars from that which may be roughly spoken of as common to Homer and Sophocles.

This is only one of many examples of the truth, that in the age of Tragedy, and indeed long afterwards, the outlines of legendary history in Greece were scarcely less indefinite than those of mythology.

In Homer and Sophocles, Agamemnon is King of Mycenae, while his brother Menelaus reigns at Sparta. In the *Oresteia*, on the other hand, it is manifestly presupposed that up to the time of the departure of the fleet for Troy, the two sons of Atreus had jointly exercised at Argos the regal power whose fountainhead was in the palace of the Pelopidae. Their empire was less extensive than that attributed to King Pelasgus in the *Supplices*, for Phocis

was beyond its boundaries. But the whole of the Peloponnesus was numbered in it and Sparta is regarded as non-existent. The return of Menelaus or less than of Agamemnon is looked for by the Argives as that of their own beloved king, τῆς δὲ γῆς φίλον ἄνακτα. Paris, in visiting Menelaus, had come to the house of the Andromache and from thence had Helen stolen forth, leaving to her fellow-servants to be to the Argives the burdensome task of leaving war. And while the kings are thus imagined as sharing the same palace,—where in peaceful times we may imagine them as sitting in judgment on the "dread thrones" before the gate,—the site of the palace is not at Mycenae but at Argos. This is proved not only by the omission of the name Mycenae, but by the fact which travellers testify, that the beacon on M. Arachnaeus would not have been visible from Mycenae, whereas from Argos it would, and also, although this is less significant, from several passages which indicate the nearness of the city to the shore.⁴

Turning on the side the political tendency which has been above referred to in the Eumenides, and on which it is easy to lay too much stress, we may observe how much this way of conceiving the whole has contributed to the artistic unity and concentration of the tragedy, and still more of the Agamemnon as a single drama, in view of the antecedent circumstances have necessarily such an important place.

At the opening we find Clytemnestra in sole possession of the vast palace. First Helen had gone, then Menelaus and Agamemnon with her, and the other daughter of Tyndareus alone was left. She has sent away her son Orestes, and keeps her daughters (and Hermione if she is thought of) in abject subjection, together with the servants of the house. There, amidst the horror-breathing silences she remains alone, completely possessed with the one thought,—the one constant resolve,—to take condign vengeance for her child. That this, and not her attachment to Aegisthus, which came subsequently, nor her jealousy of Chryseis or Cassandra, is her prime motive in the idea of Aeschylus, appears not only from her own words, which may be suspected of hypocrisy, but from those of Calchas, which are repeated with so much emphasis in the first choral ode, *παιεὶ γὰρ φοβερὰ καλίνουρος οἰκονόμος δολία, καὶ σὺ τῆς τειρομένης*.

Although alone in the palace, Clytemnestra is not alone in her desire of revenge. Aegisthus has long since returned from exile,

¹ Ag. 610.

² Ag. 400.

³ Ag. 402.

⁴ Ag. 46, 493, 690, 1.

but while restored to his fatherland is still an exile from the house of the Pelopidae. He is bound in honor to be avenged for his father Thyestes, and his brothers whom Atreus had massacred.

During Agamemnon's stay at Troy these two hatreds had coalesced in one: Clytemnestra, brooding on vengeance and reckless of all else; Aegisthus, likewise loving revenge, but not insensible to the charms of the kingdom and the queen. Still, although suspicion is rife at least within the palace, there has been no overt act of crime, either in the way of adultery or of usurpation. Aegisthus is still assumed to be a stranger to the palace, and no one has ventured openly to question the chastity of the wife of Agamemnon. This occurs for the first time at l. 1625 (see below) after the death of the king. Thus not only the immediate antecedents of Orestes' matricide, but all the antecedents without exception, the Thyestean banquet, the rape of Helen, the departure of both kings, the sending away of Iphigenia for sacrifice, revolve round one local centre, the Argive palace of the Pelopidae. The separation of Menelaus and his ships from the returning fleet is also more pertinent to the action than if he had been bound for Lacedaemon. For the King of Men in his hour of danger is thus deprived of the natural succor which the presence of his brother and yoke-fellow in the kingdom would have afforded, according to the Greek proverb, *Ἀδελφὸς ἀνδρὶ παρείη*. If the destination of Menelaus had been Lacedaemon and not Argos, the effect of this would be entirely lost.

II.

Having premised so much as to the general scope of the Agamemnon, I proceed to consider some points in the interpretation of particular passages.

Ll. 70, 71.

ἀπόρων ἱερῶν

ὀργᾶς ἀτενεῖς παραθέλξει.

Since the old explanation of these words, which assumed that the Furies were worshipped without burnt-sacrifice, was rightly discarded on comparing Eum. 108, 9, *καὶ νυκτίσεμνα δεῖπν' ἐπ' ἑσχάρῃ πυρὸς | ἔθουον*, subsequent interpreters have contented themselves with supposing "sacrifice to which no fire was put" to be a figurative expression for sins of omission generally, or for all sin. But was the scholiast wrong after all in supposing that the words contain some allusion to the Erinys, and so continue the thought of l. 59?¹ How if we imagine the sacrifice, not as one offered to the

¹ *πέμπει παραβάσιν Ἐρινύων.*

Erinyes, but as one of which they are the ministers,—and of which the sinner is the victim? That such a notion was not foreign to the mind of Aeschylus appears from the language of the Erinyes themselves in threatening Orestes. See esp. Eum. 305 καὶ ζῶν με δαίσεις οὐδὲ πρὸς βωμῶ σφαγεῖς. The only question is whether the words of the present passage will bear this meaning: “the unrelenting Wrath attending on the rite which employs no fire”: i. e. the anger of the Furies, who in pursuing their victim have no need of “material fire,” since they are able to consume him with their breath,—*νηδύος πυρί*, Eum. For *ιερά*, meaning a sacrificial rite, see Hdt. I, 172; 2, 63.

2. L. 55. *μαλακαῖς ἀδόλοισι παρηγορίαις.*
ἀδόλοισι means “without guile,” i. e. incapable of deceiving, because the unguent would not have been drawn from its repository in the palace except by the arrival of authentic news. Its consolatory intimations were thus sealed with the authority of the sovereign.

3. Ll. 105-7. *ἔτι γὰρ θεόθεν καταπνεῖει*
 † *πειθῶ μολπᾶν*
ἀλλὰν ξύμφυτος αἰών.

Neglecting for the moment the two words *πειθῶ μολπᾶν*, the remainder of the sentence admits of being construed thus: “The life that was born with me still breathes down valor from on high.” The *αἰών*, equally with the *ψυχή* and the *δαίμων*, is continually spoken of as separable from the person to whom it belongs. But the word *ἀλλὰν* alone would be vague and inappropriate, and requires some further definition. This is supplied by the two words which we have so far neglected, if for *πειθῶ* we read *πειθοῦ*, as an instrumental dative.

ἔτι γὰρ θεόθεν καταπνεῖει
 † *πειθοῦ μολπᾶν*
ἀλλὰν ξύμφυτος αἰών,

“Through persuasive song the genius of my life still breathes valor on me from above,”—i. e. Although my bodily strength declines the Muse is with me still.

περ εὐφρων ἡ καλὰ
μαλερῶν λέόντων,
νόμων φιλομάστοις
οἰσι
ἦν
βύλα χρᾶναι.

The difficulty of this passage turns upon the obvious defect of logic which there is in saying "Artemis is angry for the hare, but although so tenderly disposed to all wild creatures, yet she *demand*s a glad fulfilment of the sign. Only I pray Apollo she may not send a storm." These last words show that *τερπνά* means "a fulfilment pleasant for the Greeks," i. e. the sacking of Troy. And what the logic of the place requires is not that Artemis should *demand* this, but that she should not directly oppose it. If by the change of a single letter for *αίτει* we read *αἰνεῖ*, this requirement is fulfilled:

τερπνά τούτων
* *αἰνεῖ ξύμβολα κρᾶναι,*

"She yields assent to the fulfilment of the glad counterpart of this sign."

5. Ll. 196, 7. *παλιμμήκη χρόνον τιθεῖσαι*
τρίβω.

May not this mean, "Redoubling the effect of delay through wear and tear"? Cp. l. 391, 2, *τρίβω τε καὶ προσβολαῖς | μελαμπαγῆς πέλει.*

6. L. 201. *ἄλλο μῆχαρ.*

This is commonly so explained as to imply that other remedies had been tried and failed; which is of course possible. But according to a familiar idiom it is also possible that *ἄλλο* may simply emphasize the contrast between the evil and the cure for the evil, "A remedy more unendurable *even* than the cruel storm."

7. L. 224. *παρακοπὰ πρωτοπήμων.*

This is understood to mean "the infatuation which is the first step in a long train of sorrows." But may it not mean "the infatuation which comes of the first plunge into sorrow"?

8. Ll. 249-52. *δίχα δὲ τοῖς μὲν παθῶσι μαθεῖν*
ἐπιρρέπει
τὸ μέλλον τὸ δὲ προκλύειν
† *ἐπιγένοιτ' ἂν κλύοις προχαιρέτω.*

Although the words *τὸ δὲ προκλύειν* are not by the first hand, they seem to be genuine, and the conjunction *ἢ*, in l. 241 indicates the loss of a participle such as *προσορωμένα* (O. C. 244), which would restore the correspondence of metre. And the occurrence of the glyconic rhythm in the middle of the strophe is rendered probable by its appearing again at the close in ll. 246, 257. If so much is granted, the corruption in the last line may be removed by inserting *εἰ* before *κλύοις* in an emphatic sense, nearly equivalent to *κεῖ*.

Δίκα δὲ τοῖς μὲν παθούσιν μαθεῖν ἐπιρρέπει
τὸ μέλλον· τὸ δὲ προκλύειν,
* ἐπεὶ γένοιτ' ἄν, * εἰ κλύοις, προχαιρέτω.

"A righteous dispensation orders that men shall know the future only through the constraint of suffering it. But as to listening for it beforehand, farewell at once to that, since (even) if you do hear it,¹ it will come to pass." Cp. Suppl. 1047, *δ τί τοι μόρσιμόν ἐστιν, τὸ γένοιτ' ἄν.*

9. L. 276. *τις ἄπερος φάτις.*

"Some settled word,"—i. e. "A rumor which infixes itself in the mind," and does not take to itself wings like a dream. Cp. the Homeric *τῇ δ' ἄπερος ἔπλετο μῦθος*, and *infr.* 425, 6,

*βέβαχεν ὄφεις οὐ μεθύστερον
* περουῶσ' * ὀπαδοῦσ' ὕπνου κελεύθεις.*

10. Ll. 286-9. *ὑπερτελής τε πόντον ὥστε νωτίσαι
ἰσχύς πορευτοῦ λαμπάδος † πρὸς ἴδιον
πέυκη τὸ χρυσοφεγγές ὡς τις ἥλιος
σέλας παραγγείλασα Μαχίστου σκουπαῖς.*

The absence of a finite verb from these four lines is not satisfactorily defended by Hermann. The only question is where the lost word lies concealed. Professor Kennedy's *προὔκειτο* (for *πέυκη τὸ*) is liable to the objection that a verb of rest is ill-suited to the energy of the passage. Besides, *πέυκη* is eminently the right word in the right place. The beacon on Mount Athos would naturally be of pine-wood, as that on Messapius (l. 295) was of heather, and the new subject comes rightly, with a pause after it, at the begin-

¹ I am told that Professor Goodwin has written a learned exposition of this passage, which I have not yet had an opportunity of seeing. Meanwhile I send in my own suggestion for what it is worth. L. C.

Professor Goodwin's article was published in the Transactions of the American Philological Association for 1877, p. 72 seqq., in which he gives from his own collation the exact readings of the Medicean, Florentine and Farnese MSS. The words *τὸ δὲ προκλύειν* and the colon after *μέλλον* do not appear in the Farnese, and in the Medicean were added by a later hand in blacker ink.

Professor Goodwin follows the Farnese MS., construes *τὸ μέλλον ἐπεὶ γένοιτ' ἄν* as *μέλλον κλύοις ἄν, ἐπεὶ γένοιτο*, citing Aristoph. Pac. 137 for the construction, and pointing out the assimilation of *ἐπεὶ γένοιτο* from *ἐπειδὴν γένοιτο*. He does not accept Wellauer's *σίνορθρον αὐγαῖς*, but reads *σίνορθρον* (from *σίνος* and *ἔσορθος*), and refers *αὐταῖς* to the *τέχνην Κάλχαντος*. He translates: "as you can hear of when it comes; before that bid it farewell, and bid it come to pass; for [whatever we do] it will come out according to these [prophetic arts]." B. L. G.

ning of a line. The hypothesis of a lost line or two, in which Pelion would be mentioned, is made improbable by the appropriateness of l. 286 to describe a longer leap than heretofore, and of the words *ὡς τις ἥλιος* to indicate a light appearing from the northeast. It follows that an early conjecture, *ισχὺν* for *ισχύς*, is to be adopted, and that the missing verb must lurk in the phrase *πρὸς ἡδονήν*, of which no satisfactory explanation has been given. The termination of an aorist or imperfect is at once obtained by changing *η* of the last syllable to *ε*, and the remaining letters suggest some compound of *πρὸς* or *πρῦ*, I conjecture *πρῦνυσεν*.

*ὑπερτελής τε, πόντων ὥστε νωτίσαι,
* ἰσχὺν πορευτοῦ λαμπάδος * πρῦνυσεν
πέυκη, τὸ χρυσοφεγγές, ὡς τις ἥλιος,
σέλας παραγγείλασα Μακίστου σκοπαίς.*

"And (a beacon of) pine-wood mounting so as to glance over the sea, sped forward the might of the traveler' lamp, passing on, like a sun, with golden radiance, the fire-message to Macistus' peak."

11. L. 304. In favor of Casaubon's *μοι χαρίζεσθαι* it may be observed that as the description comes nearer home, it is natural for the queen to speak of the lighting of the signal fires as a personal service done by her neighbors to herself.

12. L. 314. *νικᾷ δ' ὁ πρῶτος καὶ τελευταῖος δραμών.*

"And victorious is he who ran from first to last." Clytemnestra is not explaining to the Argive elders the nature of the *λαμπαδηφορία*, which they know well, but is pointing out the difference between her own and the ordinary *λαμπαδηφόρων νόμοι*. The victory in the common torch-race was distributed amongst several runners, who had successfully passed the torch from hand to hand. But in the present case Hephaestus was the sole runner and sole victor, and he was *victor* in no ordinary sense, for he ran victoriously with news of victory. Hence *νικᾷ*, carrying this double association, holds the emphatic place in the line.

13. L. 336. *ὡς δυσδαίμονες*—Sc. *ὄντες*, in the imperfect tense. "As men who had been tried with hardships."

14. L. 413. Without occupying space by a discussion of the various conjectures on this line, I will add one more suggestion :

ἸΔΩΝΤΑ ΠΗΜΟΝΩΝ ἸΔΩΝ,

"Having seen" (i. e. experienced) "an unforgettable sorrow."

¹ See an article by Wm. Morice in the Cambridge Journal of Philology.

15. Ll. 494, 5, et seq. μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι χάσις
 κηλοῦ ξύνουρος, διψία χόνις, τάδε, κ. τ. λ.

Bishop Blomfield was, I believe, the first who suggested that these words applied not to a cloud of dust raised by the herald and his companions (cf. S. c. T. 81, 2, ib. 494), but to the dust and mud upon his clothes. It was perhaps natural that an English scholar should be reminded of Sir Walter Blount,

"Marked with the variation of each soil
 Betwixt that Holmedon and this seat of ours,"

but it is strange that others should not have perceived the inappropriateness of such a remark as applied to the herald who is seen approaching from the neighboring shore (ἀπ' ἀκτῆς), where he has arrived by crossing the Aegean from Troy. The dust raised by his approach (perhaps not unaccompanied) at once shows his haste as the bringer of important tidings, and also proves that he is a real solid human being, and not a voiceless phantom or imponderable element, like the light which brought the earlier message. The speech clearly belongs to the Coryphaeus and not to Clytemnestra, who is obviously not present when ll. 546-50 are spoken.

16. L. 534. ἀρπαγῆς τε καὶ κλοπῆς δίκην.

The *theft* was proved by the disappearance of Helen; and when Paris refused to give her up, he showed himself to be not only a thief but a *robber*.

17. L. 612. χαλκῶν βαφάς.

According to the old interpretation of these words, they were supposed to be equivalent to "the thing that is not." But when it was shown that "bronze-dippings" (according to Mr. Browning's quaint rendering) could not be thus described, a new line of explanation was pointed out by Hermann, who from the words in the Choephoroe (l. 1011), ὡς ἔβαψεν Αἰγίσθου ξίφος, inferred that χαλκῶν βαφάς might be a figurative expression for "slaughter." And he imagines Clytemnestra to say in effect, "I am as innocent of adultery as I am of murder." But it is unlikely that in speaking to the chorus here she should have used figurative language, or made her illustration more obscure than her first expression. Here, if anywhere, we may expect the appearance of plain speaking. And the phrase is perfectly intelligible, if for "the thing that is not" we substitute "the thing that I know not." The tempering of metal was a mechanic process, known to a class of mean craftsmen, and to few or none beyond it,—a mystery of low-born men—

the last thing therefore which a delicately nurtured princess could be expected to know. It is much as if a modern fine lady were to say, "I could no more think of doing such things than of shoeing a horse."

18. Ll. 615, 6. μανθάνοντί σοι
τοροῖσιν ἔρμηγεῦσιν.

Are the "clear interpreters" the herald's ears?—i. e. you understand her meaning, if you hear her words.

19. L. 637. *χωρὶς ἡ τιμὴ θεῶν.*

"The honor of the gods is to be kept apart," viz., from that of the Erinyes (infr. 645), who are spoken of as distinct from the gods in Eum. 197, 350, 361, 366, 386.

20. L. 767. *ΝΕΑΡΑ ΦΑΘΥC ΚΚΟΤΟΝ.*

In support of Ahrens' conjecture *ὅταν τὸ κύριον μὴ φάος τόκου*, it has not been sufficiently noticed that *ΝΕΑΡΑ* as a corruption may easily be accounted for, especially with *νεάζουσαν* preceding, by supposing *ΗΜΕΡΑ* to have existed as a gloss on *ΦΑΘΥC* and afterwards to have crept into the text.

21. L. 817. *χειρός*, the MS. reading, is preferable to *χειλος*, which implies that the vessel was all but full. *χειρός*, "from" or "by the hand," is introduced in opposition to *ἐλπὶς*. "*Hope* alone came near to it: it was not *actually* replenished."

22. L. 864. *καὶ τὸν μὲν ἦχειν, κ. τ. λ.*

The paratactic structure of these words has led interpreters to miss the point of them. The meaning is, "No sooner had we announced his coming than another declared he was bringing home a worse evil than his death would have been." This covert allusion to Cassandra, who is standing beside the king, gives a natural indication of the bitterness which underlies the smooth hypocrisy of Clytemnestra's speech.

23. L. 871. Cp. S. c. T. 941, 2 (Paley).

ὕπὸ δὲ σώματι γᾶς
πλοῦτος ἄβυσσος ἔσται.

24. Ll. 933, 4. *Κ. ἠδ᾽ ἔω θεοῖς δείσας ἂν ᾧδ' ἔρθειν τάδε.*

*Α. εἴπερ τις. εἰδώς γ' εὖ τόδ' ἐξεῖπον *τάχος.*

Cl. "You might have vowed to the gods in some moment of alarm that you would do this as I now propose that you should. Might you not?"

Ag. "I might, if any man ever did. Yes, I say this unhesitatingly, because I know it so well."

I agree with Dr. Kennedy (Camb. Journal of Philology) that the meaning of $\gamma\upsilon\acute{\zeta}\omega \acute{\alpha}\nu$ is determined by the comparison of l. 963. But I cannot think that $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ is sound. The flaw, as it seems to me, lies here, and not in $\acute{\epsilon}\zeta\epsilon\iota\pi\omicron\nu$. This, the aorist of the immediate past, may rightly refer to $\acute{\epsilon}\zeta\pi\epsilon\rho \tau\iota\varsigma$, the words that have been just spoken. Agamemnon, after professing an unchangeable resolution, is surprised into sudden assent by Clytemnestra's subtly flattering reference to "the dangers he has passed." The words $\acute{\epsilon}\zeta\pi\epsilon\rho \tau\iota\varsigma$ having escaped him, in spite of himself, he adds by way of excuse that his near acquaintance with danger made him speak unhesitatingly ($\tau\acute{\alpha}\chi\omicron\varsigma$),

25. Ll. 982-6. $\chi\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\varsigma . . . \sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$.

I cannot think that $\chi\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ is the subject of $\kappa\alpha\rho\acute{\eta}\beta\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu$. Reading $\chi\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\varsigma \delta' \acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\iota$, I would make $\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ the nominative to the verbs which follow. For the image of the army passing its prime cp. the words of Nicias in Thuc. 7, 14, $\beta\rho\alpha\chi\epsilon\iota\alpha \acute{\alpha}\kappa\mu\eta \pi\lambda\eta\rho\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$. The question remains whether the time referred to is the siege of Troy or the delay at Aulis. The latter has the advantage of restoring some clearness to a place which would be otherwise too obscure, by connecting the abiding presentiment which the Chorus here acknowledge with that of which the grounds were given in their first Ode (ll. 184-257).

"Why should this fear not leave me? It is long since the armada lost its bloom while moored upon the land, after setting forth to go beneath the walls of Troy,"—i. e. The event at Aulis which gave rise to my foreboding is so long past that my apprehensions are no longer justifiable. $\Upsilon\pi' \Upsilon\lambda\iota\omega\nu$ is in this case a slightly pregnant expression = $\acute{\upsilon}\pi' \Upsilon\lambda\iota\omega \sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$, and the "start" referred to is the departure from Nauplia. A *prima facie* objection to this explanation may be suggested by the rocky nature of the coast in the neighborhood of Chalcis, as contrasted with the shore of the Troad. But Col. Leake tells us that the bay of Voulkos, a little southward from Chalcis on the opposite side, has a sandy or oozy bottom. A similar expression occurs in the Homeric hymn to Apollo, with reference to the Crissaean gulf.

26. Ll. 1114-8. What is it that Cassandra sees? Surely the murderous contrivance which Clytemnestra avows in ll. 1382 foll., and which is exhibited in evidence of her crime in Cho. 980 foll.

(of which more hereafter). This being so, we cannot be wrong in explaining the words *ἀλλ' ἄρκυς . . . φόνον* to mean "Nay, but the net that takes him to his rest, that is the accomplice in his murder!"

27. L. 1137. *θροῶ* must not be changed to *θροεῖς*. It is better to change † *ἐπεγγέασα* to * *ἐπεγγέαι*,—an exegetic infinitive.

28. L. 1172. The intransitive meaning of *βαλῶ* is supported by *Od. 11, 423, χεῖρας ἀείρων | βάλλον ἀποθνήσκων περὶ φασγάνῳ*. For it would be too ridiculous to join *χεῖρας βάλλον* there.

29. L. 1181. For *πνέων*, as referring not to a wind but to the wave itself, cf. *Eur. Hipp. 1210 (ἀφρὸν) πολὺν καχλάζον ποντίῳ φουσηματι*.

30. Ll. 1271, 2. *καταγελωμένην μετὰ | φίλων, ὅπ' ἐχθρῶν*.

To what time does Cassandra here refer? If to any time at Troy, after her capture, how could she be 'mocked while under the protection of Agamemnon? If at Argos, have we not been witnesses of all that has happened since her arrival? The answer is that, for dramatic purposes, the harsh speeches of Clytemnestra, supra 1035 foll., supply a sufficient ground for this complaint. The words *μετὰ φίλων* consequently refer not to the Priamidae, but to Agamemnon.

31. L. 1300. *ὁ δ' ὕστατός γε τοῦ χρόνου προσβήεται*.

That is, the latest moment is the best, where death is in question.

32. L. 1327-30. In these four lines, which Dindorf rightly gives to the Chorus (cf. supr. 351-4), I would retain the MS. reading *σκιὰ . . . τρέψειεν*, and give the usual meaning to *ταῦτ' ἐχεινῶν μᾶλλον*, viz., "the latter more than the former." "The prosperous course of human things may be turned aside by a shadow; and when they are unfortunate, they are like a painting which may be blurred out by throwing a wet sponge. The latter I pity much more than the former,"—i. e. I am more affected by the fate of Cassandra than by the fall of Troy.

33. L. 1343. *ἔσω*,

"In here," within the palace. The word so explained has a distinct motive, and is not mere surplusage. In calling for rescue it is natural to indicate the place to which the rescue is to be brought.

34. Ll. 1391, 2. *ἦ διὸς νότῳ*

† *γᾶν εἰ σπορητός*.

It deserves to be further considered whether

διὸς νότῳ

* *γανᾶ*

is not on the whole a better emendation than Porson's

* διοσδότω

* γάνει.

The verb coming at the beginning of the line is more expressive than the dative.

35. L. 1395. ἐπισπένδειν νεκρῶ.

Clytemnestra has already in her mind the thought of a sacrifice, which she repeats *infr.* 1433. Libations were poured over the victim of an ordinary sacrifice. But the case is altered where the "victim" is the dead body of a man (*νεκρός*).

36. L. 1458 foll. The lost words may have drawn out the parallel between the two daughters of Tyndareus. The life now sacrificed by one of them is worth the many lives whose loss was caused by the other.

37. L. 1596. Mr. Paley does not seem to observe that ἄσημα . . . αἰτῶν means "without the marks for recognition which they" (the extremities) "would have afforded."

38. Ll. 1625-7. γύναι, σὺ τὸς ἦγοντας ἐκ μάχης νέον—
οἰκουρός, εὐνήν ἀνδρὸς αἰσχύνουσα' ἄμα,
ἀνδρὶ στρατηγῶ τόνδ' ἐβούλευσας μόρον;

Retaining this, the MS. reading, I would render: "Lady, didst thou (act thus) by him who is lately come from war? Keeping house for him, didst thou plot this death against the general of the host,—at the same time dishonoring thy husband's bed?" The Coryphaeus turns contemptuously from Aegisthus, and for the first time openly accuses the queen of unchastity. Her avowal, *supra* 1435 foll., now confirmed by the conduct of Aegisthus, has at last opened their eyes, and draws this taunt from them.

39. L. 1657. πρὸς † δόμους πεπρωμένους.

What is the "house appointed" for the elders? May not νομοῦς, "sphere," "place," "position," be the original reading, which, being changed to νόμους, has been misunderstood, and altered to δόμους? Cp. *Eum.* 576, where νόμφ, the true reading, has been altered to δόμων.

These notes might be continued with remarks on the Choephoroe and Eumenides. But the reader who has followed so far, whether he agrees with me or not, has probably had enough. I will therefore conclude with one more observation. It has been commonly assumed that in Aeschylus, as in Homer and Sophocles, Clytemnestra murders her husband with an axe. But how can this be

reconciled with the words of Orestes (already quoted from Choeph. 1011), *ὡς ἔβαψεν Αἰγίσθου ξίφος?* For Aegisthus had no share in the actual murder. Clytemnestra did all with her own hand. The question to be answered was, "how came she by a lethal weapon?" And the answer is that Aegisthus, who was in the plot, had secretly provided her with his sword. In the Choephoroe, when in danger of her life from the return of her son, she calls loudly for a laborer's axe (Cho. 889-91). But at this point (the crisis of the trilogy) her criminal attitude is declared, and there is no one to "call her power to account."

LEWIS CAMPBELL.

VI.—KELTIC AND GERMANIC.

Interest has been awakened of late in the study of the relations existing or supposed to exist between early Norse literature and early Irish. About a year ago A. C. Bang published, in Danish, a monograph on the *Voluspá*,¹ in which he contended that this part of the Edda is not of Germanic origin at all, but is a mere modification of early Jewish-Christian mysticism as embodied in the so-called Sibylline books. Many of the leading Norse scholars in Germany, Sweden and England have already expressed their assent. Objectors are not wanting, but in general we may say that the drift of opinion is in favor of the new interpretation. Its significance is obvious. If adopted in full, it will force us to reconstruct in great part the usual text-book systems of Eddaic mythology. What used to be regarded as the quintessence of Germanic cosmogony, as the most valuable record of primitive heathen belief, becomes now the merest dregs of a spurious Christianity. Yet it must be conceded that Bang's attack is a formidable one; it will not be easy to controvert either his premises or his conclusions. Going over the entire Sibylline literature very carefully, laying bare its growth, and delineating its chief traits, he puts his analysis by the side of the *Voluspá*, and asks if we can help recognizing between the two a vital connection both in form and in spirit. Were it necessary to be a specialist in Norse literature in order to appreciate the comparison, I should refrain from expressing any opinion. But the question is not one of mastering grammatical niceties or subtle mythological conceptions; it is rather an exercise of one's practical ability to recognize literary borrowing. As in the case of two pictures, we do not need to be artists to decide that one has borrowed its *motifs* from the other. Bang's argument can scarcely be met by asserting that the *Voluspá* and the Sibylline books may have had some common source. The Sibylline books are specifically Jewish-Christian, and consequently can not have anything in common with Germanic heathenism; they must have originated and developed themselves in Jewish-Christian communities of the

¹ Translated, with some additions, into German by J. C. Paestion, Vienna.

early Roman empire. There are only two ways of invalidating the new hypothesis: either to deny flatly all resemblance between Voluspá and Sibyl, or to impeach the accuracy of Bang's analysis of the Sibylline literature.

But it is one thing to establish a resemblance; another, to account for it. Just here Bang makes a *salto mortale*, and lands—in Ireland. Referring to Vigfusson's *Sturlunga Saga, Prolegomena* (Oxford, 1878), he says: "Keltic Ireland is evidently the intermediary (*Vermittlungsglied*) between the Voluspá and the Sibylline Oracles. The author of the Voluspá must, through contact with Irish-Keltic culture, have been put in a position to acquaint himself with the ancient Sibylline literature." Why this "evidently," or this "must"? Are there any direct evidences that the early Irish cultivated Sibylline literature to any extent whatever? No one will deny that Ireland was in the VII-Xth century a centre of religious and literary activity, that the Northmen were in the closest contact with Irish in Ireland proper and in the Western Isles, and borrowed from them not a few proper names and names of every-day objects. This thread of Irish nomenclature is so unmistakable in certain of the Eddaic poems that Vigfusson has been led to the belief "that these poems, with one or two exceptions, owe their origin to Norse poets in the Western Islands." It is somewhat significant that Vigfusson, although specifying some of them and their Irish peculiarities, does not mention the Voluspá. But is there anything in the Voluspá, or in the Sibylline books, that associates them unmistakably with Ireland? A glance at Vogt's *Essay on the Sibylline Prophecies*, Paul u. Braune, *Beiträge*, IV. 79 sqq., will teach us that the subject was widely known throughout the Middle Ages, early and late, and that its dissemination was due to the writings of such popular ecclesiastics as Augustine, Lactantius, Isidore, and Bede (or some unknown author believed at the time to be Bede). Are we at liberty, then, to infer, as Bang has done, that the author of the Voluspá, whoever he may have been, was indebted to Irish monks for his knowledge of the subject? The inference is not a logical one, and there is not a scrap of historical or linguistic evidence in its favor. It is as unsubstantiated as Vigfusson's conjecture, *Prolegomena* clxxxvii, respecting the *Sólarljóð*, namely, that it reminds us of "the sweetness and meekness of the Columbian Church." Our knowledge of the church of St. Columba¹ is not much clearer than our know-

¹ Is the Anglian name *Columba* in fact, as usually stated, the Latin for "dove," or is it a mere thickening of the Irish *colum*?

ledge of the church of St. Patrick. What the popular Irish conception of St. Colum Cillé was in those days, we may learn from the following Irish story, the composition of which is probably to be assigned to a time not very remote from the date of the *Sólar-ljóð*. The story runs thus: About the year 590 a great meeting was called in Ulster to settle certain points in dispute between Ireland and Scotland. King Aedh presided. The Scottish king brought with him to the conference St. Colum Cillé, to give advice. But King Aedh resented the saint's intrusion and gave orders to treat him with disrespect. Conall, the king's elder son, carries out the orders with gusto; but Domhnall, the younger, treats the saint with great kindness. The saint punishes Conall by prophesying for him a wandering and crazy life, and rewards Domhnall with the promise that he shall succeed to the throne. As soon as the mother hears of the malediction bestowed upon her favorite son, she sends her maid to the king to tell him that St. Colum Cillé must not receive the least token of respect from him. Thereupon the saint "prayed that the queen and her attendant should remain in the form of two cranes on the brink of the ford below forever," and the prayer was immediately granted (see O'Curry on *The Exile of the Children of Uisnech, Atlantis*, 1860, p. 393). Whatever the Anglo-Latin stories of St. Patrick and St. Colum Cillé may relate, the Irish stories at least do not suggest times of "sweetness and meekness."¹

In endeavoring to trace relationships, we should, when external evidence is wanting, accept only such internal evidence as is unmistakable. One example of specifically Irish usages occurs in the *Leabhar Breac*. The MS. was written in the XIVth century, according to O'Curry; but the contents are of high antiquity. They are chiefly tracts on ecclesiastical subjects. Among others is a commentary on the canon of the mass, in which the commentator evidently presupposes a commingling of the elements in the

¹In his *Lectures on the MS. Materials of Ancient Irish History*, p. 17, O'Curry mentions another incident like the above. One of the oldest ecclesiastical writings in Irish is the *Féiliré*, or *Metrical Festology of Aengus Celé Dé Culdee*". The author (or scribe) has appended to the text a note to this effect: "St. Colum Cillé having paid a visit to St. Longarad of Ossory, requested permission to examine his books, but Longarad having refused, Colum then said that his friend should not profit by his refusal, whereupon the books were burnt, and the feast of the feast was celebrated immediately after his death." May we supply a moral by saying that these books (manuscripts) were of an ante-Christian, pagan

chalice by pouring the wine upon the water. This is reversing the usual process, and the monkish symbolic interpretation put upon it is that the blood of Christ, the higher and more precious element, came down from above to the lower and grosser element of man and the world. Smith's Dictionary of Christian Antiquities (*sub* "Elements") mentions no instance of pouring the wine on the water. A marked peculiarity of this sort would be strong evidence. But the Sibylline prophecies are too vague, too universal, to be fixed upon any one church of the IXth or Xth century.

In his Icelandic Dictionary, p. 780, Vigfusson has given a list of forty-nine words, names and nicknames, of Keltic (Irish) origin occurring in the Landnama-Bók. Whitley Stokes, in the *Revue Celtique*, III. 186-191, has succeeded in identifying the Irish forms of all but a very few. The most important result of Mr. Stokes's examination is the light it throws on certain points in Middle-Irish pronunciation. Inasmuch as the Germanic colonists of Iceland knew nothing of conventional-historic Irish spelling, we may be sure that the forms of the Landnama-Bók represent the sounds of foreign words to an Icelandic ear. Thus the Icelandic name Kaðall, standing for Irish Cathall, shows that at that time (XIIth or XIth century) the Irish *th*, which is in modern Irish a mere breathing = *h*, must have sounded like *ð* or *þ* in Anglo-Saxon. Similarly, the Melkorka of Landnama-Bók = Irish Mael-Curcaigh, "servant of Curcach," shows that Middle-Irish *gh* was silent in *auslaut*, as it is to-day. This last inference is an argument, it seems to me, against accepting Vigfusson's interpretation (see Prolegomena clxxxvi) of the title "Rigs-þula" (Rigs-mál). Vigfusson considers the *Rig-* to be the Gaelic (Irish) *rioh*, king. But if the Irish *gh* was silent at the time when the Landnama-Bók was written, it must also have been silent when the Rigs-þula was written; for certainly no one can look upon the Rigs-þula as very old. And if the Irish themselves did not sound final *gh*, why should a Scandinavian poet, or scribe, writing by ear, introduce a *g*?

Another field of investigation which is rapidly becoming prominent is the international relationship, so to speak, of metres. Within the last three years two attempts have been made to establish a direct connection between Irish forms of verse and those of non-Keltic races. Namely, by Edzardi, in his essay entitled "Die skaldischen Versmasse und ihr Verhältnis zur keltischen (irischen) Verskunst," in Paul u. Braune, Beiträge, etc., V. 570 sqq.; and by Bartsch, "Ein keltisches Versmass im Provenzalischen u. Franzö-

sischen," in *Zts. für romanische Philologie*, II. 195 sqq. Both essays are unsatisfactory, for one reason at least, if for no other; their authors cannot lay claim to exact and original scholarship in Keltic philology. The services rendered by Bartsch to the study of Romance and Germanic literature are too well known to call even for mention; Edzardi is among the most promising students of Norse. But their knowledge of Irish literature is evidently got at second hand, if not at third hand, and, for such comparisons as they have in view, is wholly inadequate. Were the subject of Old-Irish metres one that had been treated exhaustively by competent scholars, and reduced to such a system that those not initiated in Keltic philology might grasp at least the cardinal points by reading carefully a few universally approved treatises, it would be possible and profitable for Bartsch, Edzardi and others like them to institute comparisons between Irish and Norse or Romance. But this is far from being the case; so far, indeed, that a perfectly candid searcher after the truth must say to himself again and again: of primitive Irish metres we know nothing, and as to Old and Middle-Irish verse-forms, the best of our knowledge is still to come.

The admission may sound, perhaps, too sweeping. Let me corroborate it, then, by the statements of Keltists high in repute. Bartsch's attempt at argument was, on the face of it, weak and haphazard; it was disposed of summarily by Jubainville; in the *Romania*, April, 1879. Bartsch fancied that he detected marked resemblances between Late-Latin and early Romance metres and Irish of the same age. As it is not at all probable that Continental verse-makers would borrow directly from Ireland, the inference, according to Bartsch, was that the two systems had a common origin, or that the Keltic system passed into the Roman in consequence of the colonization of Gaul. To this Jubainville replied, in substance if not in words, that Bartsch evidently knew nothing about the fundamental principles of Keltic philology.

In order to make Jubainville's strictures perfectly clear, I shall have to recapitulate the main points very briefly. Our knowledge of Irish in its earliest forms is derived chiefly from glosses written by Irish monks in Latin manuscripts. Occasionally we get in these glosses a passage long enough to afford a continuous text; but usually the glosses consist of detached words and phrases, used merely to explain the Latin text that they accompany. The Irish of the glosses, called specifically Old-Irish, dates from the eighth and ninth centuries. Possibly some of it may be dated as early as the

seventh century. It is upon this glossae-Irish that the great *Grammatica Celtica* of Zeuss (revised by Ebel) is for the most part based. Middle-Irish is the designation of the language at a later stage, say from the beginning of the twelfth century. The most celebrated Irish manuscript of this period, i. e. written entire in Irish, is the *Leabhar na huidre*, or Book of the Dun Cow, written about 1100. It is a collection of stories, some of which have been edited and translated separately. The entire MS. has been published in facsimile by the Royal Irish Academy. See Windisch, *Kurzgefasste Irische Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1879, p. 6.

But Irish of the eighth or even of the seventh century cannot be called very old. In fact, one of the constant regrets among Keltic philologists is that they have no Keltic remains, whether in Irish, Gaulish or Welsh, that can do for their study what the fragments of Wulfila's Gothic translation of the Bible have done for Germanic philology. Zeuss, Ebel and their successors have wrought wonders with the materials at their disposal. They have profited, of course, by the results of general Indo-Germanic philology. But there is not one of them, I am confident, but would consider his study placed upon an infinitely more satisfactory basis could he only succeed in unearthing an Irish text of ten or twenty pages of the third or fourth century. The difference is not one of age alone; it is one of character. Old-Irish has "sloughed off" many termination-syllables, especially in the declension of nouns and adjectives. Some of them we can restore approximately, by conjecture, but only approximately. What we need is a genuine Irish text giving these terminations in such an unmistakable form that we can readily explain by their aid all the curious phenomena of aspiration, eclipsis and infection. Nevertheless we know, by inference, that the terminations must have survived down to a time not much anterior to the glossae. This early stage of the language has been called "pre-historic"; perhaps a better term would be "preliterate." According to Jubainville, prehistoric Irish was still in-vogue even in the seventh century. In Old-Irish, the genitive singular of the word "son" has become *maic*. This presupposes a prehistoric *magi*, of which the *-i* has been absorbed into and assimilated with the stem. As a matter of fact we do find the form *magi* in Irish inscriptions. See Romania, p. 145. Compare also the Gaulish names *Segomari*, *Druticni*, *Dannotali*, Whitley-Stokes, *Three Irish Glossaries*, p. lv, note §. If such inflexional syllables, then, subsisted as late as the sixth and seventh centuries, no Irish or Gaulish verse in the days of the

Republic or early Empire can be imagined without them. To quote Jubainville's words: "As late as the year 700 Irish still retained its external (=terminal) inflexions. Hence not one of the Irish verses that we possess can be anterior to this date, for it is clear that if we were to restore the external inflexions (terminations), most of the verses could no longer stand on their feet."

The argument, it will be observed, not only overthrows Bartsch's fancied analogies, but it lays down a doctrine which cannot be apprehended too clearly. Primitive Irish verse must have been made up of words retaining certain terminal syllables of inflexion. We do not possess any such verse, consequently we must first find some before constructing our theory.

Edzardi's position is quite different from Bartsch's; he attempts merely to show that some of the metres used by the Skalds are reproductions of well-known Irish forms of verse. There is nothing impossible, or even improbable, in such a hypothesis. The Northmen were for centuries in contact with the Irish, and may well have borrowed from them in more ways than one. But Edzardi's way of going to work is not likely to give satisfaction; it reads very much as if the author, at home in one domain, had strayed off into another, and, bent on finding resemblances, had picked them up by chance. Thus, I doubt if any critical student of Irish metres would at the present day consult O'Donovan's grammar for specimens of early versification. O'Donovan's work was published in 1845, before even the first edition of Zeuss. Not only is it far behind the demands of the age, but its author never intended it for more than a treatise on modern Irish. His remarks upon Old Irish are only incidental to a practical treatment of the living tongue. The few examples of so-called early verse that he gives are taken from writers of the fourteenth century, and later. Edzardi, it is true, cites some Old and Middle Irish verses, communicated to him, he states, by Windisch. But is not this a mere loan *ad hoc*? Were Edzardi as much at home in Irish as he unquestionably is in Icelandic, he would not need to borrow from Windisch's still unpublished volume of "Texts." Numerous publications by Whitley Stokes, O'Curry, Crowe, Hennessy and other scholars would have yielded him all the materials he could possibly utilize. May I venture upon a blunt question without giving offence? Namely, what is the good of comparisons instituted by scholars who are not equally familiar with both objects to be compared?

The study of Old and Middle Irish is a formidable undertaking.

The forms of the language are complicated, the idiomatic structure is uncommonly puzzling. Dictionaries, accurate literary and political histories, almost all helps are wanting. The student must fight his way through by sheer force of will, inch by inch. It is the last field for guess-work. No one can "skim" Old Irish as many of us "skim" French or Italian. As to the verse-structure, in particular, the honestest course for us will be to admit promptly that until all the Irish verse-texts are edited, it will not be possible to construct a system. And the *most important* text of all is still buried in manuscript, namely, the treatise on metres contained in the Book of Ballymote.

O'Donovan, at p. 427 of his grammar, says: "There is a curious tract on Irish versification in the Book of Ballymote, which deserves to be studied." From O'Donovan's point of view it was perhaps sufficient to refer to this tract as "curious"; but modern scholars will assuredly deem it something more. Thus Crowe, in his annotated edition and translation of the *Siabur-Charpat Con Culaind* (Demonic Chariot of Cu Chulaind), in the *Kilkenny Journal*, Jan. 1871, says, p. 409, "All the requisites for the perfect composition of every species of poetry are laid down in the treatise . . . in the Book of Ballymote . . . I may have the opportunity of printing the Ballymote tract before long." Unfortunately Crowe did not live to carry out his purpose. Mr. Hennessy, in informing me that he had a copy of the tract, made by himself, added, "It is *very* hard." I am quite willing to take his word for it. Professor Zimmer has also a copy, I believe. Both gentlemen agree in the high estimate to be put upon the tract. The manuscript of the Book of Ballymote is not especially old; O'Curry assigns it to the latter part of the fourteenth century. But, like so many other Irish manuscripts, it is an immense compilation ("502 pp. of the largest folio vellum") from much earlier sources. Among other things it contains the Irish Book of Nennius, ed. in 1848 by Todd and Herbert for the Archaeological Society. The chief value of the tract on versification will doubtless be found to consist in its numerous specimens of the earliest forms of verse taken from manuscripts no longer in existence. Certainly Crowe, who was up to the time of his death in the foremost rank of Irish scholarship, would not have expressed himself so unreservedly, had he not been convinced of the importance of this tract.¹

¹Are Continental scholars as well acquainted as they should be with Crowe's articles in the *Kilkenny Journal* and O'Curry's in the *Atlantis*? I fear they are not. Otherwise Professor Windisch would have escaped the misstatement

The indispensableness of a thorough knowledge of Old-Irish versification is illustrated by Crowe in another paper, *The Guardsman's Cry of St. Patric, Kilkenny*, April, 1869, p. 290. Here he shows how O'Curry, for want of such knowledge, printed as prose a passage in the *Sick Bed of Cu Chulaind* which is in verse (see *Atlantis*, p. 388). Also that Whitley Stokes, in his *Goidelica*, misread and misinterpreted several lines of the *Hymn of St. Brocan, Liber Hymnorum*.

Crowe's remarks upon the distinction between poet (*fili*) and bard are significant enough to warrant quotation. He says, p. 287: "There are in Irish two kinds of poetry—the one metrical, the other not. The latter species was the composition of the *fili*, never of the bard, who always sang in metre and in rhyme . . . The *fili*, although originally the only poet, and a poet only, grew at length, in direct antithesis to the fate of the Greek *χωμικός*, to be the poet *par excellence*, the teacher of philosophy, philology, rhetoric . . . All those mysterious compositions supposed to produce supernatural effects, such as incantations, satires, cries of poesy (of the last-named class is our *Guardsman's Cry*), were the works of the *fili*, while at the same time his undergraduate course included all the metrical rules of the bard. Thus we see that the *fili* and the bard were quite distinct, yet all our modern scholars have mixed them up together under the general name of bards. We read, for example, everywhere that at the synod of *Druimm Cetta*, *St. Columba* succeeded in retaining the bards in Ireland. But at this synod there was no question whatever about the bards; it was the *filis* and their disciples that created the disturbance at the time. The bards never taught, had no disciples—being, in fact, a modern and non-associate institution, and represented as such in our manuscripts . . . The *fili*, on the other hand, may be traced back to the remotest period, and indeed his title claims this antiquity, at least if the following idea as to the origin of the name can have any value. In *Zeuss 274, las na fileda* is glossed *apud comicos*, which would seem to be an exact translation. As from the Greek stem *χωμ-* we have *χώμη*, village; *χώμος*, village revel; *χωμικός*, village poet; so from the Irish stem *fel* we have *fel* or *fele*, an inclosure; *fled* (written in full *filed* in the *Lebor na huidre*), a village feast; and *fili*, a village poet."

(p. 115 of his *Kurzgefasste Irische Grammatik*) that his third text, p. 118, *Ectra Condla Chaim*, etc., had never before appeared in print. The entire passage, i. e. Irish text, with introduction, translation and notes, was published by Crowe in the *Kilkenny Journal*, April, 1874, under the title "*Adventures of Condla Ruad*."

The author has not defined this "non-metrical" poetry of the *filis*, beyond saying that it "has various forms. In some cases it consists of a certain number of *bricht* (eight-syllable combinations) in one or more divisions." But he goes on to say, p. 289, "for the making of an Irish poem, metrical or not, there are, as regards expression, certain laws, the three principal of which are defined as follows in the ancient preface to the *Lebor na huidre* copy of the *Amra*," namely, "return," "re narration" and "reduplication." The "return" is "the doubling of one word in one place in the round and without following it from that out." Example: *Dia, Dia, dorrogus*, God, God, I beseech him. Another example, in a metrical composition, is this quatrain from the Book of Ballymote tract:

O splendid boy, sing Brian's poem,
Sing Brian's poem, O splendid boy:
Brian of the Kine's plain, palm of Fal's men,
Palm of Fal's men, Brian of the Kine's plain.

"Re-narration is re-narrating from a like mode, i. e. the one word, to say it frequently in the round with the intervention of other words between them." Example, the repetition of *niurt*, "power," at the beginning of each line in one passage in the Guardsman's Cry:

1. May there come to me to-day the "power" (*niurt*), the strong title Trinity, etc.
2. May there come to me to-day the "power" of Christ's birth, etc.
3. May there come to me to-day the "power" of seraphim's orders, etc.

An example of "re-narration" in metre is contained in a quatrain of the Siabur Charpat Con Culaind:

I was not a hound of round-lapping of leavings,
I was a hound of slaying of troops;
I was not a hound of watching of calves,
I was a hound of watching of Emain.

and third lines begin with *nipsa* (= *ni basa*), "I was not," fourth with *basa*, "I was." "Reduplication is bi-geminating." Example: *Agur, agur, iar*, I fear, after long long.

processes, then, return, re-narration, re-duplication, in poetry, according to Crowe. Do they not appear and the imagination an impression akin to that

created by the parallelism of Hebrew poetry, or by the amplifications and repetitions of Anglo-Saxon alliteration? "O splendid boy, sing Brian's poem," etc., recalls to me immediately the celebrated lament of David over Absalom. When the composer of the *Beowulf*-poem sings, vv. 1647-1649;

ðá wæs be feaxe	on flett boren
Grendles heáfod,	ðær guman druncon,
egeslic for eorlum,	and ðære idese mid,

we of to-day have to construe each half line with the one that stands under it and not with the one by its side, and we read: Then was by the hair Grendel's head, terrible to the knights, brought into the hall where the men were drinking, and their wives with them. The difference between the Anglo-Saxon return and the Irish is no less evident than the resemblance; the *fili* states a thought fully and then re-states it; the *scóip* states his thought half and comes back to finish it. Both methods are in strictness rhetorical rather than poetical, and each is the counterpart of the other.

How far Crowe's views may have been accepted among Keltists, and how far their adoption would facilitate the study of Old-Irish versification, are points upon which I can scarcely venture to have an "opinion." There is one "suspicion," however, that continually thrusts itself upon me, to wit, that we shall not be able to study the genesis of the Irish system until we have forms more primitive than any we now have. One of the oldest specimens is contained in the lines scribbled on the margin of the St. Gall manuscript of Priscian. The first *rann* (quatrain) runs thus:

Is acher in gáith innocht
 Fufuasna fairggae findfolt
 Ni ágor reimm mora minn
 Dond læchraid lainn oa Lochlind.

Is sharp (violent) the wind the (= this) night
 Agitates the ocean white hair (foam?)
 Not fear I (a) crossing of the sea clear
 By the warrior-troop fierce from Scandinavia.

The translation is from Jubainville's French, but modified here and there in accordance with Windisch's glossary. The verse-flow may be marked thus:

is acher in gáith innócht, etc.

Lines 1 and 2 are regarded as riming (= assonant), *-nocht: folt*; also lines 3 and 4, *minn: -lind*. Even more evident to a Germanist

are the alliterations *is, in, in; fu-, fair-, find; mora, minn; laech-, lann, -lind.*

Is verse of this kind primitive? It sounds to me too complicated. Rime (i. e. terminal rime) is quite sufficient to give character to verse; alliteration is also of itself sufficient. But the two together stand in each other's way, and have a ring of artificiality, especially when the number of syllables must be counted with scrupulous exactness. The above quatrain, e. g., has exactly twenty-eight. If the earliest Irish *filis* were indeed, as Crowe defines them, "village" poets, they must have sung in measures more rustic than any edited by Crowe himself, by Stokes, or by Zeuss. And by "rustic" I do not mean *bänkelsängerisch*. The quatrain cited has, to my ear at least, a decided ballad-jingle, which is the token of decadence and mannerism. It is no better and no worse than scores of medieval monkish songs in Latin. I use the word "rustic" as Crowe has used the word *χωμικός*, a poet of the people reciting to the people in a strain with which all are equally conversant. Rustic = *volksmässig*. Our Anglo-Saxon alliterative verse is the best vehicle of truly popular poetry. Even had Bede failed to transmit to us the charming little story of Caedmon, we might conjecture from internal evidence that alliteration was something in which all could have a share. It is perfectly simple, dignified, powerful and flexible; it expresses evidently all that the Old-German mind was capable of conceiving. If we weed out the palpable monkish interpolations and blunderings from our *Beowulf*-poem, we shall have left one of the most vigorous and straightforward of poems in any language, ancient or modern. We can readily picture to ourselves the followers of a king of Old England reciting long passages of it from the mead-bench around the winter fireside.

The essence of Old-German poetry is its alliteration. Whether we hold by the old four-beat (*Vierhebungen*) theory or reject it in favor of the two-beat, we cannot but admit that "no alliteration, no verse." May not a like disposition have prevailed in the earliest Irish verse? Nothing could be farther from my purpose than to hint, however vaguely, at the possibility of German and Irish verse having a common origin. I take the liberty merely of suggesting a change in the method of approaching—what the French would call

¹ So strong was this taste for alliteration that it affected, we may say vitiated, Old-English prose, or what should have been prose. Compare ten Brink, *Gesch.* p. 140, with Grein's ed. of Aelfric's *Judges*, first in *Bibl. d. An. S. Prosa*, p. 253, then in *Anglia* II. 142.

envisager—Irish verse. Hitherto scholars have busied themselves almost exclusively with examining into the laws or usages of rime (assonance), syllable-counting and line-arrangement in Irish. Might they not, possibly with more profit, study the principles underlying Irish alliteration? If the result should be to establish the priority of alliteration over rime, we could then assert of Irish what is unquestionably true of Old-German and Old-English, that rime has *supplanted* alliteration.

Attempts like that of Bartsch to explain the development of medieval Latin forms of verse by assuming the intrusion of Irish methods into Latin, seem to me to be putting the cart before the horse. We cannot yet say that we are fully enlightened on all points in the growth of medieval Latin verse. Although much has been done in the way of editing, more remains to be done in the way of systematizing. But are not the general facts sufficiently clear, namely, that medieval riming Latin grew out of the church service, which required for its chants, antiphonies, sequences, etc., a flow of strongly marked accents at regular intervals, with strongly marked pauses? Given on the one hand a musical notation, on the other hand a language like Latin abounding in long words and terminations that lend themselves spontaneously to rime, what need can there be of going outside of Latin to Keltic in quest of a source for rime? The conjecture that a few Irish monks scattered here and there in Franco-Gallia and Lombard-Italy could have played a determining part in shaping the liturgy of so cosmopolitan an institution as the Western Church, is too hazardous to be accepted without the most conclusive proof. We know that Latin metres or their lineal descendants, Old French and Provençal, were strong enough to supplant permanently the alliterative system of the Germans and Anglo-Saxons. It is not a mere "chance" of history that the measure of the Heliand should have passed away, whereas the far clumsier verses of Otfrid's *Christ* should have determined the forms of all subsequent German poetry. Is our knowledge of the early Irish, kind to warrant us in claiming for them a profounder vitality? The study of Keltic literature and its beginnings; it offers to its followers a field of investigation. But its friends will do it harm, giving for it too much honor. In the absence of proof, we shall be safe in assuming that of the two, the Roman and the Keltic, the former was the giver, the

receiv-

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NOTES.

VARIA.

I.—1. *Μέμφομαι*. The word *μέμφομαι* sometimes has a meaning not provided for in Liddell and Scott's Lexicon. Hence a recent editor of extracts from Greek Lyric Poets has given it a forced rendering not demanded by the context. Archil. XII begins :

Ἠήδεα μὲν στονόβεντα, Περικλέες, οὔτε τις ἀστῶν
μεμφόμενος θαλίης τέρψεται οὐδὲ πόλις.

Here he renders *μεμφόμενος*, 'bemoaning,' evidently construing the negative only with *τέρψεται*, and inventing a meaning for *μέμφομαι*, or rather borrowing it from Buchholz. That *μεμφόμενος* could be taken in a causal sense and construed outside of the negative, cannot be denied, only its *meaning* does not suit. Blass more properly renders it "*geringachtend*," and of course the negative then includes it. Other examples where it has a similar signification are so familiar that it is difficult to see how they have been overlooked, or why they have been neglected, by our lexicographers. In the Hecuba of Euripides, the heroine, in conversation with Agamemnon, threatens to punish Polymestor with the aid of other women. Agamemnon asks how women are to receive the strength of men. Hecuba answers (884):

δεινὸν τὸ πλῆθος, ζῆν δόλω τε δύσμαχον,

to which Agamemnon replies (885):

δεινὸν τὸ μέντοι θῆλυ μέμφομαι γένος.

At this verse a scholiast says: *μέμφομαι καταγιγνώσκω καὶ φαῦλον ἡγοῦμαι ἀσθενές γὰρ καὶ μαλακόν*. So in Hercules Furens, 189, *μέμφει* clearly has a similar sense, i. e. *think little of, despise, contemn*. One phase of this sense is 'to disregard,' which suits the passage in Archilochus.

2. *Euripides Alcest.* 403. The *pruritus emendandi* of Herwerden is well known. N. Wecklein, having spoken of this (*Bursian's Jahresbericht*, XIII, p. 38), says: In Folge dieser Eilfertigkeit kommen mitunter Conjecturen zum Vorschein, die geradezu feh-

lerhaft sind (Hel. 1398, οὐδ' περ ὄνθ', etc.) oder dem Zusammenhange widersprechen (Herc. 679, κελαιῶ, etc.) *oder auch absurde Vorstellungen geben* (Alc. 403, ὁ σὺς ποτὶ σοῖσι πίτνων γόνασιν νευσσός, etc.). Without defending the mass of Herwerden's conjectures, or even maintaining that this particular conjecture is to be accepted, I propose to defend it against Wecklein's criticism. His authority is justly held so high that an error on his part is unusually dangerous. Unfortunately he does not tell us wherein exists the 'absurdity'; but that there is no absurdity in the *act* or *situation* (from a Euripidean standpoint at least) is shown by Suppl. 284-5, δ̄ περ σοῖσι γόνασιν ὡδε πίτνω, 278 ἀμφιπίτνουσα τὸ σὺν γόνο, 10 προσπίτνουσ' ἐμὸν γόνυ, and many other examples; for the boy Eumelos is in the attitude of supplication (ὀπάκουσον, ἄκουσον, ὦ μήτερ, ἀντιᾶζω σ' ἐγὼ σ' ἐγὼ, μήτερ, καλυῖμαι ὁ σὺς ποτὶ κτέ.), although he knows his mother is dead. Wecklein must see the absurdity, therefore, in a νευσσός falling at the knees; but this is not objectionable. The 'falling at the knees' is no part of a figure, but is literal, and νευσσός, as elsewhere in Euripides, merely amounts to 'child,' 'darling.' With στόμασιν we are so accustomed to think of a young bird (and yet πίτνων is then unsuitable), that it is difficult to banish the image from the mind even when we read γόνασιν—an image that would never have been created if we had always read γόνασιν. If this is not Wecklein's trouble, I am unable to see what is.

II. *Aristophanea* 1. *EA*. Whether ἔα as an exclamation was not originally the imperative of ἐάω ('hold!') I shall not discuss; but its primary use as an interjection is to indicate surprise in its strict sense, not necessarily astonishment or wonder. This surprise is usually at something sudden or unexpected (though not wonderful) which *occurs*, and calls forth remark or leads to an interruption of conversation already going on. From this use naturally comes the other, where it is employed when something startling *in its nature* is *told*. In both its uses it is placed first—that is, it introduces the remark (or the other ejaculations) caused by the occurrence or the statement. If it is ever employed otherwise, examples have escaped me. There are many passages where there is doubt whether we should read ἔα ἔα or ἀῦ, and in not a few cases ἐη seems to have a similar use. (See Aesch. Prom. 114, Agam. 1125, Choeph. 1047; Prom. 151, 158, Soph. Oed. Col. 149, Trach. 1004, 1014, etc.) But these are also employed in other circumstances, and hence ἔα is occasionally confounded with them in some MSS. As an instance of its weakest use may be cited Plat. Prot. 314. Knocking is heard

at the door. Some one opens it and says, 'Ἐα, σοφισταί τινες, 'Why, here are some philosophers.' As illustrations of all its uses see the following examples taken at random from the dramatists: Aesch. Prom. 298, 687, Soph. Oed. Col. 1477, Eur. Androm. 895, Bacch. 644, Hec. 501, 733, 1116, Elect. 341, 557, 747, Heracl. 73, Herc. Fur. 514, 815, 1088, Suppl. 91, Hippol. 1390, Iph. Aul. 316, 643, 1131, Iph. Taur. 1156, Ion 153, 170, 241, 540 (Witz.), 1549, Med. 1005, Orest. 277, Rhes. 574, 675, 885, Tro. 298, 1256, Aristoph. Nub. 1259, Pax 60, Av. 1495, Thesmo. 699, 1105.

These remarks have been made more especially to prepare the way for criticizing certain readings in Aristophanes. In Pax a servant has been speaking, and then we read (Dind. v. 60):

Trygaeus: ἔα ἔα.

Servant: στήσασθ', ὡς φωνῆς ἀκούειν μοι δοκῶ.

Then Trygaeus proceeds to address to Zeus a sort of soliloquy (if we may so speak). Our surprise is removed when we cast our eyes at the margin and see: 60. ἔα ἔα *servo continuatum in libris Trygaeo tribuit Brunckius*. It should be restored to the servant. It is true, we should then have nothing *in the text* to represent the φωνή which the servant heard; but that is nothing uncommon. (See Ran. 312 ff).

Again, in the Nubes, Strepsiades has just driven a creditor from the stage, when is heard without *ὦ μοί μοι*, whereupon Strepsiades:

ἔα.

τίς οὐτυοί ποτ' ἔσθ' ὁ θρηγῶν;

Here Bakhuyzen (De Parodia in Com. Aristoph.) strangely assigns *ἔα* to the voice without.

It may be further remarked that there is no propriety in Liddell and Scott's observation that *ἔα* is *rare in prose*. It is rare in the same sense that Neptune is rarely in perihelion. It is used whenever time and occasion call for it, and this does not, from the nature of the matter, happen so often in prose as in the drama; but the remark of L. and S. would lead one to suppose that it is poetical.

2.—Bakhuyzen, with others, attributes the *whole* of Aristoph. Ach. 540 to Euripides. In Aristoph. it runs thus:

ἔρει τις, οὐ χρῆν' ἀλλὰ τί ἐχρῆν εἴπατε,

and the scholiast says 'ἔρει τις, οὐ χρῆν' is from Euripides' Telephus. Of course, among the fragments of Euripides it is written with *τί χρῆν εἴπατε*. This, however, is neither tragic nor comic. *τι* gives Bakhuyzen no trouble, as he writes (Aristoph. Frag. 525)

ἄρπαγᾶ τρέφων without remark. If we admit this quantity, it must be tragic; but it cannot be: *τί* and *χρῆν* are too closely connected to stand before the fifth caesura. Perhaps, then, after all, the scholiast meant what he said.

3.—We are in constant danger of finding parodies in Aristophanes where none exist; but Ach. 790,

ὁμοματρία γάρ ἐστι κῆχ τῶντῶ πατρός,

reminds me always so forcibly of Soph. Antig. 513,

ὁμαιμος ἐκ μιᾶς τε καὶ ταύτου πατρός,

that I must call attention to it, as Bakhuyzen does not mention it.

Also Av. 1245,

ἄρ' οἴσθ' ὅτι Ζεὺς εἶ με λυπήσει πέρα, κτέ.,

with its confused construction, is very suggestive of Antig. 2 ff, if we do not adopt the late "emendations" to the latter.

The whole passage, Av. 316–335, is clearly a *παρατραγωδία*, not, of course, one in which the exact metrical form has been followed.

Bakhuyzen seems to have given himself needless trouble to show that Ran. 1443–4,

ὅταν τὰ νῦν ἄπιστα πίσθ' ἠγώμεθα,

τὰ δ' ὄντα πίστ' ἄπιστα, κτέ.,

are taken from some lost play of Euripides. It will be observed that in the first of these two verses we have, omitting the accents, *ἀπισταπισθ'*, which might be *ἀπιστ' ἀπισθ'*; and in the other verse, *ὄνταπισταπιστα*, which might be *ὄντ' ἀπιστ' ἀπιστα*, or *ὄντ' ἀπιστα πιστα* or *ὄντα πιστα πιστα*; and but for the accents, the passage would have been hopelessly obscure, and in any case must have been puzzling. It seems to me that the comedian was merely ridiculing Hec. 689,

ἄπιστ' ἄπιστα καινὰ καινὰ δέρομαι.

The passage is, moreover, not of the paradoxical sort to which B. refers for illustration.

4.—In reference to the Promethean scene in Av., Bakhuyzen says (p. 89): *Saepius mihi vss. 1494 sqq. legenti videbantur haec omnia quae de Prometheo agunt revera faceta non esse neque summo comico digna nisi quodammodo cum Promethei historia cohaerent, i. e. veri Promethei parodiam continerent.* He then proceeds to show, with considerable elaboration, that the *Προμηθεὺς Πυρφόρος* must not only have existed, but have occupied the *first*

place in the trilogy; and he then explains the above scene as a parody on some similar scene in the *Πυρφόρος*, maintaining that it would otherwise be 'omnino τῆς φορτικῆς κωμωδίας.' His arguments with reference to the *Πυρφόρος* appear to be, in the main, very sound, and he has, perhaps, made some contributions to the solution of that vexed question; but the assumption of a *Πυρφόρος* is surely not essential for the explanation of this scene in Aristophanes. In the first place, the myth was sufficiently familiar to make the people enjoy what may be called a *parody* on it, whether they had ever witnessed it on the stage or not. And, in the second place, is it certain that Aristophanes always practiced what he preached? In the very play where he censures the *φορτικὴ κωμωδία* he indulges in it himself to an extent which seems to have displeased the people; and the play opens and closes with scenes condemned in the parabasis. Hundreds of passages may be pointed out in his works which are designed solely to create vulgar laughter. I believe that the attempt to acquit Aristophanes of this charge has prevented critics from explaining Av. 1213 (*σφραγιδ' ἔχεις*) by referring to v. 560. The sheer absurdity of the thing constituted its humor. Hearing v. 1213 some half-hour after v. 560, the people could not but associate them together. This the poet knew, and hence intended that they should.

But to return to the Promethean scene: I have always enjoyed it as much as any other scene in all the poet's plays, and this is the case with many other readers of Aristophanes. M. Haupt regarded it as the finest scene in that play. And why? Because every one is even now sufficiently familiar with the story of Prometheus to enjoy seeing it parodied, or, rather, presented in caricature. Of course it *may* have been a parody on the *Πυρφόρος*, but, I say, it is not at all *necessary* to assume anything of the sort.¹

M. W. HUMPHREYS.

¹ Those who are familiar with modern parodic literature, especially those who have ever been guilty of trying to add to the stock of it, will appreciate the justness of Professor Humphreys's remark; and if perchance any of our readers remembers Aytoun's *Firmilian*, a Spasmodic Tragedy, which had, I believe, some little success in its day, will be able to recall a number of travestied situations which are enjoyable without any reference to the poets ridiculed. So in reading the *Wasps* with a class some time since I was amused by a parallelism which suggested itself to me for the first time between the situation of Philokleon in the confinement of his house, and that of Danae in her tower. Bdelykleon corresponds to Akrisios, and an analogous chorus would not be far to seek. The measures are plaintive, indeed caterwauling, and would suit a

ON *πίαρ* AS AN ADJECTIVE.

In the Fragments of Solon, XXXVI, vv. 18-21 (ed. Bergk) occurs the following passage:

κέντρον δ' ἄλλος ὡς ἐγὼ λαβῶν
κακοφραδῆς τε καὶ φιλοκτῆμων ἀνὴρ
οὔτ' ἂν κατέσχε δῖμον οὔτ' ἐπαύσατο,
πρὶν ἂν ταράξας πῖαρ ἐξέλεγ γάλα.¹

Now it is commonly held that *πίαρ* is a noun, and noun only, and accordingly it has been so translated here. This would make the passage mean: "before he had stirred up the milk and taken out the fat." But as it is not usual to stir up milk when it is wanted to skim off the cream, this is hardly a satisfactory interpretation, and it seems necessary to take *πίαρ* as an adjective, and to understand with Buchholtz, from the preceding line, *δῖμον* as the object of *ταράξας*; or simply to render it: "before he had stirred up and filched away the creamy milk," i. e. the milk made fat by being

serenade or rather *aubade* under the windows of a prisoner. In fact my impression of the plaintive character is so strong that I cannot force myself to read v. 273 (τί ποτ' ἴν) and v. 281 (τάχα δ' ἄν) logaedly or otherwise than as a modification of *ionici*, as Dindorf and Fritzsche would have us to do. Metricians should remember that Aristophanes could be frolicsome. Of course the orthodox thing to do, as soon as the notion of parody presents itself, is to look for the original word. After I had amused myself with the parallel between Philokleon and the lovely heroine, I examined the fragments of the Danae of Euripides. Unfortunately there are no lyric remains. The prologue and the beginning of the first scene are by a late hand, but it would appear from certain indications that the play began at the point in the story where Danae is still shut up in the tower after having borne the babe Perseus to Zeus; and we can readily imagine Akrisios to have announced to the chorus the sin or the misfortune of the heroine, and the chorus to hold converse with Danae, who wishes to come out or to be metamorphosed in common with all the disconsolate widows, wives and maids of Euripides. But I maintain that the fun of the situation is not dependent on the parody of any definite scene, and we must be satisfied with that general travesty of the mythological world which was one of the elements of the old comedy.

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¹ Mr Allinson's note reminds me that I have always been tempted to give v. 21 its normal syntax by reading: πρὶν ἂν αταράξας πῖαρ ἐξεῖλεν γάλα. The reading πρὶν ἂν with the subj. after an unreal condition of the past requires a rather violent *repraesentatio*, such as I cannot at the moment parallel for this conjunction. Of course we might also have ἀναταράξας ἐξελεῖν as in Eur. Alc. 362. In looking over my collection I find a droll coincidence under πρότερον ἢ in Hdt. 8, 93: οὐκ ἂν ἐπαύσατο πρότερον ἢ ἐλεμν.

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stirred up with the cream. "A man less pure than I," says Solon, "would have broken down class distinctions to take advantage of the result."

Were this the only instance where it seemed preferable to translate *πῖαρ* as an adjective, we might well hesitate to do so; but in Homer Od. II 135, *ἐπεὶ μάλα πῖαρ ὕπ' ὕδατος*, the sense is certainly better, if we translate the word as an adjective. Buttmann, it is true, in his *Lexilogus* (art. *πῖαρ*), denies very emphatically that there is any ground for considering it an adjective. But he had neglected altogether the passage of Solon quoted above, which, as will readily be admitted, more than doubles the uncertainty about translating the word as a noun in the Homeric line. Buttmann's objections to the sense of the translation, "fat is the ground beneath," seem entirely without weight, as it surely requires no imagination to speak of the ground as "beneath," whether it be in relation to anything in particular (as here to the *standing crop*) or left indefinite (as in the imitation of the passage in the *Odyssey*, Hymn. ad Apoll. v. 61). Furthermore, it seems perfectly evident that *πῖαρ* stands just in the relation to *μάλα* that *βαθύ* does to the same word in the preceding line.

One further consideration to be weighed against Buttmann's arguments is the definition of Hesychius, who gives us as the third meaning of *πῖαρ*, "*καὶ λεπρόν.*"

Turning now to the structure of the word itself, we find this form *πῖαρ*: the adjective of two terminations *πῖων*, *πῖον*: the rather anomalous feminine adjective *πίετρα*: and finally, in Aristotle and Hippocrates, the adjective *πιάρως* or *πιερός*. All of these come from the root *πι* and are perfectly well established.

The Sanskrit correlates are very striking, and help to throw light on the question: 1. *Ῥίvan*=*πιFων*. 2. With the derivative suffix *vāra* is formed *Ῥίvara*, which is the same as *πιFαρυ* (stem of *πιάρως*). 3. As feminine of the Sanskrit adjective *Ῥίvara* we have *Ῥίvari*; if this, as is very probable, represents an original *Ῥίvariā*, we should have an exact correspondence with the Greek *πιFερια*, which by metathesis gives us the existing form *πιFειρα*.

Without further support, this correspondence, complete as it is, might seem only a curious coincidence. Some corroboration, however, may be obtained within the Greek itself. The adjective *μάχαρ*, *μάχαιρα* (*μάχαρ*), seems to have been formed nearly, if not quite, analogously to *πῖαρ*. Buttmann, it is true, notices it only to deny this analogy; but the word is composed of *μαχ* (cf. Lat. *mac-to*)

and the suffix *αρ*, which is the same in both words whatever it represents. It is further objected that the feminine form *πίειρα* cannot bear the same relation to *πίαρ* that *μάχαιρα* does to its masculine. But Curtius, Gr. Etym. No. 455, says: "*μάγειρος* ist wohl aus älterem *μαγαρο-ς* wie *ἔταιρος* aus *ἔταρου-ς*, *ὄνειρος* aus *ὄναρ* abgeleitet." These examples furnish analogy for the change of *a* to *ε* and of the metathesis of the *ι*. But it is thought that *πίειρα* as a feminine to *πίων* is justified by the analogy of *πέπων*, *πέπειρα*, and that they are all to be referred to a group (cf. Mehlhorn Griech. Gram. 1845) of adjectives forming their feminines with the suffix *-ειρα*, to which are also referred *πρέσβυς*, *πρέσβειρα* and *ἴλαος*, *ἰλάειρα*. But there existed (date uncertain) a masculine *πέπειρος*, and *ἰλάειρα* is probably to be referred to *ἰλαρός* (vid. Lobeck Paralip. p. 210); hence, with the exception of *πρέσβυς*, none of this group of five can be quoted against the proposed theory, while some of them support it. But the metaplastic (?) nominatives *μάχαρος* (vid. Boeckh T. I. 449 b.) and *πιαρός* (cf. the adj. *φαρός* from *ψάρ*) can scarcely be more than illustrated by reference to the Sanskrit stem *ḥivara*.

The existence, then, of an adjective form *πίαρ* parallel to *πίων* may be inferred:

1. From the interpretation of the two passages quoted.
2. From the testimony of Hesychius.
3. From the survival of the corresponding feminine form *πίειρα*, supported by the analogy of *μάχαρ* and other words.

FRANCIS G. ALLINSON.

JE NE SACHE PAS.

Mr. Samuel Garner, in his remarks on *je ne sache pas*, in the second number of this Journal, gives his reasons why he does not believe *sache* in that phrase to be a subjunctive, and concludes with the words, "It is an indicative or it is nothing."

If this statement be correct, the phrase *je ne sache pas* ought to be translated *je ne sais pas*; but whoever has observed how the phrase in question, knows that such is not the case, has no reason to doubt the correctness of Bescheler's translation, and that it is "une des nombreuses délicatesses" of the French language, or to differ from Mr. Littré when he says: "Le *je ne sache pas* dénote un subjonctif plutôt qu'un indicatif; il implique quelque chose de plus dubitatif que"

je ne sais pas, et ce doute on l'explique en substituant le subjonctif à l'indicatif," etc.

If we admit this distinction universally felt and recognized by Frenchmen, the mere possibility that there may have been an old indicative *sache*, which would be phonetically derivable from *sapio*, is no strong proof that *sache* in the above phrase is the indicative. Mr. Littré, as I understand him, does not make "the assertion that *sache* from *sapio* is phonetically impossible," or "that *sache* is not derivable from *sapio*"; but he says: "L'explication (viz. that *sache* is the indicative) ne peut être admise, car *sapio* a donné *sai*; et *sache* vient de *sapiam*," which, I presume, means that the explanation cannot be considered of any value because we know that *sapio* has given *sai* (*sais*) and *sapiam*, *sache*, while we have nothing to show that *sapio* has given *sache*, although such might have been the case, (*sapius*, *sage*; *rubeus*, *rouge*).

On the other hand, if Mr. Garner terms Mr. Littré's explanation of *je ne sache pas* by means of a preceding expression such as *j'ose dire* "purely conjectural," I am inclined to think that he overlooked in Littré two quotations from one author (Paré, Dédicace au lecteur), and evidently having the same force, viz. *Aussi osé-je dire que je ne sache homme si chatouilleux, qui ne . . .* and: *Je ne sache homme si peu versé en astrologie, qui . . .* These sentences, which are found in Littré a dozen lines below the example from Rabelais also quoted by Mr. Garner, show that Mr. Littré's theory is not entirely *aus der Luft gegriffen*.

The uniqueness of the construction *je ne sache pas* does not seem to me very startling; if it is an isolated expression, it is so on account of the tense rather than the mood. Analogous sentences are common in various languages; in Latin we have *non dixerim*, etc. (in Greek the optative with *ἄν*), in German *ich dächte*, *ich wüsste nicht*, etc. In these and similar expressions the subjunctive is used in place of the indicative, "to soften the positiveness of the assertion." For the same reason *je ne sache pas* (*ich wüsste nicht*) is used in place of *je ne sais pas* (*ich weiss nicht*).

In French too, the conditional (according to Diez, a tense of the subjunctive mood) of various verbs is used to express an affirmation doubtfully, e. g. *On dirait qu'il soit fou*; *j'aimerais mieux*; *je ne saurais vous le dire* (It. *non saprei*). The circumstance that *je ne saurais* received the meaning of *je ne puis*, *je ne peux*, may explain the use of the *present* tense in the case of *savoir*, especially because the use of *sache* and *saurais* seems to have originated about

the same period; we find also that before the conditional of *savoir* became equivalent to the present of *pouvoir*, *sauriez-vous* was used where one says now *sauriez-vous me dire*; as: *Sauriez-vous où demeure monsieur S.?* *Sauriez-vous me dire où demeure monsieur S.?* Further, the subordinate clause *que je sache* may have led to the use of *je ne sache pas* in the principal clause: *Ils n'ont pas étudié l'espagnol que je sache. Ont-ils étudié l'espagnol? Pas que je sache—Je ne sache pas qu'ils aient étudié l'espagnol.*

A special reason for softening assertions made with *savoir* is to be found in the meaning of this verb; it is easy to understand why a phrase like *je ne sache pas* should exist while a corresponding one with *croire* is wanting, since the latter verb itself implies uncertainty; and it will be observed that *je ne sache pas* occurs where the information of the speaker is necessarily only a partial one, and the evidence upon which the declaration is founded circumstantial. To say that "by using the subjunctive in the following clause sufficient indirectness or *delicatesse* may be secured," is making an assertion in the face of the undeniable fact that in the case of this verb French-speaking people feel the need of a still milder form of expression. In such sentences as *je ne crois pas qu'il vienne, non credo che venga*, it is not so much the subjunctive in the subordinate clause as the verb in the principal clause that makes the assertion doubtful; in English and German the indicative is the regular mood in this instance, and in Italian *che verrà* may take the place of *che venga*.

Concerning Mr. Garner's theory of an old French indicative *je sache*, etc., with which the imperative would correspond as in most other verbs, I would call attention to the Italian present indicative *so, sai, sapete*; pres. subj. *sappia, sappi, sappiate*; imperative *sappia, sappiate*. Here also the imperative has the forms of the subjunctive, while it has in other verbs those of the indicative. Are we to suppose that in Italian too a second form of the indicative existed, of which not a trace is left, as is the case with the hypothetical French indicative *sache*? Is not this exception attributable to the meaning of the verb, which does not admit of an imperative form in the same sense as the majority of verbs? We command a person *to go* or *learn*, but not with the same positive force *to know*; do we not often translate such expressions as *wissen* or *sachez donc* by the potential or subjunctive?

A. LODEMAN.

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

Griechische Grammatik von GUSTAV MEYER. Leipzig, Breitkopf u. Härtel, 1880. 9 m. 50 pf.

A work which has been thought worthy of a place in the same series with Whitney's Sanskrit Grammar deserves something more than a mere book-notice, and the readers of this Journal may expect an elaborate review by a specialist ere long. Meantime it is fit that the appearance of Meyer's grammar should be announced with unusual emphasis, for the benefit of those who desire to acquaint themselves with the advance which certain sides of Greek study have been making in the last few years. Certain sides, for this Greek grammar comprises only Phonology and Inflection, a limitation which is sufficiently characteristic of recent tendencies. Of the 464 pages, 264 are taken up by the Phonology, and of these 264 no less than 148 are devoted to the vocalism, a proportion which is also highly significant. To some it will show nothing more than the ardor of a new love which will yield perhaps some day to the quieter balance of assured possession. To some it will be another summons to all except phonetists to give up all pretension to the style and title of grammarian. To all, whether they have occupied themselves more or less closely with the subject or not, it will be abundantly evident that a much sterner scientific process is to rule the future, and that the wisdom of many of our accepted textbooks is sheer foolishness. At the same time it is to be feared that many will refuse to learn one important lesson, which is the natural corollary of the advance which has been pushed forward with accelerated velocity in the last twenty years. Men will continue to embody in their practical teaching and their practical treatises the so-called 'certain results of comparative grammar,' regardless of the fate which has overtaken all such premature incorporations. The school grammar toils after the last number of 'Studien' or 'Beiträge' in vain, and the luckless compiler who tries to keep up with the times is in a constant ferment. Instead of making simple statements of fact which need not be repented of, every rule is tied to some theory, which may in a few years be cut away, so that our most acceptable school-grammars are masses of provisional hypotheses. 'Vorläufig vorzuziehen' may be well enough for Meyer, but elementary teaching to be successful must be dogmatic. Better no explanation than a doubtful one, and how many explanations have passed into that category in recent times! I have already hinted at the revolution in the study of vocalism, and the elaborate paper of the last number may serve to show the uninitiated what change would be required by recent research in certain fundamental rules which our boys continue to learn with unwavering faith. Or, to take an older instance, in the earlier editions of Curtius' grammar we were taught that 'the real ending $\vartheta\iota$ in $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\theta\iota$ is dropped and the stem vowel is lengthened to compensate for it,' and this doctrine is still laid down, years after Curtius him-

self declared that such a process was 'unerhört.' Hadley, even as early as 1860, is more guarded in his statements, but the new editor of his grammar will have many changes to make. Look at the miserable muddle into which we have all been plunged by the wretched device of the connecting vowel—a premature theory, which has so wrought itself into our practice that we are almost forced to retain it with a caveat. By and by 'thematic' may prove as troublesome, and processes that are now new may sorely plague the inventors. It is hardly to be hoped, however, that anybody will take warning, and while welcoming this new grammar as a valuable contribution to the scientific study of Greek, as well as an excellent index to the literature of the subject, it is with a certain dread lest all these theories be accepted as results available for the next elementary Greek grammar that is 'to mark an epoch in the study and teaching of Greek in America,' as all new grammars do—according to the publishers. Reserving detailed criticism for a later number of the Journal, I cannot for all that forbear to express my surprise that the author should have thought his *Phonology* complete without some theoretical exhibit of accent, which plays so important a part in modern phonetic research, as, indeed, might be gathered from the frequent references to it in this very book.

B. L. G.

A Latin Grammar for Schools. By HENRY JOHN ROBY. London, Macmillan & Co., 1880.

Mr. Roby's larger "Grammar of the Latin Language from Plautus to Suetonius" has been before the public several years (the first part reached a second edition in 1872), and has secured from scholars a very favorable recognition. Mr. Roby has distinguished himself over most English makers of Latin grammars by the care which he has bestowed upon the question of pronunciation and the principles of phonetic change, as well as by a somewhat independent arrangement of materials to illustrate the facts of the language on the side of Word-Formation and Syntax. A grammar by the same editor intended for schools may, therefore, well excite the interest of teachers. What the name school-grammar implies is not at once clear. If it means a book to be put into the hands of eleven-year-old boys to be their guide until they enter the university, then Mr. Roby's work fails, in being for beginners too technical and abstruse, and in not making clear type-distinctions between the more and the less important matters. If, on the other hand, its aim is to state clearly the facts and principles of the language for advanced pupils, with such scientific accuracy that they shall not have to spend time at the university in unlearning them, then Mr. Roby's grammar is sadly disappointing. We regret indeed that the work before us is, as he states in his preface, in the main simply an abridgement of his larger grammar, for science has made some advances even since the publication of the larger work, and a general recasting might have secured greater perspicuity. The work is divided into Book I of Sounds; Book II of Inflections; Book III of Word-Formation. The rear is brought up by a large amount of material contained in seven appendices, viz: A—Money, Measures, and Weights; B—Time, etc.; C—Names of Relations; D—Terms of

Latin Metre; E—Grammatical and Rhetorical Terms; F—Principal (extant) Latin Authors; G—Abbreviations.

The valuable preface of the larger grammar is of course omitted. The description of sounds is in the main clear, though, many will decline to pronounce *ae* as *a* in *hat* lengthened, and not a few we fear will fail to hit at first trial the sound (given for *œ*) intermediate between *oi* in *boil* and *ei* in *feint*. The illustrations of phonetic laws are at times not very happy, e. g. § 23 we read, "If the consonant is omitted altogether the preceding vowel is often lengthened," among the examples *caementum* for *caed-mentum*, *jū-dex* for *jus-dex*, *trāmitto* for *transmitto*. Is not *a* before *ns* in *trans* long? Is *u* in *jūs* short?

§ 35 reads "*a* in suffixes becomes *i* before *l*, *e* before *r* or *ll*, and *i* before other single consonants"; e. g. *cāsa*, *cāsula* (sic) etc., *Allia*, *Alliensis*.

§ 31 (d). "By transposition (?) *dr*, *er* (which is often for *ir*), etc., become *rā*, *rē*, *rī*," etc. One example given is *sūpēr-imus* (*supermus*), *suprēmus*.

The lessons of the Sanskrit vowel *ṛ* are as sadly lost sight of in § 39, where the statement is made that *ē* before *r* is often omitted, e. g. *ācēr*, *ācris*; *āgēr*, *āgrum*, cf. also § 109 and § 128.

In § 50 Mr. Roby says "i+ī if one be long gives *i*; if both are short, *i*;" e. g. *fugī-is*, *fugīs*; *egregī-ior*, *egregior*; *navī-ibus*, *navibus*." But on the very next page § 52, 2, he says, "All vowels which have originated from contraction are long"; under which rule the last example is *tibicen* for *tibitcen*. In § 43, too, he gives *nihil*, *nil*. Does the second *i* of *nihil* have the *i* long of *hilum*? One sees that the rule is manufactured for Mr. Roby's express use, to bolster up false theories of formation.

It is high time that makers of Latin grammars should mark the natural quantity of vowels wherever known, in syllables long by position. Mr. Roby rarely ventures to do this. However, we read, § 62, 2. "[The vowel itself is short in *auspēx*, long in *regēnt*]." Is the quantity in the latter word perfectly certain? We grant that the analogy of the other forms *regēmus*, *regētis* and the formation itself point that way, but the *ē* of the third *s*. *regēt* has become short, and we know that short vowels prevail before *nt* and *nd* in Latin, so in terminations *-entia*, *-endum*, *-entem*, cf. Foerster Rhein. Mus., Vol. 33, p. 297, and Schmitz Beiträge zur Lat. Sprach- und Literaturkunde, pp. 6, 11, 14, 32; cf. M@P@NTI apud Mommsen, I. R. N. n. 2143, although the *e* in the nom. before *ns* is of course long. We only ask Mr. Roby for like proof of the *ē* in *regēnt*.

In § 72 he shifts upon the Roman grammarians the responsibility for the old rule about enclitics causing the accent to fall on the last syllable of the word to which they are attached. At the end of § 76 he, however, expresses doubt as to the truth of this doctrine. He might better have quoted the brief summary of Schoell's investigation, "De Accentu Linguae Latinae," Leipzig, 1875, given in Bouterwek & Tegge's "Altsprachliche Orthoepie," p. 20 ff, according to which we must accent *hīcine*, *plērāque*, but *mīht met*, *limīndque*, etc.

In Book II much confusion results from Mr. Roby's loose use of the word stem. For him it includes root, base-form and stem proper, and the term root is employed but rarely. In § 78 he says that from the stem *bon* we have *bon-us*, a good he; *bona*, a good she; *bonum*, a good thing. In § 81 a common stem *servo-*, denoting slave, is said to become *servo-* for male slave, *serva-* for female slave. In § 353 stems in *-vo* are classed under the head of Labial Noun-stems. In § 84 they are properly called *-o* stems.

We are not surprised to find in § 123 the acc. ending of *-i* stems given as *-em* or *-im* (for *i-em*), the Abl. s. as *-ē* or *-i* (for *i-ed*), and the Dat. Loc. Abl. pl. as *-ibus* (for *i-ibus*), since Mr. Roby had carefully prepared us for this in § 50.

The catalogue of similar sins might be extended. Yet this part of the grammar has been done with evident care, and the analysis of *-i* and consonant stems, § 132, is new and interesting. We think the statement, that in consonant stems the final stem consonant is always preceded by a vowel, should be qualified; cf. stems *cord-*, *mell-*, *farr-*, *fell-*, etc. Nor can we see why, § 145, *rōbur* is called an *-r* stem (cf. *rōbus* Cato, and *rōbustus*), while *ōnus* is called a stem in *-us*.

In § 209 the fact is mentioned that *quisque* is used of a woman in Plautus, but that the interrogative *quis* is also used for *quæ* we are nowhere told.

In § 238 Latin verbs are said to have inflexions to denote differences of voice, person, number, mood and tense. Which one of these things, pray, is denoted by the *n* in *pungo*, *punctus*, which in § 78 is (improperly) called an inflexion inserted in the middle of the stem? We have no desire to criticize severely Mr. Roby's peculiar views of tense and mood formation. The subject is beset with difficulties, and it is easier to tear down old theories than to build up satisfactory new ones. We hope that the "jung grammatiker" in Germany will some day clear away the mist. Of the *s* in the second pers. s. and pl. Perf. Ind. it may be said that no man knoweth whence it cometh, and Mr. Roby is only half in earnest when in § 304 he tries to persuade us that the suffix *-it* was once added throughout the perfect, the *s* having later been lost in the first and third s. and in the first pl.

The alphabetical list of verbs on pages 134-153 is very useful though incomplete, and showing in the assumed stems much of the same inconsistency already remarked, e. g. If *torse-* is the stem of *torreo*, then with equal right *terse-* is the stem of *terro* (cf. *tristis*) and *vers-* not *verr-*—of *verro*.

Of typographical errors we have noted the following:

§ 35, *cāsula* for *cāsula*. § 112, *Claudii* for *Claudie*. § 147 (2), *Cerēs* for *Cerrā*. § 175, *ēgōnus* for *ēgōnus*. § 228, *tāmen* for *tāmen*. § 295, *nūbere* for *nūbere*. § 295, *pīg-* for *pīg-* (cf. § 329). § 311, *vād-* for *vād-*. § 315, *flūr-* for *flūr-*. P. 151, *invādere* for *invādere*. § 377, *sācērulum* for *sācērulum*.

In Book IV the absence of historical method is the most conspicuous fault; e. g. there is no hint of the development of *quom* clauses, nor of the later use of *quamquam* with the Subjunctive and with Participles. We might proceed to point out many excellent features and some defects, sed longum est ea dicere.

MINTON WARREN.

The Odyssey of Homer done into English Prose. By S. H. BUTCHER and A. LANG. Second Edition, revised and corrected, with additional Notes. London, Macmillan and Co., 1879.

It was my fortune some years ago to deliver a course of lectures on the Odyssey before an audience few of whom could read the original. As may be imagined, the question of illustrative translation was not the least troublesome, and while I tried to derive some advantage from a comparison of the various renderings, I longed for some good prose version that would at all events present what Villemain calls a plaster-cast of the great epic, and for my

immediate purpose I would gladly have given up the quaint embroidery of Chapman, the splendid artificiality of Pope, the reflective calm of Bryant, and even the 'lush' sweetness of Worsley, and all the lessons that might be drawn from these partial versions, for such a translation as the one for which the English-speaking lovers of Homer have to thank Messrs. Butcher and Lang. In their modest preface these accomplished scholars say, and say truly, that of Homer there can be no final translation, but for many years there will be no prose version that can rival this, and a new edition following so soon on the first shows that their good work has not lacked recognition. A detailed criticism of the book itself would be too late as well as unprofitable here. My present object is to call attention to some additions which enrich the new issue.

The translators have prefixed to this edition an introduction giving their views of the composition and plot of the *Odyssey*. As is almost inevitable with any one who works lovingly at the reproduction of the *Odyssey*, they believe in the unity of the poem. "The composition is elaborate and artistic, the threads of the plot are skilfully separated and combined. The whole is surrounded with the atmosphere of the kingly age of Greece, and the result is the *Odyssey*, with that unity of plot and variety of character which must have been given by one masterly constructive genius. The date at which the poet of the *Odyssey* lived may be approximately determined by his consistent description of a peculiar and definite condition of society which had ceased to exist in the ninth century B. C., and of a stage of art in which Phœnician and Assyrian influences dominated."

Of the new notes there is one of some length on 1, 349, in which K. F. Hermann's view of ἀλφροτής is maintained, that the word means 'bread-eater'; 3, 162, ἀμφιέλωσαι = *recurvaline*, 'with a curved beak at either extremity raised high out of the water,' illustrated by a picture from the reliefs at Medinet Habou (see also Mr. Merriam's Phœaciens noticed elsewhere, 6, 264). On 3, 378, there is an inconclusive note on Τριτογένεια which could not have been other than inconclusive. On the word ἄωρος, occurring in the description of Scylla (12, 89), Mr. D. B. Monro is represented as pointing out "the philological objection to the combination *αω* where we should expect either *εω* as in *μετέωρος* or *ηω* as in *ἀπήωρος* (Od. 12, 435)." He would therefore take ἄωρος in the usual sense 'unripe,' 'unformed,' and see a contrast between the dwarfed feet and the great growth of neck, the contrast being made by ἡ τοι . . . δέ τοι—compare line 86:

τῆς ἡ τοι φωνῆ μὲν ὄση σκύλακος νεογιλῆς
γίγνεται, αὐτῆ δ' αὐτε πέλωρ κακόν.

The editors conceive that this would give a very satisfactory sense to the passage, but very properly say that the philological objection is not decisive against the commonly accepted version 'dangling.'

There is a note of much interest on 19, 578, in which the editors discuss Goebel's plausible suggestion that the axes resembled in shape our double battle-axes, and that the archer shot through the opening at the top, which almost forms a ring. It is contended that πρῶτης in juxtaposition with πάντων would naturally mean the first of the row, not the outermost tip of the handle,

21, 422 [= ἀρως στειλεῖς], and in this sense the translators take it, 'beginning from the first axe handle,' and say that the genitive is an 'ablative genitive, not uncommon in Homer,' though they would find it hard to parallel such an ablative use as this. They further urge that we are not acquainted with any examples of ancient Greek axes like that drawn by Goebel. Schliemann's double-headed axes are hammer-headed. Then comes the difficulty of shooting through the handle hole, whether by a standing (19, 575) or a seated archer (21, 420). The problem is to find an ancient axe through a hole in the metal of which it was possible to shoot. Egyptian axes with open-work blades are then adduced and figured, and finally there is a drawing of an axe the head of which, re-curved against the handle, forms a ring, which might answer the conditions of the Odyssean trial. Such an axe is wielded by an Amazon in a conflict with Herakles, as represented on a metope of a temple at Selinus. The last new note pertains to Homeric burial.

B. L. G.

The Phaeacian Episode of the *Odyssey*, as comprised in the sixth, seventh, eighth, eleventh and thirteenth books: with Introduction, Notes and Appendix. By AUGUSTUS C. MERRIAM, Ph. D., Columbia College. Harper & Brothers, 1880.

Mr. Merriam's edition of the 'Phaeacians of Homer' does not belong to the ordinary run of school-books, and it would have been better, if he had frankly renounced any attempt to combine the requisites of a work for beginners with elaborate expositions which would be suitable only in a special discussion of the unity of the *Odyssey*. It is strangely incongruous to find a long glorification of Odysseus' address to Nausikaa followed by the elementary question: What parts of *τιμ* are regularly enclitic? It is fair to say, however, that Mr. Merriam, as is shown by his preface, is firmly convinced that his method is right, and that he seems to hold himself distinctly responsible for much that would seem unpractical or undesirable; and as no one can follow him in his appeals to his personal experience as a teacher, it may be supposed that he has good warrant for the fulness of his archaeological notes, the prolixity of his aesthetic discussions and the apparent irrelevancy of many of his remarks. Still it is not to be doubted that Mr. Merriam's experience as an editor will check his tendency as a teacher to exuberance, and it is certainly to be hoped that a man who has shown ability both to work hard and to work independently, will not stop short of the great virtue of self-limitation. The introduction gives an outline of the Homeric Question—which is rather scant toward the close—and the appendix sets forth the discoveries of Schliemann and Cesnola, which have furnished the editor with many illustrations of the text. In the notes there are several elaborate discussions of syntactical points, as notably §, 564, on the time of the aorist participle; but generally Mr. Merriam is content with a reference to Hadley or Goodwin or Curtius, even in instances in which these text-books are inadequate or misleading. He has also adopted the irritating, and in my judgment unfruitful, practice of interspersing grammatical questions for the purpose of stimulating the attention of the young student. In quotations from Gladstone, Marc and Havman Mr. Merriam has been liberal, and there are many long passages from Homer printed in full with translations following; but

Mr. Merriam's original notes are copious, and show that he has bestowed much thought on the ethics and aesthetics of Homer under the strong impulse of conservative convictions. The style is too diffuse and rhetorical, and there is scarcely a page that would not gain by severe compression. The word for word translations are too numerous, and at best are rather quaint than happy. As a sympathetic editor, which is the highest praise known to modern criticism, Mr. Merriam is often a victim to the sin of over-interpretation, and puts more into moods and tenses than moods and tenses will well bear. But the book is the result of much honest work, shows a long and loving acquaintance with the subject, and in these days of slight and perfunctory adaptations of foreign results, is not to be dismissed without a hearty appreciation of the zeal and diligence which make Mr. Merriam's Phaeacians an exceptional production.

B. L. G.

The Historical Poetry of the Ancient Hebrews, translated and critically examined by MICHAEL HEILPRIN. Vols. I, II. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

The object in making a special collection and examination of the historical poetry of a people may be a literary one, to expound the poets and inquire into their mode of using history; or a scientific-historical one, to glean from them additions to our historical knowledge, facts not mentioned in the historical writings proper, and especially the tone and coloring of the poet's own time. Sometimes the historical references are plain, as occasionally in Aeschylus; but where the poetry is relatively early and full of legend, the attempt to extract the historical kernel is a difficult one, as in Buddhist religious romances, and in the later recensions of the Lay of the Nibelungen. In the old Israelitish literature we might suppose that this historical element in the poetry would be of special value, from the peculiar way in which the historical books are written. Such of this class as we now have were not only produced some time after the events described in them, but had their origin in the desire, not so much to give a literally exact picture of the times treated, as to make them teach a religious lesson; and this paraenetic motive, together with the absence of scientific-historical feeling, led the writers to omit much matter that seemed to them irrelevant to their object, and to give to former times the coloring of their own. With the poets and prophets it was different; their object was more frequently either simply to chronicle facts or traditions, or to draw from them some general ethical lesson. If, then, there should exist any very early poetry, it might contain important historical statements and allusions not found elsewhere; or, if it were not more ancient than the trustworthy sources of the historical books, it might mention facts that they omit, especially features of the social life and popular modes of thought and traditions, and might yield valuable historical results to a critical examination such as Mr. Heilprin proposes to make in the work above-mentioned, of which the first two volumes have appeared.

Mr. Heilprin's special aim seems to be the historical one, as we judge from the fact that he treats his material by periods, collecting and examining together, for example, all the poetry that relates to the exodus, then all that makes mention of David, and so of succeeding periods. This plan, however, has little or no historical advantage for the time preceding Samuel, for, according to the

author's view, the poetical pieces referring to this early time were all written much later, and really give the history of their own time; thus, when we come to the Jacob-blessing, Gen. xlix, we find that we are studying not the patriarchal period, but the reign of Jeroboam I; and the Balaam-prophecy, Numb. xxiv, xxv, enlightens us in respect to the Assyrian period or a later one, but tells nothing of the Amorite conquest of Moses. From the historical point of view it would be better to put each poem in the historical place in which it belongs, when this is possible. On the other hand, some advantage is gained by contrasting the state of things described in the poetical piece with what may be gathered from other sources to have been the real social and political situation; and further, the difficulty of assigning precise dates may be a reason for adopting in the early pieces the order in which they occur in the Old Testament rather than attempting to weave them into the history in their proper places. The first volume ends with a discussion of David's claims to the authorship of psalms; the second begins with pieces relating to David and Solomon and ends with Hosea, being almost entirely taken up with the examination of a portion of Micah, Isa. xv, xvi, Amos and Hosea. The connecting history between the various pieces is given in tolerably full outline, there is a new translation of the text with footnotes, and longer notes are placed at the end of the volume.

The author's critical standpoint and method is in general that of the Dutch school, though in some cases he agrees with writers who go beyond Kuenen in lowering dates and recognizing petty political motives in the composition of historical and historical-poetical pieces; with Bernstein's theory of the genesis of the patriarchal history, for example, which is that the legends of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob grew up around the three holy places, Hebron, Beersheba and Bethel respectively; Isaac, the oldest, the patriarch of Simeon, having been early almost entirely merged into Abraham, the hero of the powerful tribe of Judah, while Jacob remained connected with Ephraim; that the writers of each of the two great sections of the country in the early monarchy praised their own and vilified the ancestor of the other; and that, finally, as a national feeling grew up, these various bright and dark pictures were harmonized into the present history. Genesis xxxviii Bernstein regards as a venomous Ephraimite veiled satire on the scandals in the family of David narrated in II Sam. xi ff; Judah is David himself; his wife, the daughter of the Canaanite Shua, that is Bathshua, is Bathsheba (called Bathshua in I Chr. iii 5); two of his sons die for their wickedness, as two of David's died (Er is by transposition Ra="wicked," and Onan is Amnon); Shela is Shelomo (Solomon), and the daughter-in-law Tamar is David's unfortunate daughter. This theory is wrought out by its author with great ingenuity, but there are, as Mr. Heilprin remarks, difficulties in it. We should hardly expect at that time (during or soon after the reign of Jeroboam I) so elaborately worked up a fiction, or such ingenuity in veiling names and occurrences, and we should expect, if the attempt at satire were made, more point in the allusions; we should suppose, for example, that Bathsheba would not go unscathed (whereas the Bathshua of Genesis seems to be a very respectable person), that Solomon (a special enemy of Jeroboam) would be more sharply dealt with, and that there would be some more obvious allusion to Absalom. And why go to the trouble of making this rather obscure fiction when the whole history of David's household must have been known at that time? That it was

known is clear from the book of Samuel. A still more serious objection to Bernstein's theory is that this elaborate hitting and counter-hitting is not in accordance with what we find to be the mode of growth of legends among the Israelites and elsewhere. These stories of the forefathers no doubt grew up in different localities, and sometimes contradict one another; but, though we may not be able in all cases to give a satisfactory account of their origin, it seems more reasonable to suppose that they were natural products of popular tradition than that they were elaborately concocted defamatory fictions. Mr. Heilprin adopts this latter explanation of the Jacob-blessing, Gen. xlix, which he regards, with Bernstein, as a Jeroboamic production written for the purpose of extolling Ephraim and justifying the defection of the Ten Tribes, and which therefore heaps abuse on the southern tribes and Reuben, which probably claimed precedence over Joseph; and the stories in Genesis of the wickedness of Reuben, Simeon and Levi are then to be regarded as fictions invented about the same time by the same persons. But what, then, of the praise so cordially bestowed on Judah? Bernstein's explanation that this could not be well avoided, seeing that Judah was in fact at that time a well-established kingdom, is hardly satisfactory; surely that need not have prevented the ingenious author's inventing some sharp defamation—which, however, we do not find, for we cannot hold, with Heilprin, that the "eyes red with wine" is introduced as a censure; yet we should not, on critical grounds, object to Bernstein's transference of a part of Judah's blessing to Joseph, if he thereby obtained a satisfactory result. We can as little accept the explanation of the "until he come to Shiloh," which sees in it a reference to the gathering at Shechem (supposed to be practically the same as Shiloh), where, in the person of Rehoboam, the Judah-dynasty lost the control of the northern tribes, and which supposes an allusion to the prophet Ahijah the Shilonite's meeting with Rehoboam; for, to give no other reason, the writer of the blessing knew that, in spite of the defection, Judah still retained the sceptre. This poem may be an Ephraimitic production, but its utterances on the several tribes are rather attempts to characterize them according to their then existing condition, and to explain this condition by the old legends, than to invent laudatory and defamatory legends in the interests of the new government of Jeroboam.

While in this case our author seems to have gone beyond just critical limits, elsewhere his critical remarks are better supported, as in his treatment of the Song of Miriam, Gen. xv, the Balaam-prophecies, Numb. xxiv, xxv, the Moses-blessing, Dt. xxxiii, and the Song of Songs. The difficulty that he finds in referring the Song of Deborah, Numb. v, to the period of the Judges may be in great measure removed by supposing its present form to be a later recension of an early poem; this would account for the poetical finish and Aramaisms, while it would give due weight to the natural lyric *abandon* and the wild, half-savage exultation over fallen enemies and concentrated bitterness against lukewarm friends, which breathes the very spirit of the fierce times of the early Judges.

In Vol. II, p. 23 ff, he has attempted to put together from Micah the prophecies of the Micaiah of I Kings xxii, supposed to have been adopted by the later prophet; but this is hardly more than a critical *jeu d'esprit*. So on p. 134 of the same volume the grounds for finding in Hosea numerous allusions to Eli's family do not seem to be convincing. In general, however, Mr. Heilprin's

dealing with critical questions is careful and, as it appears to us, sound. A valuable feature of this part of his work is the fullness with which he gives the views of modern critics, Ewald, Bernstein, Seinecke, Kuenen, Hitzig, Fürst, Grätz and others, always, however, maintaining the position of an independent inquirer; see, for example, his note, II 165, on Grätz's citation of Greek words in the Song of Songs. It must be added also, that, with all his critical freeness and what we must regard as his occasional transgression of critical bounds, he deals reverently with the religious thought of the Old Testament; his remarks on the lofty monotheism of Amos, II 109 ff, are as earnest and vigorous as they are just.

The grammatical and exegetical work of our author is always well considered; he has diligently used the latest books on the subjects treated, and also states some noteworthy views which he has got from unpublished and oral sources. At the outset, in remarking on the Song of Lamech, he ventures on the perilous ground of comparative mythology by bringing together Tubal-Cain and Vulcan, Yabal and Apollo, Naamah and Venus, an identification that has found favor with other writers, but seems to have no ground to rest on. The resemblance of the words amounts to nothing when we consider that we are ignorant of the origin and history of the names in Genesis, as well as the Vulcan and Apollo—for through what changes from their original forms may they not have passed?—and the points of agreement between the characters are of too general a nature and too common among ancient peoples to constitute an argument for identity. The same thing must be said of the supposed connection between Europa and Heb. *ereb*, "evening"; nor does there seem to be any probability in the opinion that Caphtor is Heb. *kephthor*, "the shore of the bull" (a compound not in keeping with Semitic usage), II 194, 196.

Among the grammatical points to which we must take exception are the following: In the first volume, p. 40, "dishonoring him who rested on my couch" is a possible rendering, but forced; 41, the translation "kindness" is contrary to the parallelism and the connection—the "self-will" of the Eng. Auth. Version is better, the word *raçon* here meaning "arbitrary and unscrupulous carrying out of one's designs," as in Dan. viii 4; 63, "mortified," instead of "angered," is an inappropriate expression; 83, the connection favors "enchantment against" instead of "in," comp. Numb. xxiii 8; 144, "battle-brook," instead of "ancient brook," is hardly philologically supported; 230, the explanation of *sh'nayim*, "two," as = *ash'nayim*, "two ones," the dual of *ashkin*, "one," is impossible—the letters Ayin and *t* are fatal to such a derivation, and in the feminine *shtayim* the *t* is the feminine sign; but the meaning "two sevens" for *shibathayim*, Gen. iv 24, is probably correct; 235, nothing is gained by rendering *riq'hah* "wrinkles" instead of "obedience," Prov. xxx 17, and there cannot be said to be any philological authority for the former. In the second volume, p. 84, the translation "it [death] is not to be mentioned [I adjure you] by Jehovah's name" is grammatically improbable; 136, Hos. iv 18, the rendering "they love O give" is too difficult to be acceptable, in spite of the reduplicated form in Hos. viii 13, or rather this latter favors reading *ahabhabu* as one word = "they love"; 139, "grand king" for *melek yareb* seems to have nothing in its favor; 149, Hos. ix 2-6, the verbs should be future rather than present; 154, "sons of Alvah" instead of "sons of iniquity" is improbable. On the other

band, I 146, the rendering "vulture-ornament" instead of "maiden," communicated to the author by Rappoport, is ingenious—the connection requires some such sense, though whether this one it is hard to say. II 201, the interpretation of *alukah*, Prov. xxx 15, as the name of the author of the proverb, instead of "horse-leech," seems probable, though the other changes in the translation do not especially commend themselves; Mr. Heilprin states that he got this interpretation of *alukah* from his father, who, we judge, was a man of learning and scholarly ability.

Having noted these few points in which we think our author to be in error, we are glad to be able to say that his two volumes are full of good material, which he has collected with industry and used with judgment; we welcome this critical study of Old Testament literature, and trust that Mr. Heilprin will continue his work. We may add that his English style is excellent, and that the mechanical execution of the books is admirable.

C. H. Toy.

A Complete Concordance to the Odyssey and Hymns of Homer, to which is added a Concordance to the Parallel Passages in the Iliad, Odyssey and Hymns. By HENRY DUNBAR, M. D. Oxford: Clarendon Press. New York: Macmillan & Co. Baltimore: Cushings & Bailey. (\$5.25.)

This is one of those works of 'long breath' in which Scotch tenacity holds its own against German perseverance. The task, as conceived by Dr. Dunbar, is almost purely mechanical; the verbs are cited by the initial letter of the form and not by that of the stem; for *ἐπέλασσε* we must look under E and not under Π, and so far the difficulty of using the book for purposes of research is enhanced; particles are excluded; even the prepositions are not registered; and the availability of the book is rather on the literary than on the strictly scientific side of philology. The accuracy I have not been able to submit to any series of searching tests, but, so far as I can judge, the concordance will answer every reasonable demand for ready reference. In the preface the author, who has deserved so well of the lovers of Homer, excuses himself for 'whatever omissions or misplaced accents, breathings, or iotas subscript may be met with,' by the statement that 'the writing of one thousand five hundred and sixty pages or above sixty-two thousand four hundred lines of closely written Greek MS. has somewhat weakened and impaired his eyesight.' Certainly this would disarm the harshest critic, and give every one additional occasion to rejoice that Mr. Gladstone has bestowed some substantial recognition of this great service on the much-enduring hero of Boscobel. At the same time, in view of the notorious difficulty of getting Greek correctly printed, the most natural plan would have been to cut up the requisite number of texts, and to have made the work not so much a matter of eyesight as of scissors and paste. Twelve copies of the Odyssey would have sufficed for the purpose, allowing as many as six concordance words to the line; but perhaps the compiler felt a reverence toward the outside of the divine poem such as all theological students do not show toward the printed Bible, and there is a loving persistency about the work which would otherwise have been lost.

B. L. G.

Sammlung Kurzer Grammatiken Germanischer Dialecte. I.—Gotische Grammatik mit einigen Lesestücken und Wortverzeichnis von W. BRAUNE. Halle, 1880.

Every one who has tried to acquire Gothic himself or to teach it, from Grimm, Heyne, or any of the smaller grammars, will welcome this book. The truth is Heyne's *Ulfila* has grown worse and worse with each new edition, certainly the grammar part of it. Braune's grammar is intended for private study and as a basis for lectures. That the phonology and 'flexionslehre' embody the latest results in Indo-European and Germanic philology it is hardly necessary to state, since the author had a hand in shaping these. The grammar is clear, practical and concise. The treatment of *a* and *u* is not so good as of *i*. What he says in the preface about *a* and *o* might have been put into § 4. There is not a word about syntax. The reading includes chapters from Matthew, Mark, Luke, from II Corinthians, and Leaf VIII of the *Skirzins* on John vi 9-13.

Those who are acquainted with the glossary of Braune's Old High German Reader, which has some objectionable features of arrangement, will not be surprised to find that in this glossary verbs compounded with prefixes and prepositional adverbs are put under the single verbs, even when these occur only in compounds. Look down a column of th's and the eye is annoyed by three ga's and one us-. '*Gataura*' being a noun stands under g, where it belongs. There the beginner is told 'siehe gatairan,' which, however, means 'see not gatairan' but 'tairan,' though this never occurs in his reading. The vocabulary would also be improved if with strong verbs the ablaut-series were indicated by a number after 'st. v.' or by the paragraph. The promised Old High German Grammar by the same author and the Middle High German by Paul can come none too soon.

H. C. G. BRANDT.

Weinkauff. De Tacito Dialogi Auctore. Coloniae Agripp. Roemke. 1881.

The *Abhandlung* of which this is the second edition appeared first in two *programs* of the Friedr. Wilh. Gymnasium at Cologne for the years 1857 and 1859. It was welcomed at once as a valuable contribution to the settlement of the long-vexed question as to the authorship of the so-called *Dialogus de Oratoribus*, less however from any brilliant display of critical insight or happy combination than for its painstaking collection of the materials necessary for forming a final judgment. As it has long been out of print, a positive want is met by its republication. In the body of the Latin Dissertation, which covers only thirty-six pages, no changes have been made, though a few footnotes have been added. In the indices, however, to the rhetorical and grammatical peculiarities, as well as to the Latinity of the *Dialogus* compared with the admitted works of Tacitus, numerous important additions have been made, so that the revised edition has a new value. Moreover, in the German preface of one hundred and seventy pages, a full and interesting account is given of the various stages of the controversy, from its origin down to the present day.

Supporting the claim of Tacitus we find the names of Scaliger, Dodwell, Niebuhr, Peerlkamp, Döderlein, Orelli, Teuffel, Ritter, Thiersch, Nipperdey, Hübner, Wölfflin and Mommsen, while the list of eminent scholars arrayed

against it is almost as long. It begins with the first German editor of the *Dialogus*, Beatus Rhenanus (Basel, 1519), and includes Justus Lipsius, Joh. Ger. Vossius, Fr. August Wolf, Eichstadt, Bernhardt and Sauppe. Some, as is well known, were inclined to assign the work to Pliny or Quintilian. The arguments *pro* and *con* receive careful attention, and due weight is attached to Adolph Lange's discovery, as early as 1803, of the correspondence between Pliny Epp. ix. 10, *inter nemora et lucos*, etc., and Dial. c. 9 and c. 12. Weinkauff insists upon an early date of composition, vigorously opposing those who would set it after Maternus' death in 91, or even after the close of Domitian's reign. His arguments seem to us conclusive. Tacitus wrote the work, if at all, as a young man, and the difference in style between it and the *Agricola* is surely not greater than between Carlyle's *Life of Schiller* and his *Sartor Resartus*. One could wish that Weinkauff himself had imitated the brevity of Tacitus' later works rather than the redundancy of the *Dialogue* in his description of the author's plan and purpose, and surely those interested in so difficult a question will regard the coaching on the life and character of the younger Pliny as quite gratuitous. Pages cxxxvii-clxx contain a useful summary of Tacitean peculiarities, which needs however to be supplemented by the treatises of Draeger and Wölfflin. Finally, the Indices, p. 38-292, embracing synonyms, hendiadys, etc., rhetorical figures, syntactical usage, Latinity, though not by any means exhaustive, constitute the most valuable feature of the work.

MINTON WARREN.

Lecturas de Clase, escogidas de autores españoles que hoy viven, colleccionadas y anotadas por D. GUILLERMO I. KNAPP, pp. iv+120. New Haven, Peck; New York, Christern, 1880.

This unpretentious little work contains five prose-extracts from Spanish authors of to-day, among whom we notice the familiar names of Cánovas del Castillo and Juan Valera. The whole amounts to only ninety-five pages of text, of which the introductory selection, a short one-act comedy, is a fair specimen of what one could see any evening on the boards of Madrid, where two or three like productions are often represented in as many hours to the intensely theatre-loving *Madrileños*. The pieces that follow are well chosen, but unfortunately are much too short to give the student any adequate idea of the extent or variety of the modern Spanish vocabulary.

A list of words for the comedy, with a supplementary one to the other articles, and five pages of notes to the entire work, are added as helps to an understanding of the different texts.

It is much to be regretted that Professor Knapp has not given us here both longer selections and more of them. He has cut himself loose from the traditional classicism so common in such manuals, and in this respect his *Lecturas* is a step in the right direction. They *introduce* the reader to the fresh, living thought of regenerated Spain, but they do not give him a chance to become acquainted with its extraordinary development.

A. M. E.

REPORTS.

MNEMOSYNE, Vol. VIII, Part 1.

The first twenty pages of this part are occupied by Cobet with critical remarks upon Eunapius, in *Vitis Sophistarum et fragmentis Historiarum*. These notes do not contain much of general interest. One or two extracts may be made, however, which will show Cobet's opinion of Eunapius as regards style and trustworthiness.

"P. 67. Laudat Hilarium κατὰ γραφικὴν φιλοσοφήσαντα ὥστε οὐκ ἐτεβήκει ἐν ταῖς ἐκείνου χερσίν ὁ Εὐφράνωρ. Est operae pretium in his animadvertere obscurum et atrum dicendi genus, ex qua caligine vix sententia pellucet haec: '*in pictura ita versatus est ut per eius manus Euphranor adhuc superesse videretur*,' ut optime Gatakerus interpretatur apud Boisson. Quod Dionysius Halic. Tom. VI, p. 759, de Platone dicit: ὅταν εἰς τὴν περιτολογίαν καὶ τὸ καλλιπεῖν—ἀμετρον ὄρμην λάβῃ—μελαίνει τὸ σαφὲς καὶ ζόφω ποιεῖ παράπλησιον, aliquanto verius et iustius de Eunapio diceretur, in quem quadrat quod ipse de Iamblichio scripsit, p. 12. οὐ κατέχει τὸν ἀκροατὴν—ἀλλ' ἀποστρέφειν καὶ ἀποκναίειν τὴν ἀκοὴν εὐκειν'."

"P. 98. De Libanio scribit: πᾶς τις αὐτῶν τὰ σφέτερα θαυμάζειν ᾤετο· οὕτω πολύμορφόν τι χρῆμα καὶ ἀλλοπρόσαλλον ἦν. Scrib. πᾶς τις αὐτῶν τὰ σφέτερα θαυμάζειν ᾤετο, ut paullo ante: ὁ μὲν πολύπους λήρος ἠλέγχετο, τῶν δὲ συγγινομένων ἕκαστος ἄλλον ἑαυτὸν ὄραν ὑπελάμβανεν. Vide autem mihi mirifice compositam orationem: ὁ πολύπους est a Theognide, πολύμορφόν τι χρῆμα Herodoteum est et ἀλλοπρόσαλλος Homeri. Atque his admiscuit sordidum et plebeium τὰ σφέτερα de uno pro τῷ ἑαυτοῦ. Caeterum de Libanii ingenio et moribus nihil opus est Eunapio credere. Palam est enim in nonnullis mentiri Eunapium."

S. A. Naber has thirty-five pages devoted to the criticism of the comic fragments. A specimen or two of his suggestions may be given.

In the third line of Cratinus, 'Ἀρχίλοχοι fr. 3, οὐ μέντοι παρὰ κωφῶν ὁ τυφλὸς εἶκε λαλῆσαι he proposes εἶκε' ἀποπαρδεῖν, saying: 'caecus est qui se solum esse arbitrat; venter crepat, nec suspicatur se cuiquam facere contumeliam, qualem Amasis rex apud Herodotum sciens facit; adest autem mutus qui non sentit sibi contumeliam fieri, itaque miro casu fit iniuria quam nemo infert et nemo vitur.' [ἀποπαρδεῖν is an heroic remedy. Why not λακῆσαι? B. L. G.]

fr. 13 of Πυτίη (Cratinus) ληρεῖς ἔχων· γράφ' αὐτὸν 'Ἐν ἐπεισοδίῳ, N. objects interpretation of ἐπεισοδίον as τὸ ἐπιφερόμενον τῷ δράματι γέλωτος χάριν ἢ ὑποθέσεως, and, comparing frag. 14 ἐν τοῖς λύχνοις γράψον, proposes to σκυράφοις. "Clisthenes, qui ridiculus est dum aetatis flore tesseri ludit, laudandus est, ubi τὰ κυβεντικά ὄργανα veneunt."

fr. 1 of Ὠραὶ (Cratinus) he finds no explanation of the epithet ὀλόφωνος factory; and since he thinks the mention of the cock's crest almost suggests that Cratinus may have written λοφόφοινος.

fr. incert. 58 he believes that Phrynichus has confounded

ψυχροραγεῖν 'quod de moribundis in usu est' with ψυχροροφεῖν, and that the allusion is to the Athenian habit 'vinum aqua nivea frangere.' He shows that snow for this purpose was an article of merchandise, and suggests as an emendation of Lucian, de Merc. cond. 26, where the slighted guest is told οὔτε ὄν ἔχεις μόνος and the refusal of an egg is incredible, that we should read χιών: 'Nivis usus ad luxuriam pertinet.'

On Antiphanes, Διπλάσιοι fr. 2, which contains the remarks of a slave that it is those who wish to live that have to die, τοὺς γλιχομένους δὲ ζῆν κατασπᾶ τοῦ σκέλους | ἀκοντας ὁ Χάρων, and ends with (in Mein.) ὁ δὲ λιμός ἐστιν ἀθανασίας φάρμακον, Naber points out that what Antiphanes really meant to say was that the famished desired to die and were glad when death came to them. He therefore conjectures εἰθανασίας, but in this he has been anticipated by Bothe (Didot), who, however, wrongly objects to ἀθανασίας on the score of quantity. This article of Naber's contains many acute remarks; but his habit of indicating the fragments by referring to the pages of the author by whom they are cited, and only occasionally to the pages of Meineke or to the play of which they formed part, renders it hard to read with proper attention.

The next article is by Cobet on the fragments recently published from a papyrus of the 2d century B. C. by H. Weil. This subject being discussed in another paper in this Journal, p. 187, it is unnecessary here to say anything about it.

Cobet has next an article of 40 pages on Thucydides, lib. I, II, as published (1877-8) by Herwerden.

On I 10, 2, he maintains against H. that τῶν πέντε τὰς δύο μοίρας means simply two-fifths of the soil of Peloponnesus, and not Laconia and Messenia, as the Schol. assert. "Scholia in Thucydidem neque antiqua sunt et perexegui pretii. Constantinopoli scripta sunt a Graeculis neque doctis neque ingeniosis et perraro in iis aliquid reperias quod sit simul novum et bonum. Contra scatent erroribus et commentis, qualis est haec mirifica Peloponnesi in quinque partes descriptio."

On I 31, 3, οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι πύθμενοι ταῦτα ἦλθον καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας πρεσβευόμενοι, he expels the last word not only as being an unnecessary repetition of what is implied in οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἦλθον, but also on the ground that πρεσβεύειν=legatum esse and πρεσβεύεσθαι=legatos mittere. He thinks that those who say that the middle is here used in the sense of the active are misled by misunderstanding VI 104 ὁ Γύλιππος—πρεσβυσάμενος: for "non solet is qui cum imperio est ipse legatus ire sed alios mittere, et πρεσβυσάμενος significat idem quod semper πέμψας πρεσβευτήν vel πρέσβεις. Tenemus igitur ἐπ' αὐτοφώρω interpolatores, qui de suo πρεσβυσόμενοι et πρεσβυνόμενοι (V 39) addiderunt."

On I 32, 1, he insists on expelling the "additamentum prorsus inutile ac supervacaneum" ὡσπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς νῦν, and recommends a similar excision in I 82, 1, IV 92, 5, III 67, 7; 53, 1; and cites the Scholia on several other passages to show that they contain just such expressions, which, he believes, in the places above quoted have crept into the text.

On I 44 he repeats and confirms by additional arguments his proposal to change ἐν δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ into ὑστέρᾳ, though Herw. has refused to follow him. Of the three passages (III 91, 5, V 46, 1, VII 11, 2) cited by H. he disallows the interpretation of the two former and emends the last, maintaining that the

analogy of *τριταίος*, etc., determines the use of *ὑστεραίος*, which can only be used with *ἡμέρα* expressed or understood. The prep. *ἐν* in this case shows that the noun to be supplied is *ἐκκλησία* and not *ἡμέρα*, and therefore the reading must be *ὑστέρα*, and not *ὑστεραία*.

In c. 54 he finds no less than six *aliena additamenta*. And to show how such marginal comments crept into the text he quotes Galen's account of the process: *τάχα δέ τις προσέγραψεν ἕνεκεν ἑαυτοῦ, καθάπερ εἶδωμεν ὑπόμνησιν ἐν τοῖς μετωπίοις (in marginibus) τὰ τοιαῦτα προσγράφειν, εἰτά τις τῶν μεταγραφόντων τὸ βιβλίον ὡς αὐτοῦ τοῦ συγγραφέως ὄν εἰς τὸ ὕφος (in textum) αὐτὸ μετέθηκεν.*

In c. 73, 1, he changes *βουλεύσασθε* after *ὕπως μὴ* into *βουλεύσεσθε*, re-asserting the *Canon Dawesianus* that *ὕπως*, *ὄτω τρόπῳ*, *οὐ μὴ* must be used with the future indicative or the subjunctive *second aorist*.

In c. 115, 5, instead of *τοῖς ὀμήρου κλέψαντες ἐκ Δήμου* he writes *ἐκκλέψαντες*, for '*κλέπτειν de rebus poni solet, furtim aut furto surripere, ἐκκλέπτειν de personis, clam subducere*'; and so in Ar. Ach. 525 he wishes to read *νεανία κλέπτοισι*.

In c. 137, 4, Thucyd. inserts in his report of the letter of Themistocles to Xerxes and his claim to reward for services rendered, his own comment, *γράφας τὴν ἐκ Σαλαμίως προάγγελσιν τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως καὶ τὴν τῶν γεφυρῶν, ἐν ψευδῶς προσποιήσατο, τότε δὲ αὐτὸν οὐ διάλυσιν*. Cobet objects to the words *ἐν ψευδῶς προσποιήσατο* (1) as inconsistent with the statement of Herod. VIII 109, which represents Themistocles as dissuading the Athenians from sailing immediately to the Hellespont. [But in c. 108 we are told that the suggestion to sail and destroy the bridge was made first by Themistocles to the assembled commanders and was rejected by the influence of Eurybiades.] (2) because *ψευδῶς* is unnecessary with *προσποιήσατο*; "Athenienses in ea re dixissent: *ἐν ἐπλάσατο*; but chiefly (3) in consequence of their position between *τὴν τότε* and *οὐ διάλυσιν*.

In II 12, 4, *ἔγνω ὁ Ἀρχίδαμος ὅτι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὐδὲν πω ἐνώσειον*, Herwerden has admitted the correction *ἐνώσειονσιν*; on which Cobet remarks: "*ἐνώσειω pugnatum cum natura verborum in -σειω, quae omnia notionem continent rei incundae et gratiae, cuius quis cupidus esse possit.*" You might properly say *ἀπαλλαγῆναι τοῦ πολέμου*, "sed ἐπιθυμῶ ἐνωιδῆναι contra naturam est."

H. T. Karsten has a note on CICERO, *pro Flacco*, § 62, in which he repeats his formerly expressed opinion that the words *et eorum eadem terra parens, altrix, patria dicatur*, were inserted by some commentator who remembered Isoc. *Paneg.* § 24, and failed to see that the corresponding words there have a justification which is wanting in the Latin. Karsten says that this parallel has escaped the commentators. The passage of Cicero is, however, quoted in Mr. Sandys' note on the *Panegyricus*.

Herwerden offers emendations: on Ar. Eq. 935 (*πρίν* for *ἐτ'*, to prevent *φθαίγῃς* from being constructed with an infin.): Eur. Alc. 827 (*δυσπρόσωπον* for *καὶ πρόσωπον*): Hippol. 253 (*πρὸς ἄκρον καὶ μὴ μυελὸν ψυχῆς* for *καὶ μὴ πρὸς ἄκρον*, on the ground that *ἄκρον* cannot mean *intimum*). He makes the sense: *ita ut tangatur tantum modo quasi superficies (τὸ ἄκρον τῆς ψυχῆς) non vero intimae eius partes (ὁ μυελὸς τῆς ψυχῆς)*; and proposes three other slight changes.

The last page contains seven emendations of Galen by Cobet.

PART II.

Cobet continues his critical notes on Van Herwerden's edition of Thucydides. The expression in II 77, 1, ἀπορον εἶναι ἀπὸ τῶν παρόντων δεινῶν ἐλείν τὴν πόλιν, in which H. with Krüger omits δεινῶν, Cobet emends by reading ὑπὸ for ἀπὸ, quoting II 102, 2, ἀπορον ποιεῖ ἐπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος ἐν χειμῶνι στρατεύειν, ὑπὸ τινας being often used "de impedimento quod quo minus aliquid fiat impedit."

In II 80, 2, τῷ ναυτικῷ περιήγγειλαν παρασκευασαμένῳ πλεῖν he reads -μένους, remarking "in talibus ἢ πρὸς τὸ σημαίνοντες σύνταξις est necessaria," and quoting several passages in Thucyd. where it is used.

In II 91, 1, παρεσκευάζοντο ἀμυνομένοι H. inserts ὡς. On this Cobet remarks that though in other writers this correction would be necessary, it is not so in Thucyd., who frequently omits ὡς in such cases: e. g. II 18, 1, προσβολὰς παρεσκευάζοντο τῷ τείχει ποιούμενοι. In II 92, 6, he emends φοβούμενοι τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων βοήθειαν by reading Ἀθηνῶν, and after referring to several other places where a similar correction has been made by Dobree, etc., he says: 'facile est ubique verum discernere, namque ἐκ et ἀπὸ componuntur cum verbis τῶν Ἀθηνῶν, contra παρὰ cum verbis τῶν Ἀθηναίων, and refers to VI 71, 2, where both expressions occur.

In II 102, 5, he approves of Herwerden's suggestion of Ἀπόλλωνα for Ἀπόλλω in ἴεγεται—τὸν Ἀπόλλω-χρῆσαι, since it is only after νῆ and μά that the forms Ἀπόλλω and Ποσειδῶ are used.

In III 38, 1, he proposes to change τὰς ἡμέτερας ξυμφορὰς into τὰ ἡμέτερα ξύμφορα, not remembering apparently that Krüger had done the same thing before. The change is, however, unnecessary. So in III 40, 7, he conjectures τότε for ποτέ, which has been suggested by Krüger and Classen.

On III 84, which he agrees with all the commentators in regarding as spurious, he says: 'non premam suspicionem quae mihi haec saepius consideranti in mentem venit. Suspicio esse locum Philisti, quem imitatore Thucydidis et 'paene pusillum Thucydidem' scimus fuisse. In aliquo vetusto codice locus ob argumenti quandam similitudinem in margine adscriptus videtur irrepisse in codices nostros, quos satis constat omnes ex uno fonte fluxisse.'

Following Cobet's article, which occupies 32 pages, is another of 35 pages by Herwerden himself on passages in the sixth and eighth books of Thucydides. In these he suggests a large number of corrections of the text, many of which, though certainly not all, he will introduce into his forthcoming edition of these books. He seems in some cases to be unduly reticent of his own opinion. For example, in his second note, VI 2, 5, 6, he makes merry over the conjecture of Wölflin, accepted by Classen, that the employment by Thucydides in that passage of the forms βորρὰς and ἐνεκεν, instead of βορρὰς and ενεκα, which he has in all other places, was due to his following there, not only in his facts but his forms, the authority of Antiochus of Syracuse: "cuius Σικελιώτης συγγραφή excerpta ab ipso tanquam a puero in ludo litterario effecit ut vir gravissimus sui sermonis ita turpiter oblitus sit, ut insolitis vocabulorum formis in hac operis parte uteretur." But Herwerden offers no explanation himself of the anomaly. Again, in commenting on the chapters which give the account of the overthrow of the Pisistratidae he enlarges at considerable length on the apparent inconsistency of Thucydides in laboring to prove that Hipparchus was not τύραννος at the time of his assassination, and yet speaking of him in another passage as

if he were so; and yet he offers no explanation, as Classen does, of the phenomenon. In connection with this topic he mentions the recent recovery of the inscription quoted by Thucydides (c. 54) as occurring on the altar of Apollo in the Pythion, which was erected by Pisistratus, son of Hippias. This, Thucydides says, was still legible though ἀμυδροῖς γράμμασιν. But it has been recently found "scriptum ita ut facillime adhuc legi possit," whence H. infers that it must have been retouched perhaps in Roman times; though, he adds, A. Kirchoff does not think so. Another example of his candor is found in this: that whereas in his note on VI 4, 6, he says incidentally of the word ξυμμίκτων "constans veterum titulorum orthographia postulat ξυμμείκτων," when he comes to VIII 102 and has occasion to transcribe the word ὑπομίζαντες he observes "iniuria supra VI 4, 6, sollicitavi orthographiam ξυμμίκτων. Cf. C. I. A. I p. 93, Col. A, 1 sq."

These two articles, though they contain much that is acute and instructive, have very little which would be found interesting apart from the particular passages which are made the subject of comment.

The next article of 19 pages is also by Cobet, and contains remarks critical and explanatory on the letters of Cicero ad Familiares and ad Atticum. One or two specimens may be quoted. On ad Att. VI 1, 1, he refers to the opinion of E. Desjardins in the *Revue de Philologie*, which was noted on p. 81 of this Journal, that the *oppidulum quod versu dicere non est* of Horace's fifth Satire was *Asculum Apulum* and not, as is commonly supposed, *Equus Tuticus* "car cette dernière ne se trouvait pas sur sa route." After pointing out that *Asculum* could be introduced into the Hexameter either by elision of the final syllable or by syncopation (as it is found in Silius Italicus), Cobet shows from a passage in this letter that Desjardins' assumption that travelers to Brundisium would not pass through Equus Tuticus is unwarranted; for Cicero writes to Atticus, who had just gone from Rome to Epirus through Brundisium: (litteras accepi) *omnes fere quas commemoras praeter eas, quas scribis Lentuli pueris et Equo Tutico et Brundisio datas.*

Some of his emendations are quite convincing. For instance, he quotes from ad Att. IV 15, 8, 'sed ad te—tota comitia perscribam; quae si, ut putantur, gratuita fuerint, plus unus Cato potuerit quam omnes QUIDEM iudices.' On this he says: eodem tempore de eadem re scripsit ad Quintum fratrem II, 15, 4, 'quae quidem comitia si gratuita fuerint, ut putantur, plus unus CATO FUEBIT quam omnes leges omnesque iudices.' Uterque locus ex altero certa correctione emendari potest. Ad Atticum scripserat: 'plus unus Cato potuerit quam omnes LEGES OMNESQUE iudices': et ad fratrem: 'plus unus Cato POTUERIT quam omnes leges omnesque iudices.' He does not always, however, take pains to see whether his corrections may not have been anticipated by others, as has been before remarked in these reports. For example, on ad Att. IX 10, 3, he proposes OBLECTABAT for OBTEMBABAT, which is already in the notes; and he complains (ad Att. XIII 31, 2) that an emendation of Lambinus, ΚΕΚΡΙΚΑ for ΚΕΚΙΒΙΚΑ 'spernitur'; but it is in the text of Nobbe.

An article follows of 29 pages by C. M. Francken on the oration of Cicero, *pro Caelio*, which is well worth the close attention of all who are studying the speech.

H. T. Karsten offers a probable emendation of the exceedingly corrupt passage of Seneca, *Controv.* II 7, 9.

The last two pages of this number are filled by Cobet with some corrections of the text of Galen, and one of Lucian, *Piscat.* c. 21, which he proposes to emend by reading *ἐμὲ δὲ ἦν που κρατούμενον ἰδῆς καὶ ΜΙΑΙ πλείους ὡσιν αἱ μέλαιναί, σὺ προσθείσα τὴν σαυτῆς σώζεέ με.* "Namque sic demum Philosophia προσθείσα τὴν ἐαυτῆς ψῆφον reum servabat, qui ἰσῶν τῶν ψήφων γενομένων absoluebatur."

C. D. MORRIS.

ARCHÄOLOGISCHE ZEITUNG, XXXVIIth year (1879), fourth number.

This number contains articles by Brunn, Furtwängler, Michaelis, Engelmann, Weil and Gardner, reports on the Pergamum and Olympia excavations, and a record of inscriptions from Olympia. There are four plates (13-16). Dr. Brunn's paper on the Laocoon is written in order to bring before the public the views of the late K. B. Stark, who was overtaken by death before he had fully worked over the materials which he had gathered. It appears that Stark had been much impressed by the remarks upon the Laocoon in Goethe's 'Wahrheit und Dichtung'—at the end of the eleventh book—and still more by the more elaborated comments found in the Propylaea. The important passage is as follows: "There is" (in the action) "only one moment of intensest interest: where one figure is made defenceless by the coils that envelop it, where the second, though still able to defend itself, is mortally wounded, while there is still hope of escape for the third." Goethe does not declare that the eldest son (on the right as you face the group) must actually escape, but this it is argued may safely be concluded from the slight hold which the serpent has upon him and from his position, "half turned away from his father." The worst that can befall him in making good his escape is to have his right arm broken. Stark claimed that this was true, and moreover, that in so representing one of the sons, the artists only followed an old version of the catastrophe. The authority upon which he mainly depends is Arctinus in the 'Sack of Troy,' as reported rather freely by Proclus: *ἐν αὐτῷ δὲ τοῦτω δύο δράκοντες ἐπιφανέντες τὸν τε Λαοκόοντα καὶ τὸν ἕτερον τῶν παίδων διαφθείρουσιν*, *Chrestomathy*, p. 460, ed. Gaisford.

There are two articles by Michaelis; in the first one he deals with various plastic representations of Eros. A curious group in the collections at Doughty House, Richmond, is his starting-point. The group represents the child Eros, without wings, standing on tip-toe and reaching upward to pluck grapes from thick leafage which is above and behind him. Among these leaves is a smaller Eros and a Satyr, and behind the principal figure stands Pan at the base of the vine. The workmanship is coarse and probably of late Roman times. After comparing various similar figures of Eros with this one, and establishing the frequent representation of Eros plucking grapes in Greek sculpture, Michaelis asserts that the Borghese Eros (of the Louvre collection) must be added to the list of such representations. He rejects the previous attempts to explain it as 'Eros chasing a butterfly' and 'Eros playing ball.' Stark's application to this

statue of Callistratus' description of an Eros by Praxiteles is also rejected. Michaelis claims that Callistratus' words are solely applicable to the too-much restored Chigi Eros of the Dresden collection.

In his second article Michaelis deals with the "metrological bas-relief" among the Arundel marbles at Oxford, reproduced in the *Annali* 1874, plate 9, and assigned to the first half of the fifth century B. C. Vertue's catalogue describes it as follows: "A pediment in which there is in basso-relievo the figure of a man as big as the life, with his arms extended as if he was crucified, but no lower than about his paps is seen, the cornice cutting him off, as it were: and this extension of his arms is called a Grecian measure, and over his right arm is a Grecian foot." This relief has been generally interpreted as a record of the Greek fathom and foot. See Liddell and Scott under *ὀρυυά*. Dr. Michaelis measured the outstretched arms and the foot with the greatest care, and finding unexpected results, submitted his measurements to Hultsche, noting at the same time that the marble of the relief must have come from Asia Minor or one of the adjacent islands. The Samian foot measures 0.315 m. and the Athenian foot 0.308 m. The difficulty lies in the fact that the foot represented in the relief measures only 0.259 m., much less than the Samian foot—though the relief probably came from Asia Minor—and less even than the Attic foot. Strangely enough, the length of the Roman foot, 0.2597 m., varies only slightly from the one upon the relief. But what had a Greek in the first half of the fifth century B. C. to do with the Roman foot? Dr. Hultsche unravels the mystery by declaring that this relief does not represent measures of length at all, but is simply an artist's modulus. The foot measures just one-seventh of the distance from finger-end to finger-end of the outstretched arms—which measures the height of a man—and thus the relief records the normal proportion between the length of a man's foot and his height.

Furtwängler discusses four bronze figures found at Olympia, which bear unmistakable marks of their Phoenician origin, since they resemble the common Assyrian representation of the god Assur; these bronzes were riveted to cauldrons of the same metal, and were used to hang them up by.

Then follow three controversial articles, the first on the interpretation of artists' names inscribed upon vases, the second (which is in English) maintains that *Φάρος* stands for the genitive form *Φάρεος* in an inscription upon an electrum coin found in Asia Minor (Halicarnassus), and finally in the third there is a long argument, with which the editor in a note at the end finds some fault, by which Engelmann strives to prove that the subject of two much discussed vase-paintings is the struggle between Herakles and Erginus.

A short account of the excavations at Pergamum calls attention to the modern spirit of the great works just found there, and to the light thrown by them upon the unsettled question as to the date of the Laocoon. Then follow the description of a statue discovered at Gaza and a report of the various celebrations in honor of Winckelmann. In the 37th report on the excavations at Olympia, which comes next, is the following summary of the number of things discovered during the four winters beginning with 1875-76:—

1328 sculptures, 7464 bronzes, 2094 terra cottas, 696 inscriptions and 3035 coins.

Of all the inscriptions unearthed at Olympia a very complete record has been made in this periodical from the first.

In the 38th report from Olympia is an account of the discovery of the head of the Nike of Paionios. Unfortunately, the face is gone. The inscriptions from Olympia in this number (326-333) throw light upon the practice of repeating inscriptions in some place more fully in view when, through any change in its surroundings, the original was hidden. The following hexameter,

Πεισαῖοι Σπερχεῖδὸν ἀμύμονος εἶνεκα μολπῆς. Ὀλπ σγγ' (233 A. D.)

was inscribed upon a pedestal found December 27, 1879. It probably refers to the contests in music, which as shown by other inscriptions (see No. 261) became a regular part of the Olympian games in Roman times.

The first number for 1880 contains eight plates (1-8) of exceptional beauty and interest, notably 1 and 8.

The articles are by Conze, Michaelis, Brunn, Hübner, Petersen, Ernst Curtius and Th. Mommsen.

Conze discusses twenty-three votive offerings, more than half of them from Attica and the rest from Boeotia, Asia Minor, the islands of the Archipelago, or from unknown places. They all are bas-reliefs representing in most cases certainly and in all probably the mother of the gods (Cybele) as the central figure. At her side stands a god in the attitude and with the attributes of an *οἶνοχόος*. Heretofore the central figure has been in some of the reliefs called Hecate, while the wine-pourer has been explained commonly as Attis. The attributes of the great goddess, which are unmistakably given in most cases, are pointed out to prove that all these bas-reliefs represent that goddess, while the *οἶνοχόος*, since he never has the Asiatic costume appropriate to Attis and sometimes holds the *κρησκευον*, while in many cases he is of the same stature with the goddess, cannot be Attis and must be a divinity. Hence the god Kadmilos is the one represented; for Kadmilos in Samothrace was closely connected with the worship of the mother of the gods, and was elsewhere identified with Hermes. Hermes, as the god of the wind, brought rain, and with it fertility, hence he is appropriately represented as the giver of wine to the divinity who is mother of the gods and giver of increase to all. This connection of Hermes and Cybele and the offering of these votive offerings belonged to the earlier and less corrupt form of the worship of the great goddess, as is made plain by the early date of most of these votive bas-reliefs.

The next paper is by Michaelis, and is mainly devoted to examining all the inscriptions attributing the Medicean Venus to the Athenian Cleomenes, son of Apollodorus. They are all classed by Michaelis among the ingenious forgeries of which in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries so many clever and learned Italians seem to have been guilty. The argument is as follows: No inscription is mentioned either by Aldovrandini, by Perrier, by Sandrart or in the official inventory. It was not until after the statue began to be much admired that Episcopus (Bisschop) about 1675 revealed the following inscription:—

Κλεωμένης Ἀπολλοδώρου Ἀθηναῖος ἐποίηε.

This inscription was formerly under the statue, but has disappeared, though fortunately it is preserved by a cast taken for Louis XIV which is in the Louvre. The shape of the former pedestal is also known from this cast, and it is dis-

tinctly modern in shape; moreover, the omegas *curved* at the bottom have a very spurious look. The inscription now on the pedestal at Florence is plainly a copy of the other, and it is inserted into the pedestal, being of different material; however, the ω in Cleomenes is corrected to o and the form $\epsilon\pi\omicron\iota\epsilon\iota$ is changed to $\epsilon\pi\omicron\iota\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\nu$. The only difficulty in explaining the first inscription as a forgery lies in the fact that Cleomenes was not a well-known artist. Pliny (36, 33) mentions his group of the Thespiades (cf. Diod. Sic. 4, 29)¹, and the learned forger must therefore have taken his cue from Pliny; at all events, the father's name Apollodorus was pure invention if this be a case of forgery. The effect upon sensual observers of Cleomenes' group of the Thespiades as described by Pliny (36, 39) is ingeniously compared with a similar story about the Medicean Venus told by Baldinucci. This point of resemblance, it is claimed, would be enough to induce the forger to pitch upon Cleomenes.

In the next article Dr. Brunn discusses the various representations of the act $\textit{\iota\pi\omicron\sigma\iota\beta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota}$, and then follows an account by Hübner of the authentic bust of Seneca which is in the Berlin Museum as part of a Double Herme representing Seneca and Socrates. Though Seneca is plainly inscribed below this head, and though the constant imitation of Socrates by Seneca adds a confirmation, if any be required, to the authenticity of this bust, Visconti in his *Iconographie Romaine* merely gives an outline of this head, and chooses a bronze bust found in the library at Herculaneum as the portrait of Seneca. Hübner's article is accompanied by an admirable plate representing the Double Herme, and by a cut after a strikingly similar head upon a gem which he saw in Spain, and which, it was reported, had been found near Corduba, the home of Seneca's family.

In the closing article of this number Dr. Theodor Mommsen, treating of busts accompanied by inscriptions, declares that this Double Herme at Berlin is undoubtedly authenticated as Seneca's portrait, and then brings us back to the bronze which Visconti engraved as Seneca. Comparetti, on the strength of an inscription which does not surely belong to it, asserts that it represents the consul Lucius Piso (Cicero's enemy). This attribution Mommsen sharply criticizes. The existence of other copies of this head, one with a laurel wreath, and the long beard which was banished from polite society in Cicero's time, ought, he thinks, to disprove Comparetti's theory; but he also combats the interpretation of the inscription on which this false attribution is based, and closes after correcting other errors of a less serious nature in connection with similar inscriptions, by strongly urging upon archaeologists the necessity of mastering epigraphy.

Petersen gives a new interpretation of the passage in Pliny (N. H. 34, 75)

¹Diod. Sic. 4, 29 in Mr. Dyer's report is not unnecessary, for while the heroines Herakles ought to be sufficiently well known, yet in dictionaries and encyclopedias the names of the famous legend have been confounded with the 'Thespiades' and the 'Thespiades' of the new Latin Dictionary simply reproduces Freund; Cic. Verr. 2, 4, 2, 4 cited, refer to Herakles' Thespiades who were familiar enough to the Roman public; Pliny N. H. 34, 75 (Leo): nempe Thespiades vacant | brevique in illas arsit | Herakles; the number of the statues was probably seven, as Preller suggests (Gr. Myth. II 100); the names of the $\delta\eta\mu\omicron\upsilon\beta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ of Thespie, seven of the sons having remained in Thespie, while the rest joined Iolaos in the colonization of Sardinia, according to Preller.

describing Canachus' statue of Apollo with a stag. He claims that the stag was in Apollo's hand, and argues that *calx* can mean 'the root of the hand' in this context. At the end of the article he gives some account of Myron's Satyr.

Dr. Ernst Curtius describes a bronze statuette lately bought at Paestum, where it was probably found. The figure represents a canephoros and is very beautiful. The inscription around its base—which is an Ionic capital—is as follows: *Τάθ' ἀνὰ Φιλῶν Χαρμυλίδα δεκάταν*. Thus it is probable that there were emoluments connected with the duties of canephoros. This bronze has great value, as it is the only known example of the earlier representations of the canephoros, and serves to correct many false views about those figures.

After a report of the additions made in 1879 to the Royal collections at Berlin come four reports of the excavations at Olympia. Up to January 1st the most important discoveries were the right foot of the Praxitelean Hermes, a few fragments from the eastern pediment of the temple of Zeus, and a very well preserved altar for burnt offerings. Meanwhile the whole southern part of the Palaestra was uncovered. During January the large Gymnasium of Olympia was reached and the Palaestra was more fully uncovered, also portions of the Megarian treasure-house with the inscription *Μεγαρέων* in the centre of the architrave. During February and March the liberality of the Emperor of Germany made it possible to increase the force at work. The head of the babe Dionysus (belonging to the figure held by the Praxitelean Hermes) was discovered; a number of metopes and fragments belonging to the pediments of the great temple were also found.

The inscriptions (334–362) published in this number are particularly interesting. No. 346 chronicles four names of Eleians all of the same family, as winners in the races. Of these two are women: *Τιμαρέτα Φιλίστου Ἥλεια Ὀλύμπια συνωριδί τελεῖα* and *Θεοδότα Ἀντιφάνους Ἥλεια Ὀλύμπια ἄρματι πωλικῶ*. Perhaps the most valuable inscription recorded is a very old one on a fragment of bronze, which the combined ingenuity of A. Kirchhoff and Georg Curtius, with the help of many others, has not as yet fully deciphered. It is an ancient Rhetra, referring not to any treaty, but simply chronicling the law regulating the introduction of new members into the Eleian Phratries. The form *Ἐάρρευορ* (*ἄρρευος*) shows an unexpected digamma, and this inscription also contains other interesting dialectic forms, such as *βασιλάες*, nominative plural, and *τιμαῖς*, accusative plural.

LOUIS DYER.

HERMES. 1880.

No. II. H. Diels (Berlin) presents a number of emendations of passages in the fragments of Empedocles. Among the critical appliances employed by Diels in this paper are the following: the phraseology of Homer, the formal prototype of E.; imitations by Lucretius; references in Aristotle and elsewhere; the observation of metrical usages in Empedocles. Diels also adds four passages supplementary to the present collection, condemning however as spurious the six lines adopted by Stein from Cramer's *Anecdota*.

The next paper, by A. Breysig (Erfurt), is likewise a critical one, referring to Avienus' translation of Aratus' *Phenomena*.

W. Luthe discusses a number of passages in Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, both in Book A and in α , either changing the punctuation or proposing a new reading, or restoring the older reading prevailing before Bonitz's edition of the *Metaphysics*. He makes little use of the MSS., but employs his theory of the necessary connection of the *thought* as the chief organon of criticism. In the last four pages (pp. 207-210) Luthe discusses the tradition found as early as Alexander of Aphrodisias, that Book α is not genuine, but declares both the external and internal evidence to be of little value toward proving the spurious character of the book.

A. Klügmann (Rome), in a letter to the eminent Latin antiquarian, Jordan of Königsberg, discusses the two appendices to the description of the *regiones* of Rome. These appendices are indices of public works at Rome (coeval with the era of Constantine); the first according to Klügmann being really a supplement to the description of the *regiones*, and the second a register. Klügmann dissents from Jordan mainly as to the interpretation of the order of enumeration. Among the classes enumerated are the following: *montes, campi, fora, basilicae, thermac, obelisci, pontes, aquae, vias, bibliothecae, naumachiae, balineae*. The great turnpikes enumerated are 28 in number, but they include several branch roads. Of *aquae* or water conduits 18 are given; two separate ones came from the Arno. There are enumerated 11 *fora* and the same number of *thermae*, 8 bridges and 7 *montes*; the last two almost a sacred number; and it deserves notice that with this fixity of the number the names vary somewhat. In the present list old Quirinalis and Viminalis are not given, but the transtiberine Vaticanus and Janiculensis instead.

Dittenberger (Halle), in his Notes on the Ionic Vowel-system, calls attention to a very important matter. From a study of inscriptions from Keos published recently by Koehler (*Mittheilungen des athenischen Instituts* I, p. 139 sqq.), he finds that the characteristic Ionian *eta* is expressed by H, whereas the common Greek *eta* is represented by an E. From this difference in sign which is consistent, Dittenberger infers a difference in sound. Later, it is true, from the beginning of the fourth century B. C., the sound (as the sign) for both *etas* seems to become uniform; in the course of this century Attic usage exerted a very strong influence upon the Ionic neighbors of Attica.

H. Haupt (Würzburg) and V. Jagič discuss a Slavic translation of the Byzantine chronicler Joannes Malalas and its importance for the purpose of reviewing the present text (Bonn edition). Prof. Jagič considers the Slav manuscript in question which is at St. Petersburg as less weighty for critical purposes than Haupt assumes; in fact, he takes it to be merely an abstract.

J. Draheim (Berlin) writes (pp. 238-243) de Iambis et Trochaeis Terentii.

Th. Mommsen. Zur Kritik Ammians. An inscription has recently been discovered at Rome, under the Ponte San Sisto, which proves that the latter was dedicated in 366 or in the earlier part of 367 A. D., when Valentinianus I was Emperor of the West, Symmachus praefectus urbi having superintended the work. Besides affording a valuable date for the topography of Rome, a passage in Ammianus Marcellinus 27, 3, 3, which was suspected, is confirmed as genuine by the inscription.

A. Gemoll reviews and supplements Hyginus' *De munitionibus castrorum* [aestivalium].

Professor Vahlen of Berlin contributes a series of critical notes under the title of 'Varia,' on passages in Plautus' *Trinummus* and *Bacchides*, on several of Ennius' fragments, Cicero *De Republica*, Seneca *De Brevitate Vitae*, Petronius. These discussions are very suggestive, as illustrating the method of 'conservative criticism,' and present solid gains to exegesis; e. g. (p. 262) he discusses Ennius' *Iphigenia* in Gellius 19, 10 (p. 39 in Ribbeck's collection):

1. *Otio qui nescit uti*

2. *Plus negoti habet quam cum est negotium in negotio.*

5. *Otioso in otio animus nescit quid velit,*

where Vahlen, retaining *negotium in negotio*, illustrates it from Ovid, "et Venus in vinis *ignis in igne* fuit," and other analogies. Again, Horace *Epist.* 2, 1, 75:—

Si versus paullo concinnior unus et alter

Iniuste totum *ducit venditque* poema,

illustrating the words *ducit venditque* as a compact phrase of selling (slaves) from Terent. *Eumch.* 1, 2, 54, and Hautontimorumenos 1, 1, 92.

Johannes Schmidt (Athens), having recently examined some of the Delphian inscriptions (published by Wescher and Foucart, 1868), offers sundry supplements.

T. H. Mordtmann of Constantinople publishes and discusses a Roman inscription recently found at Charput in Armenia among the foundations of the church of St. Mamas, and sent by an Armenian clergyman there to the Armenian patriarch at Constantinople. The inscription, on which Mommsen also remarks, was made about 63–64 A. D. under Nero, in the eastern campaign of Corbulo (*Tacit. Annal.* XV), who compelled the Armenian prince Tiridates to receive his throne as a fief of the Roman emperor.

Th. Mommsen calls attention to the signal value of Cod. Vaticanus 191 with regard to the text of Ptolemy's *Geography*, expressing his belief that 'this Vatican MS. occupies a similar position in the criticism of Ptolemy as that of the Escorial in the criticism of the Antoninian *Itinerarium*, i. e., that the testimony of it alone weighs at least as much as that of all the other MSS. taken together.' Mommsen illustrates this by comparing quotations from the Vaticanus and from the Vulgate. Carl Müller of Göttingen, at Mommsen's request, gives a description of the MS.

The last paper of this number is by H. Leo (Bonn), *Excursus zu Euripides Medea*. (1) He discusses the chorus 824 sqq., its metrical arrangement, and the agreement of its subject-matter with the paintings on certain Attic vases with gold ornamentation. (2) Emendations on the chorus 1251 sqq.: for 1256 Leo now proposes: *ἐβλασταν, θεοῦ δ' αἶμα πίπτειν φόβος*; and in 1266, *χόλος προσπίτνει καὶ* (for *καὶ*) *δυσμενῆς φόνος ἀμείβεται*; in 1269 for the probably corrupt *ἐπὶ γαῖαν: ἔπεται*. (3) Comments on some points in the plot, e. g. the figure of Aegæus, and assumes from 663 sqq. that the poet conceives the latter as one of the Argonauts. Exegesis of 734–740. (4) A series of critical remarks on passages from 96–212.

No. III.—The Elymaeans on the Caspian Sea as noticed in Polybius and Ptolemy, by T. Olshausen. Olshausen suggests that these "Elymaeans" north of Media are essentially the race which is known to modern Orientalists as

Dilemites, *Δελυμαῖοι*. These Delymaeans were comparatively unknown to the Greek West, and so they probably received from the Greeks the name of Elymaeans, a people living in the highlands of Iran north of Persis, and much better known to the Greeks. The Dilemites, as well as their neighbors the Geli, were really races belonging to the nationality of the Cadusians.

Ph. Thielmann, on Cornificius (*Rhetorica ad Herennium*), Grammatical and Critical Notes. Thielmann often makes changes by suggesting the error to have arisen from the pronunciation of the 'Vulgärsprache' used by the copyist (p. 333). Thus in II 22, 34, *prae ceteris* rose from an original *praeceptrix*, through the current pronunciation *praecettris* or *praecetris*.

A. Reusch, on the *Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum* II. Reusch attempts to supply lacunae in inscriptions and to furnish dates from certain established usages of language and formulas peculiar to certain periods, e. g. the addition of the month is a practice occurring after 337 B. C. (*Ol.* 110, 3). Inscriptions before *Ol.* 115, 1 (319 B. C.) do not give the patronymic of the prytane, nor do they mention the *συμπρόεδροι*, and so material is afforded for supplementing lacunae with approximate certainty.

C. A. Lehmann, in *Questiones Tullianae*, part IV, continues his Ciceronian emendations (*Pro Sulla*, *ad Atticum*, *ad Familiares*, *Oratio cum senatui gratias egit*, and *De Domo*)—16 in all.

C. T. Neumann (Tübingen), the Extent of the Chronicle of Malalas in the Oxford MS. This MS. of the Byzantine historian is defective at the beginning, in the middle and at the end. Neumann, by counting the notation of quaternions (properly eight leaves each), finds that there have been lost fol. 1-8 (the first quaternion), and fol. 9 (the first leaf of the 2d quaternion). There are also now wanting two leaves, both after 321 (present number) and before 318. As for these losses, the Paris excerpts supply about two-thirds of the lost introduction.

H. Droysen, some Epigraphic Notes. 1. On the size of the letters in the Greek inscriptions. Arguments having been deduced from the size of letters to prove that a certain inscription could not have been in a certain place, H. Droysen points, e. g., to the Lysicrates monument at Athens, the letters of which are generally 0.025 M. high, the monument itself being about 9 M. above the ground. The accommodation of the size of letters to the exigencies of reading on the part of the visitor seems to have begun only in the age of the Diadochi.

2. Regarding the history of the Greek alphabet. The Thasians [an inference] wrote C for B and Ω for O about 500 B. C.

3. Wood's discoveries of inscriptions show the Calendar of Ephesus: e. g. an inscription of 104 A. D. cites the following names of months: *Ποσειδεών*, *Θαργηλιών*, *Ἀνδροστηριών*, the old Ionic terms. This authentic document must cause a
of the MS. Hemeralogies.

Attic Calendar. An Eleusinian inscription recently found states
1 (Eponymos) of the next year (somewhere between 454 and 432)
late an extra Hecatombaeon month.

ew Fragments of an Historian, in the Egyptian Museum at Berlin.
nd general make-up of this interesting relic is said by Kirchhoff to
what the famous papyrus containing the fragments of Hyperides.

A Paris expert suggests the date to have been probably not later than the second century A. D. Kirchoff himself thinks the MS. is later. O is very small and broad, E is broad, B, P and Θ are very narrow, Z and Ξ reach under the line. The rough breathing is sometimes expressed in various ways. Iota subscript is omitted. The only abbreviation is ω for ων. As to the contents of the fragment, the first thing appearing is a long quotation from Solon, fr. 36 and 37 (Bergk), making it now quite evident that the two fragments are one passage. A number of valuable readings are gained from the present quotation of the Solonian passage, e. g. ἤθη δεσποτῶν, vulg. ἤθη δ. (anticipated by Bergk), κράτη (acts of violence), vulg. κράτει.

Further on an account of the στάσεις at Athens between the factions preceding the tyrannis of Pisistratus is given, following upon the management of Solon. This is preceded by a narrative of the contest for the archonship before the introduction of the nine annual archons. Some new light is here thrown upon a subject of Attic antiquities. Of the old three γένη, Eupatridae, Geomori, Demiurgi, we find here instead of Geomori ἀποικοι, i. e. those living away (from the city), the country people; cf. Dionys. H., Antiq. Rom. II 8. Other material statements of this MS. are, that the last archon of Attica elected for ten years was called Damasias, and that he was expelled at the end of two years; that the first set of nine archons were elected as follows: four from the noble families, three from the farmers, two from the artisans.

Fragment II is much more defective. We gather from it the banishment of some one ([ὦ]στρακίσθη, Μεγακλῆς δ') . . . but not of Megaeles, according to Blass' criticism. In l. 12 sq. the fragment reads with Blass' emendations: [καὶ πρῶ]τος ὠστρακίσθη τῶν [τοιούτων ἀνδρῶν] Ξάνθιππος ὁ Ἀρίφ[ρωνος] . . . father of Pericles, a statement found also elsewhere. There is also something said of the silver mines at Maroneia. The reverse of this leaf (frag. II) is also very defective; the narrative seems to refer to the constitutional reforms of Clisthenes. Blass, in summing up, suggests that Theopompus was the author, and that the present find is fragments from his Philippica L. 10 (περὶ τῶν Ἀθῆνῃσι δημαγωγῶν).

Prof. A. Kirchoff publishes an inscription recently found at Mylasa in Caria, near the N. E. side of the temple of the Carian Zeus. Kirchoff finds that the inscription is the supplement to C. I. Gr. No. 2693 (Boeckh). As for the structure of the language of the decree, it may be noticed that the Fut. Ind. is used by the side of the Imperative third person and of the Infinitive, thus, e. g.: σὺ παραχωρήσει δὲ οὐδὲ ὀφείλων φόρον . . . (p. 284), and again: ἡ δὲ πράξις ἐσται, etc.

Mommsen reprints a decree of Commodus found as an inscription by the French scholar Dr. Dumartin at Suk el Khmis, on the road from Carthage to Bulla, the inscription having been first published in the Revue Critique, Jan. 30, 1880. The main purpose of Mommsen's present paper is antiquarian and historical. The documents are interesting. There is (1) a petition of (*coloni*) farmers on an imperial domain, the 'saltus Buronitanus,' with the rescript of the emperor given as a marginal *subscriptio* returned with the *libellus*. (2) The procurator of the emperor, residing at Carthage, receives notice of the former and passes it on. (3) Chrysanthus, probably in charge of the provincial archives, sends the decree on. (4) Andronicus receives the decree from or

through the two foregoing officials. Mommsen discusses at length the legal status of the private domains of the emperors, such as this one was; the position of the farmers, their rights, duties, etc.; that of the imperial *conductores*, against the undue exactions of whom the petition by the farmers in the present instance was directed. The *conductor*, as Mommsen takes it, was the chief tenant, who had rented the large estate in the domain, the *villa*. The *coloni* were small farmers, who were obliged to give six days' service per annum to the *conductor*. These specifications were due to a law of Hadrian.

Th. Thalheim contributes critical remarks and emendations on nine passages in the orator Lycurgus.

Olshausen reports on a MS. of Ptolemy, bearing at the head a picture of a sultan, Arslân, as O. interprets the adjoined Arabic characters. Olshausen now finds that the figure of the prince is intended for the sovereign of the Turcomans "of the white ram," a brother-in-law of Muhammed II, the Ottoman conqueror of Constantinople in 1453, and was intended by the sultan for Arslân, having been executed at the sultan's order by the Greek scholar George of Trebizond.

R. Ellis, of Oxford, describes a MS. of Ovid's *Ars amatoria* I, apparently written in Wales in the latter part of the IXth century, and now in the Bodleian library at Oxford, and gives on four pages the readings of the Oxford MS. differing from Merkel's edition of 1877.

H. Tielke discusses some metrical points in Nonnus.

Hans Wirz (Zurich) discusses fragments of Juvenal recently found at Aarau, the value of the MS. resembling that of the codex Pithocanus at Montpellier.

G. Kaibel, of Breslau, contributes *Sententiarum Liber Primus*. He explains the difficult and corrupt passage Fulgentius *Mythol.* III, from Ovid *Met.* II 29; another passage, Euphorion's epigram 'in *Naufragum*,' he corrects from Rhianus, and comments critically and exegetically on a number of other passages incidental to his collection, especially from Theocritus (on pp. 451-457). Of more general interest is the fact to which Kaibel calls attention pp. 458 sq., that the epitaph of Herodes Atticus proves the renewed popularity of the epic writer Antimachus, in accordance with the renaissance movement of the age of Hadrian.

F. Gustavson (Helsingfors) speaks of some MSS. of Cicero *De Finibus* which have been somewhat underrated by Madvig.

H. Dessau establishes a connection between the Caecilius Natalis of Cirta, whose name recurs so frequently in inscriptions of the year 210-218 (time of Caracalla) and the Caecilius Natalis who figures as one of the interlocutors in the Octavianus of Minucius Felix. Thus the date of the latter work would be brought down to the period mentioned.

E. G. SIHLER.

ANGLIA. Zeitschrift für englische Philologie. Herausgegeben von R. P. WÜLCKER und M. TRAUTMANN. III Band, 1 Heft, Halle, 1879; 2 und 3 Heft, 1880.

I.—A. Schmidt opens the first number of the third volume of the *Anglia* with a criticism of the text of 'King Lear.' Schmidt comments on the condition of the text of Shakespeare's plays, and the custom in England of forming an eclectic text from the quartos and the folio, states that 'the only serious attempts to go to the bottom of the matter have been made in Germany,' ascribes the origin of the quartos to copies made by rapid writers at the representation of the plays, sets out to prove this in the case of 'one of the so-called authentic quartos,' and says that its variations, in comparison with the folio text, deserve no consideration, except where they are corrections of manifest misprints. These positions are sustained as follows: 1. The quartos know no difference between prose and verse; 2. Many mistakes of the quartos prove that they were caused by false hearing, not false reading; 3. A few attempts at emendation show plainly the way in which the quarto editors formed their text; 4. The involuntary use of interjections by the actors is seen in these copies, even where they destroy the verse; 5. The peculiar kind of omissions found in the quartos. While noticing the preference of Delius for the folio text, Schmidt charges him with inconsistency in taking up quarto readings which he had formerly rejected. Schmidt examines finally a number of passages in which recent editors have preferred the quarto readings, and earnestly defends the higher authority of the folio.

J. Zupitza supplies corrections to *Anglia* I 5, 195 and 286, and gives the beginning of a MS. of Caius College, Cambridge (No. 234), which is a heretofore unknown fragment of the 'Ancren Riwe,' and belongs to the 13th century.

O. Schoepke closes his examination of Dryden's Paraphrase of Chaucer's Poems, considering—3. The Flower and the Leaf, though acknowledging that the original can no longer be regarded as Chaucer's work; 4. The Wife of Bath's Tale; and 5. The Character of a Good Parson, enlarged from Chaucer's happy touches in the Prologue. Schoepke finds, as before, that Dryden worked with great freedom, made changes here and there, omitted much, and treated much at greater length than the originals, introducing many new thoughts. So patent a result seems hardly worth the trouble of the investigation.

H. Varnhagen continues his contributions to Middle-English Poems, and prints for the first time from the Digby MS. 86—IV. The Sayings of St. Bernard, heretofore printed by Wright, and later by Bøddeker, from Harl. MS. 2253, and by Horstmann from Laud MS. 108. He also notes—V. that the first verse of 'Long Life' is found cited in the Kentish translation of the Homilies of Maurice de Sully.

W. Sattler continues his examples of the Use of Prepositions with—VI. *to be at home* and *to be home*.

H. Krebs refers to his communication on The Anglo-Saxon Translation of the Dialogues of Pope Gregory (*Anglia* II 65), and gives here the text of the Preface from the Cotton MS., which is closely related to the Cambridge MS., but the Hatton MS. shows an independent text.

H. Gering has an article on 'Beowulf and the Icelandic Grettissaga,' which develops more fully the view of G. Vigfússon, in the Prolegomena to his edition of the 'Sturlunga Saga,' repeated in his 'Icelandic Prose Reader,' that the myth of Beowulf's fight with the water-demons was known to the Scandinavians, and that in the Grettissaga this myth is found in a form which has the most striking similarity to the representation in Beowulf, even to minute details. Gering pronounces this 'eine hochwichtige entdeckung,' and gives with sufficient fullness the history of Grettir, the real personage (996-1031 A. D.), and a translation of those chapters of the saga which narrate his contests with the water-spirits. He wonders that the connection between Beowulf and Grettir has escaped Grimm, Thorkelin, Grundtvig and the English scholars, and remarks, 'Es gibt eben auch in der wissenschaft "Columbuseier."' While the resemblances in general are striking and cannot be denied, the differences are so numerous, and so material for the supposition of a necessary connection between the two stories, that Gering's assertion, 'the idea of an accidental similarity is absolutely excluded,' is hardly substantiated.

L. Proescholdt contributes a careful Collation of the Oldest Quarto of Marlowe's Doctor Faustus, which is found in the Bodleian library, using as a basis Dyce's reprint (1865) of this (1604) quarto, and comparing with it the recent editions of Wagner and of Ward. (See *Anglia* II 518.)

Among so-called Contributions to the Explanation of English Authors in L. O. Collmann has some emendations (!) to Addison, which would better have been omitted in a periodical like the *Anglia*. Loose expressions and constructions, verging on the ungrammatical, may be found in some of the best English writers, and do not require a German foot-rule to determine the percentage of variation.

There is more reason in II. H. Varnhagen's comments on two passages in 'The Tempest,' but the first has the same meaning, whichever reading we take, and the second is hardly an example of 'omitted relative.'

R. Wülcker does good service in reprinting from the only MS. known (Cotton, *Vespasian D. XIV*), An Anglo-Saxon Life of St. Neot. It has been twice printed, but in works rarely accessible, and is *probably* to be ascribed to Aelfric, although the language of this MS. is not earlier than the 12th century. This Life is also interesting from its notice of King Aelfred.

O. Lohmann contributes the weightiest article to the present number, on The Omission of the English Relative Pronoun, with special reference to the language of Shakespeare. After noticing what others have written on this subject, Schmitz, Maetner, Koch, Fiedler and Sachs, Grimm, Steinthal, Tobler, Kölbinger, and especially Flebbe in Herrig's *Archiv*, LX 85, 'The elliptical relative sentence in English,' Lohmann makes the statement that the less frequent omission of the relative in Anglo-Saxon than in the later language is due to the influence of the Norman-French, which affected especially the order of words in English, and this influenced greatly the form of the relative sentence. He traces fully and carefully the use of the relative in Anglo-Saxon, citing numerous examples, and pronounces it a difficult question to decide whether in such examples the relative or demonstrative is omitted, for authorities differ as to the origin of the so-called elliptical relative sentences in the greater

fullness of inflexion in Anglo-Saxon, and the omission is restricted to the subject in the earliest period; its wider extension is due, as stated, to the Norman-French. Examples from Chaucer are cited to sustain this view; the ellipsis was favored by the common form of the pronoun and conjunction *that*, which usurped the place of the relative *þe* (the). A careful examination is made of Shakespeare's language in respect to the omission of both the nominative and accusative, the latter most frequently, and *that* is the pronoun omitted, not the relative derived from the interrogative. This omission is due to Shakespeare's striving for conciseness, and is found much less frequently in Bacon. In the later language the ellipsis, especially of the nominative, is much more restricted, and some writers declare themselves against its omission in the accusative, but Lohmann rightly rejects this view and agrees with Abbott that '*that*, when an object, may be omitted, wherever the antecedent and subject of the relative sentence are brought into juxtaposition by the omission.' This article deserves the attention of all English grammarians.

H. Sweet has some useful contributions to English etymology in—I. Disguised Compounds in Old English, namely, *fultum*, *sulung*, *ldteow*, *ldreow*, *intinga*, and Remarks on the preterite of *cuman*; and II. English Etymologies, *left* (as adjective), and *bless*, the former being A. S. *lyft*=*inanis*, hence *left hand* = 'weak or useless' hand; and the latter, A. S. *blētsian*, derived from *blōd*, hence originally 'to redden with blood,' and so to consecrate the altar by sprinkling with blood.

R. P. Wülcker has a short obituary notice of H. Leo, died 1878, and a correction to *Anglia* II 441, on the discovery of the Codex Vercellensis by Blume in 1822.

In the Book Notices R. P. Wülcker reports on Kölbing's *Englische Studien*, I 2 and 3, 1877, and II 1, 1878; J. Koch continues his notice of the Latest Publications of the Chaucer Society, 1877 and 1878; and L. Proescholdt reviews R. Pröls's edition of Shakespeare's Dramatic Works, Vols. I and II, Leipzig, 1878, including *Romeo and Juliet*, *Much Ado*, *Julius Caesar*; *Merchant of Venice*, *Richard II* and *Hamlet*.

M. Trautmann closes this number with a Notice of some School-books and Remarks on the *r*-sounds, said school-books being A. Wittstock's *Einführung in die Englische Sprache*, Leipzig, 1878; C. Deutschbein's *Theoretisch-praktische Lehrgang der englischen Sprache*, 4te Auflage, Cöthen, 1878; and W. Victor's *Englische Schulgrammatik. I. Formenlehre*. Leipzig, 1879. Trautmann finds fault with the insufficiency of what these writers have to say about the English *r*-sounds, though praising in general the Phonology of Victor's Grammar, and enters into a very full discussion of the *r*-sounds, of which lack of space forbids further notice.

II.—H. Wood contributes the first article, written in English, on Chaucer's Influence upon James I of Scotland as Poet. The article shows study. The author has carefully compared the King's Quair with Chaucer's poems, including both the genuine and the spurious, which would better have been separated, for coincidences with the latter add nothing to the argument, but some of his deductions seem strained. That King James had read both Chaucer and

Gower is manifest, from his calling them 'my maisteris dere' (quoted *Anglia*, p. 259), but it seems rather far-fetched to consider as proofs of borrowing such poetical commonplaces as calling the moon Cynthia and speaking of her golden tresses, taking up a book on account of sleeplessness, allusions to Fortune's wheel, tossing on the ocean, and invoking the Muses, references to the constellations, even when specific, and to the Fates. The garden scene (*K. Q. II II*) may show a conscious remembrance of the Knight's Tale, 175 et seq. (*Anglia*, pp. 236-7), and King James had certainly read the Assembly of Foules (pp. 253-4), but it is not necessary to assume that all similar expressions or ideas are direct borrowings from Chaucer by the royal poet.

F. Kluge examines the relations between Spenser's Shepherd's Calendar and Mantuan's Eclogues, part of a lecture delivered in the English Seminary at Strasburg, which showed the dependence of Spenser on Virgil's Eclogues. E. K., who wrote the letter to Harvey prefixed to the Shepherd's Calendar, mentioned the Carmelite monk Johannes Baptista Mantuanus, but did not show sufficiently Spenser's dependence upon him. The result of Kluge's investigation is that Mantuan was the model for the moral-satiric Eclogues, Virgil for the elegiac and erotic.

H. Varnhagen continues his texts of Middle-English Poems with—VI. *Le regret de Maximian*, from MS. Digby 86, a better text than Harl. 2253, printed in *Reliquiae Antiquae*, and by Bøddeker, whose views Varnhagen combats; and with VII. *The Sayings of St. Bernard* (see IV), from the Vernon MS. and the Auchinleck MS., the latter only a fragment and already printed by the Abbotsford Club, 1857. These texts vary from each other and from the rest.

The chief article of this number is C. Horstmann's texts of the Prose-legends: I. Caxton's edition of the Legend of St. Wenefrede, from the copy in Lambeth library, printed 1485 (?) But three copies of Caxton's edition exist—this one, one in the British Museum, and one in possession of Earl Dysart. St. Wenefrede, beheaded in the 7th century, was very popular in the 14th and 15th centuries, and in the beginning of the 15th century John Mirkus, of Lilleshul in Shropshire, narrated her life in his book 'The Festiall,' but this version seems to have been unknown to Caxton, who printed from a later MS. This 'Sermon on St. Wenefrede' from 'The Festiall' is also given by Horstmann. Then follow—II. *Fifteen Legends of the Virgin*; III. *St. Dorothea*, and IV. *St. Jerome*, all from a MS. in the Lambeth library.

J. Phelan, in his Reply to Mr. Furnivall's Couple of Protests, defends himself against Mr. Furnivall's strictures (*Anglia II* 504), the most serious of which was that he had rolled three Arthur Massingers into one. Mr. Phelan shows that it is at least probable that they were the same, the only argument advanced by Mr. Furnivall against this view being that 'these names occur in different places.' Mr. Phelan objects with good ground to the tone of Mr. Furnivall's criticisms. Pity 'tis that the *odium philologicum* bids fair to equal in tone the *odium theologicum*.

Zupitza has some Brief Notes on—1. *Andreas*, 145; 2. *Andreas*, 483; *Andreas's Proverbs*, ed. Morris, 118, 264, and *Hending*, ed. Bøddeker, 293, 4. *Chaucer*, C. T. Prologue, 52; 5. *Chaucer*, C. T. Prologue, 169; and 6.

A supposed misprint in his *Uebungsbuch* XXIV 110, attributed to him by Kölbinger II 283.

Under 'Bemerkungen und Nachtraege'—1. W. Sattler on Lohmann's English Relative Pronouns (*Anglia* III 1, 115) supplies additional examples of the omission of the relative in modern writers, and takes exception to Lohmann's remark on the rare omission of the nominative in writers of the present day, but it is noteworthy that nearly all of Sattler's examples occur in sentences with 'it is,' 'there is,' and their variations, which permit conciseness in speech, and outside of these Lohmann's remark is quite true. 2. J. Zupitza, on Middle-English *k* for *ð*?, thinks it merely a misprint (or miswriting) in all of Strattmann's examples (*Englische Studien* III 14). Why not? since modern printers frequently put *p* for *þ* (*thorn*) and even for *p* (*wen*). 3. H. Varnhagen suggests for the etymology of *catch*, *F. cacher*, hence *cachen*, confused with *chacen*. O. F. *chacier*, rather than as Skeat and others, q. v. 4. M. Trautmann, on the Northumbrian *r*, corrects a statement made in *Anglia* III 1, 215, that this sound is spreading. Dr. J. A. H. Murray and another writer have informed him otherwise.

In the Book Notices R. Köhler reports on the Publications of the Folk-lore Society, I, n. d., which was established in 1878. G. Schleich reviews at some length J. Nehab's Göttingen Doctor-dissertation entitled 'The Old-English Cato,' a translation and paraphrase of the *Disticha Catonis*, Berlin, 1879. Miss L. T. Smith notices Arber's English Garner, Vols. I, II, London, 1877, 1879; and H. Varnhagen certain Spanish prose texts, entitled 'Dos Obras Didacticas y dos Leyendas sacadas de manuscritas de la Biblioteca del Escorial,' Madrid, 1878, published by the Society of Spanish Bibliophiles and edited by H. Knust. Varnhagen notices it here because Knust's statements about the Middle-English versions of the second story, the Legend of Placidus Eustachius (St. Eustache), are incomplete. R. P. Wülcker reviews briefly G. Schleich's Berlin Doctor-dissertation, entitled 'Prolegomena ad carmen de Rolando Anglicum,' Burg, 1879. L. Proescholdt discusses E. Hermann's 'Shakespeare the Polemic,' Erlangen, London and New York, 1879, the polemical passages being found in *M. N. D.* and *Tempest*; and M. Trautmann notices F. A. Leo's 'Four Chapters of North's Plutarch,' London and Strasburg, 1878. This number closes with Mr. Furnivall's Prospectus of the Epinal MS. Facsimile, the oldest Anglo-Saxon document, being of the 7th century, and Miss Smith's of the Philological Society's New English Dictionary, of which Dr. J. A. H. Murray is the editor, who wants help; address Mill Hill, Middlesex, N. W., England.

III.—H. Varnhagen continues his contributions to Middle-English Poems with—VIII, *Lay le Freine*, from the Auchinleck MS., heretofore published by Ellis and by Weber. Varnhagen says the original dialect is not determined, but from the evidence of forms we should not go far wrong, I think, in placing it near the southern border of the East-Midland district. He also prints from a MS. lately rediscovered by Professor Zupitza in the Worcester Library—IX, A Fragment of the twelfth century, consisting of twenty-two lines, first printed by Sir T. Phillips in his *Fragments of Aelfric's Grammar*. The contents of the original are uncertain; some of the scholars of England, as Beda, Aelfric and certain bishops, are mentioned in the fragment.

P. Hennig contributes the longest article, over sixty pages, on the Relation of Robert Southey to Lord Byron. The first half is taken up with an account of Southey's life, and the second investigates the quarrel between the two. The author thinks that justice requires that this matter should be made clear to posterity, because Southey is now known more through Byron's attacks than through his own works. This is hardly the case, but if Southey needed vindication he has received it. Certainly Byron does not appear in a creditable light, but the author thinks posterity should not complain, as Byron's *Vision of Judgment* was one of the fruits of the quarrel.

H. Gaebler supplies the weightiest article, on *The Authorship of the Anglo-Saxon Poem of the Phoenix*, another contribution to the Cynewulf-question. After a résumé of recent work on Cynewulf, Gaebler states the grounds on which Dietrich assigned the Phoenix to Cynewulf, and rightly thinks they were too slight to furnish decisive proof; so he sets himself to solve the question, and treats first of the *source* of the poem, comparing carefully the Latin poem *De Phoenice* of the sixth century, ascribed to Lactantius, with the A. S. Phoenix. The Phoenix contains 677 verses, the first 380 of which are enlarged from this Latin poem of 170 verses; the remainder is a Christian allegory not contained in the Latin. A comparison of the way in which the author deals with his original and Cynewulf's treatment of his sources, leads to the conclusion that we cannot deny the poem to Cynewulf on this ground. It should be added that only the acknowledged genuine poems of Cynewulf are used in the comparison. An examination of the *verse* and *language* follows next. As to the former, two points are presented, Cynewulf's preference for grammatical alliteration and his use of intentional rime, both of which are found in the Phoenix. As to the latter, a careful study of the words and phrases is made, for on these the chief weight is laid in the proof of authorship. Many words are found in the Phoenix and in Cynewulf which either do not occur elsewhere or occur proportionately seldom; this applies especially to compounds. The study of the phraseology also shows many expressions common to Cynewulf and the Phoenix. The result of this examination, then, makes it probable that Cynewulf wrote the Phoenix. A study of the allegorical portion of the Phoenix increases this probability. A passage of Ambrosius furnishes the basis for the Christian allegory; also one in Bede. An examination of the representation of the last judgment in the Phoenix and in the *Christ and the Helena* enables us even to determine the place of the Phoenix among Cynewulf's works, namely, soon after the *Christ* and before the *Helena*.

J. Zupitza furnishes the results of his collation of the two MSS. of *Salomon and Saturn* with Schipper's text in the *Germania*, XXII 50, and Sweet's corrections of Kemble's text given in the *Anglia*, I 150. He, also supplies the Latin text of a receipt for money dated Oct. 2, 1446, in which Lydgate's name appears.

H. Varnhagen continues his *Middle-English Poems* with—X, two texts of the *Signa ante Judicium*, one from MS. Camb. Univ., Ff. II 38, and the other from MS. Cott. Calig., A II. The texts vary considerably from each other, but which is the older is not determined.

F. H. Stratmann gives many examples of the Paragodic *æ* in *Layamon*, and

concludes that *n* was dropped from or added to the end of a word at will, and that an assumption of false *n*-stems is not to be thought of.

In the Book Notices J. Koch contributes an appreciative notice of A. W. Ward's Chaucer in the English Men of Letters series (London, 1879). He rightly thinks that Ward should not have modernized the spelling in his quotations, and sums up his opinion of the work as a whole that, while it has little significance for 'science,' it will certainly accomplish its object in wider circles, and scholars should be thankful that the latest results have been popularized in so excellent and concise a view.

L. Proescholdt notices K. Elze's Notes on Elizabethan Dramatists (Halle, 1880); D. Asher, Dr. Ingleby's Shakespeare's Centurie of Prayse, second edition, revised with many additions by Lucy Toulmin-Smith (New Shakspeare Society, Series IV, No. 2); and F. G. Wershoven's Technical Vocabulary, English and German (Leipzig, 1880).

H. Varnhagen reviews at length G. Kleinert's dissertation on the Dispute between Body and Soul (Halle, 1880).

M. Trautmann has a commendatory notice of Lounsbury's History of the English Language (New York, 1879), but while approving of its plan and treatment in general, he thinks it has "much that is wrong or not to be approved" in particulars. As instances he cites the classification of *þy* with the reduplicating verbs, the failure to distinguish between such verbs as *sittan* and *brecan*, writing the reduplicating preterites with *eð*, and the A. S. *ea, eo*=Gothic *au, iu*, as *eð, eð*, and assuming *those* to be derived from *þð* rather than from *þds*, Trautmann's objection to which is certainly valid. He takes exceptions also to Lounsbury's division of the periods of English speech, but until the advocates of "Old English" are better agreed as to what it shall designate, we might as well hold on to "Anglo-Saxon" and "Early English."

R. P. Wülcker reports the contents of Kölbing's English Studien, II Bd. 2 Heft. (Heilbronn, 1879), and the volume closes with A. H. Bullen's Circular of his Reprints of rare Elizabethan Plays, Poems and Prose Tracts, beginning with the Six Plays of John Day; and F. J. Furnivall's Prospectus of his Proposed Edition of Shakspeare in Old Spelling. Every student of Shakspeare will thank Mr. Furnivall for undertaking this edition, and it is to be hoped that he will receive subscriptions enough to justify it.

The report of the Anglia is now brought up to date, and will be continued as the successive numbers appear.

JAMES M. GARNETT.

ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLÄNDISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT. XXXIV
Band (1880).

I Heft.

1. Zur Pehlevi Münzkunde. Von A. D. Mordtmann. This article, treating of the coins of the Sassanidae, is the final account of the late Dr. Mordtmann's numismatic researches (others are to be found in Vols. 8, 12, 18, 19, 29, 31 of

the ZDMG). After giving a table of numismatic Pehlevi alphabets, it describes in detail the coins of a number of princes, appends tables of the weights of Sassanian coins and of the Sassanian dynasty, from Ardeshir I, A. D. 226, to Yazdegird IV, A. D. 632-651, and concludes with a reply to Nöldeke's strictures on the author's derivation of the ending *kert* in Iranian names of places (see ZDMG, Vol. 33). Throughout there are interesting historical notices.

2. Short articles. H. L. Strack, in reply to Chwolson, shows that Abraham Firkowitsch had a sufficient motive for falsifying dates of Crimean tombstone-inscriptions and epigraphs, and Bible-texts (namely, to glorify the Karaite Jews, and save them from persecution by proving that they were not descended from the Palestinian Jews of Christ's time), that it was possible for him to do it, and that he actually did do it. C. H. Comill gives (as appendix to ZDMG 30, 454) a note on the monks Maximus and Dûmâtêwôs, mentioned in his publication of the confession of faith of Jacob Baradaeus. J. Gildemeister points out that the work published in 1829 by Flügel under the title "Vertrauten Gefährten des Einsamen von Ettseälibi," and ascribed by him and others to an author Ettseälibi (El-thaälibi), is really an extract from the Anthology of Râghib, which was published in Kâhira (Cairo) in 1868. Professor Sachau, under date of Dec. 27, 1879, gives a short account of his tour in the East, describing among other things a trilingual inscription at Zebed (a dedication to two saints), of which two of the languages were Greek and Arabic, and the third in a character wholly unknown to him. Theodor Aufrecht explains the strange form *ydmaki* in Kaushitakibrâhmaņa 27, 1, as a verbal form made by the diminutive ending *k*. Professor Fleischer describes a collection of Oriental silver found last year at the foot of the Horneboh mountain near Bautzen (Upper Lausitz), containing Sassanian coins, and throwing an important light on the mediaeval intercourse between Asia and Europe.

Anzeigen. Dr. S. Warren's edition of the Jaina Upânga Nirayâvaliyâsuttam, Amsterdam, 1879, is noticed by H. Jacobi, who welcomes it in view of the small number of Jaina texts published, but regrets the numerous abbreviations, the insufficient treatment of the text (the reviewer gives his own views of how Jaina texts should be edited), and the fact that the editor had not the aid of commentaries. The same scholar also reviews Dr. H. Oldenberg's edition of the Vinayapitaka (Vol. I, the Mahâvagga, London, 1879), which he characterizes as a very carefully prepared and valuable work; he agrees with the author in referring the origin of the Pali to the Dekkan coast, south of the Vindhya mountain-range, but dissents from his view of the date of the Buddhist sacred writings, holding that the connecting the Vinaya with the Council in Vesali brings us into a dilemma, and that sure results cannot be reached till the historical foundation, the first century after the Nirvâņa, is better known. To Ferdinand von Richthofen's "China" (Vol. I, Introductory. Berlin, 1877) A. von Gutschmid accords very high praise as "a work of art in the department of historical-geographical literature," but maintains, against the author, the comparatively recent date of the book Yu-kung, dissents from his view that the substantial identity of the moon-stations among Chinese, Indians and Arabians is to be explained by regarding them as the common possession derived from the primitive time when Indians, Chinese and Accadians (the existence of these last Gutschmid thinks problematical) dwelt on the two sides of the Pamir, and

defends, also against the author, a modified form of the common opinion that the name "Cina" for China came overland from a Chinese people called Tain (he makes it the westernmost district of China, which finally gained control over the whole land). There is a short notice of Count Baudissin's *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte* (Heft. I, II, Leipzig, 1876, 1878) by E. Nestle, and one by Professor Fleischer of the first volume of the *Catalogue of the German Oriental Society* (Leipzig, 1880), containing the list of printed books, lithographs, photographs and similar matter, lately completed by Prof. Müller.

II Heft.

1. Ueber den arabischen Dialekt von Zanzibar. Von Franz Praetorius. As the main characteristics of the dialect, Praetorius states that it is the vulgar Arabic of the cities of Syria, Egypt and the Magreb; the accent tends towards the beginning of the word, a short vowel in an open syllable often falls away, as in the Perfect, in the Imperfect a helping vowel is inserted which gives it the Ethiopic form (as *yesharbu* from *sharab*), when suffixes are added to the Perfect the tone is on the last vowel of the stem, and always on the last syllable of the third singular feminine, suffixes to the Imperfect act as the flexional endings; as to pronunciation, the third letter of the alphabet = *gy*, and the dotted *Ṭa* is identical with the *Ḍhad*; the pronominal suffix of the second singular feminine *sh*, out of *k*, as in Hadramaut and Amharic; "my father" is *abui*; before suffixes the *n* is retained in the dual, and sometimes in the masculine *pluralis sanus*; the Egyptian and Syrian *hal* and Egyptian *da, di* are not found; the relative pronoun is *illedhi*, not *illi*; the interrogations are *min* and *mu*; verbs middle and final *y* have lost their intransitive forms, and verbs final *w* are absorbed in the final *y* class; the Imperfect has mostly a present signification, the future is marked by prefixed *ha*, sometimes by *b*, as in Egyptian and Syrian. The Arabic settlement in Zanzibar went out from Oman towards the end of the seventh century of our era.

2. Kritische Bemerkungen zum "Sapiens Sapientium," in Dillmann's *Chrestomathia Ethiopia*, p. 108, 599. Von E. Trumpp. Gives a number of various readings from a MS. received by the writer from Abyssinia, with grammatical remarks and translations. Trumpp has a second article, *Zum Briefbuch*, giving various readings to Praetorius' text of the Letter on the observance of the Sabbath, which is prefixed to most copies of the theological cyclopedia entitled *Hây'mânôt abaw* or *Faith of the Fathers*. This letter, which was said to have descended from heaven, is held by Trumpp to have been translated in Alexandria from the Arabic, and probably by the Patriarch Eutychius, 933-939.

3. Das Kâlakâcârya-Kathânakam. Von Hermann Jacobi. Gives the text of a Prâkrîṭ recension, after the only MS., with translation and glossary. Jacobi thinks this older than the Sanskrit recension, and assigns as the lower limit for its date 1428 A. D., but holds that it is not the source of all other recensions; the name of the author is not given. The dialect is in the main what J. has called *Jaina Mâhârâshṭri*, characterized by the use of the dental *n*, when initial or doubled, of the *yaçruti*, and loan-forms from the *Jaina Prâkrîṭ*. The little work belongs to the class of *micra*, that is, it consists of prose and metrical parts. After stating the six parts into which it is divided, J. inquires into the

differences between this and the other traditions of the Jainas, and compares what appears to be historical in it with other sources. He holds that the lists of the *Sthaviras* rest on uncertain tradition, and that the same thing is true of the Jaina accounts, though these are not to be wholly rejected. The MS. used by him, now in the India Office Library, gives a fair text, but no helps for the interpretation. The book tells how the sage *Kâlakâcârya* brought about the overthrow of King *Gardabhilla*, who had carried off a nun, and how he regulated the affairs of the monks and dealt with disobedient pupils, how he had an interview with *Indra*, and finally, by abstaining from food, passed into a better world.

4. The *Pravargja-Ceremonie nach den Âpastamba-Çrauta-Sûtra*, mit einer Einleitung über die Bedeutung derselben. Von *Richard Garbe*. In his introduction *Garbe* points out (after *Weber*) that the *Pravargja* or milk-ceremony was not essential to the *Soma*-offering, but rather the two combined presented the highest aim of the Indian sacrificial system, to lift the offerer up into the world of the gods. He holds it to have been an old Aryan ceremony; for the ancient Aryan people milk was the symbol of all fullness of divine favor, and, as it came warm from the cow, it seemed right that it should be offered warm to the god. For the text *Garbe* had four MSS. (three from the India Office Library, one from the Munich Royal Library), and for the commentary two (one from the India Office and one from Munich), only the last dated, 1786.

M. J. de Goeje denies the correctness of the form *esh-shâya'iyyun* in *Lane's Arabic-English Lexicon*, under the verb *sha'a* 5 and elsewhere, and gives reasons for holding that *esh-shi'iyyun* alone is correct. In a letter to Professor *Nöldeke* Professor *W. Robertson Smith* says, in criticism of *Hommel's* book, that bears, wolves and monkeys are found in the *Hejâz*.

Anzeigen. *Ignaz Goldziher* has a very favorable notice, with dissenting and complementary remarks, on *Dr. A. Berliner's Beiträge zum hebräischen Grammatik im Talmud und Midrasch*, Berlin, 1879. He thinks that *Dr. B.* sometimes finds grammar where there is nothing but a peculiar method of biblical exposition for example when he supposes that the Talmudists assumed the monosyllabic character of Hebrew roots. *E. Kautzsch* notices, without dissenting criticism, *Baer & Strack's* edition of the *Dikduke of Ben Asher*, Leipzig, 1879. *Fleischer* furnishes a long list of corrections, of orthography, text and translation, of *Dr. Wilhelm Bacher's Muslicheddin Sa'adi's Aphorismen und Sinngedichte*, Strassburg, 1879. *Th. Nöldeke*, *Eb. Schrader* and *A. Weber* reply to attacks made on them by *Paul de Lagarde* in the second part of his *Symmicta*, Göttingen, 1880; *Weber's* reply is crushing.

III Heft.

1. *Das dritte Capitel des Vendidâd.* Von *Wilhelm Geiger*. The special object of the writer is to supplement *Geldner's* translation of this chapter (*Kuhn's Zeitschrift*, XXIV 542) by collecting what can be gotten from the tradition. He regards the chapter (with *Geldner*) as a conglomeration of several different pieces, the kernel of the whole being a list of directions how to please the earth-deity, of which the text contains a double recension, the first comprising 1-11, the second 12-13, 22-23, 34-35. The translation is accompanied by copious notes.

2. *Nāṣir Chusrān's Rūsanāināma* oder Buch der Erleuchtung, in Text und Uebersetzung, nebst Noten und kritisch-biographischem Appendix. Von Prof. Dr. Hermann Ethé. This second part (the first appeared in ZDMG XXXIII 645-655) treats of the nature of God, the creation of the world and man and human character, and shows, with its ascetic teaching, considerable ethical elevation and insight into life.

3. *Arabische Quellen zur Geschichte der indischen Medizin*. Von August Müller. E. Haas, in ZDMG XXX 617-670, maintains that the Arabians knew nothing of the medical science of ancient India, though they may have got some knowledge of the later Indian medicine, which, under Greek influence, helped them to form their own science, and that the work called by the name of *Suṣruta* is derived from earlier sources, this name being made after the Arabic "Sokrat" (Socrates confounded with Hippocrates); against this Weber (*Ind. Literaturg.*, 2 Nachtr. 13 f) holds that there is no reason for doubting the statements of the Arabic chroniclers, and that the linguistic character of *Suṣruta* is opposed to so low a date for the work. Müller, in order to help the solution of this question, examines all accessible Arabic accounts of Indian medicine, giving especially an annotated translation of the Twelfth Book of Ibn Abī Uṣeibi'a, and of the Arabic version of Sānāg's book on poisons. He sums up as follows:—1. While the *Fihrist* is trustworthy, Uṣeibi'a is to be used with great caution. 2. The Arabian citation of Indian works may suggest to Indologues a perfectly definite mode of critical treatment for their medical texts; thus it appears that works cited by the Arabians are not always the same as those now known by the same names (as in the case of the book called *Sesirid*). 3. It is a question how Indian medical literature came to the Mohammedans, whether through the Pehlevi or otherwise. 4. It appears that there arose a younger Arabic-Indian school of medicine, and the question arises as to the relations between it and the older.

4. *Die hebräische Metrik*. Von Dr. G. Bickell. I. In correction and completion of the hypothesis set forth in his *Metrices Biblicae Regulae* and elsewhere, Bickell here gives a list of variously constructed metrical passages in the Old Testament, and adds restitutions of Nahum i 2-10 and Pss. ix, x, for the purpose of bringing out the alphabetical arrangement of the stichoi. In the case of Nahum it is a very complicated and artificial system that he finds, and throughout his text-changes are often arbitrary.

Professor Sachau continues the sketch of his Eastern travel, from December 27th to his return April 26th. He met with many hindrances from famine and cold. The greater part of what he brings back relates to the geography of northeastern Syria, the regions of the rivers Balikh and Khābūr, Mount Masius, etc. He promises to make public soon his archaeological and epigraphic material and states that he was able to secure in Mosul and among the Nestorians east of the Tigris a number of Syrian MSS., among which are some written on parchment, tolerably old.

Prof. Dr. G. Hoffmann writes, in reference to his *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischen Märtyrer*, that his geographical results agree surprisingly with those of Sir Henry Rawlinson's paper in *Proceedings R. G. S.*, March, 1879, and that his opinion that the fever of Ganzak was *Gusnaspever*, not

Gusaspfever, is supported by the readings Gūsnasp and Vēsnasp in West's Pehlevi Texts, Oxford, 1880.

Fleischer vindicates to Julius Fürst (*Chald. Gram.*, Leipzig, 1835), the first explanation of מנרעם (against a statement in W. Wright's *Facsimiles of Ancient Manuscripts*, Plate LXIV, London, 1880).

Anzeigen. Th. Nöldeke contributes various readings (from a Göttingen MS. which agrees with the Oxford rather than with the Brit. Mus. MS.) and grammatical corrections to Martin's excellent edition of Bishop Severus' work on Syriac Metric (*De la Métrique chez les Syriens*, *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, VII 2), and offers explanations of some obscure passages in Severus' crude but useful book. Fleischer gives an account of Bistani's Arabic Encyclopedia, now going through the press, which he regards as an event of world-historical importance, representing, as it does, the scientific union of the Orient and the Occident. The Encyclopedia is to consist of twelve or fifteen volumes, of which three have appeared, and is to embrace all branches of learning, drawing its material from eastern and western sources; it is well provided with indexes for the benefit of the European reader. The preface to the first volume states that the Porte had promised financial aid, and that the Khedive of Egypt had subscribed for a thousand copies of the work. G. Th. Reichelt furnishes a notice of the missionary H. A. Jäschke's *Tibetan and English Dictionary*, which he represents as far superior to its predecessors in extent of vocabulary, in scientific character and in typography; it was printed at the Unger house in Berlin, and the types are such, says R., as have never before been seen in Asia or in Europe. Alfred von Gutschmid, in his notice of Nöldeke's *Geschichte des Artachsir*, after remarking on the high scientific character of this the first translation of a great Pehlevi work ever attempted without the aid of written or oral tradition, adds that the work is a historical romance, and that the story of the founder of the Sasanian dynasty is the same as that of Cyrus as given by Ctesias—that it is, in fact, an old Persian national legend. Victor von Strauss announces the publication of his translation and exposition of the *Schi-king*, Heidelberg, 1880.

C. H. TOY.

BEITRÄGE ZUR GESCHICHTE DER DEUTSCHEN SPRACHE UND LITERATUR,
herausgegeben von PAUL und BRAUNE. VII Band. Heft I und II.

The first article is a Leibniz dissertation, expanded until it takes up more than half the volume. "The dialects of the old Low Saxon territory are here represented from original documents." It is followed by a notice of Zeilke and his dialect in the "Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie" and "Zur Kenntnis des Fränkischen" in the *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* (1874). Braune had worked up the phonology of the name for the less definite "Niederrheinisch") and had shown its relation to the Low German dialects, and its geographical limits. Heinzel in his "Geschichte der deutschen Sprache" (Paderborn 1874) had treated very fully

of those Frankish dialects which are Low German and still show *v* for *b* and *t* for *z*. Tümpel, the author of this essay, now treats of the Low Saxon group, but limits himself to local records and histories, and does not draw from general literature as Heinzel and Braune did. Tümpel's work is very elaborate and formal, like all dissertations. It is divided into chapters and paragraphs, phonology, inflection; gives list of sources and records; has a table of contents, summary of results, two appendices and two maps. As a collection of material Tümpel's article has considerable value, but as he himself acknowledges, his work is only preparatory. His own summary of results is unsatisfactory. On p. 95 he says, that if we are to divide the language of our territory (between the Rhine and the Elbe) into dialects, we can distinguish a Northwestern, Southwestern, etc., and then he illustrates by maps. But who would be so unreasonable as to ask him to draw an exact, or even any map whatsoever of the Low Saxon dialects of the year 1300 A. D.? Does not the last edition of Kiepert's Sprachkarte Deutschlands put Cologne north of the Low German line? All that the writer can claim as a geographical result of his investigations is, that within the last five hundred years Middle German has slightly encroached upon Low German territory. Again and again the writer confesses, in so many words, until the living dialects of that region are investigated we cannot decide this question. But will not dead records keep better than living dialects? Unfortunately the town records of Hoya and Diepholz, Duderstadt and Dortmund, do not decide whether Middle Low German long and short *o* and *u* are capable of 'umlaut' (p. 32). Various marks occur over all vowels in the MSS., and it is doubtful whether they are meant to denote 'umlaut,' length or diphthong, or are merely copyist's whims. Upon the 'vocalnachs Schlag' of five hundred years ago Tümpel cannot throw light, but he might know that this extraordinary phenomenon is called a diphthong nowadays.

Paul continues his "Contributions to the history of sound-development and form-association," and gives five numbers more. No. 4 is a minute exposition of the West-Germanic consonant-lengthening or gemination, produced by a following *j*, *r*, *l* or *w*. Scherer saw in this process an assimilation of *j* to the preceding consonant. Holtzmann (Altd. Gram. p. 169) showed that the geminations before *j*, *r*, *l* and *w* are parallel, and Sievers explained them all by the circumflex ('circumflektirende Betonung'). See these Beiträge V, p. 161, and Sievers' Lautphysiologie p. 131. Paul now treats very fully the effect of *j* upon the preceding consonant, for which the material had not been collected as for *r*, *l*, *w*. He asserts the universality of the lengthening and accounts for nearly all exceptions. Pages 128-132 are nearly filled with footnotes on 'lautphysiologie.' It is the fashion now for philologists to go into this subject, and their alpha and omega is Sievers' work, which is radically wrong on the principle of surdness and sonancy. If Sievers sets up a 'tonlose Verschlusslenis' (= surd sonant stop), Paul asks, is not a 'tönende Verschlussfortis' (= sonant surd stop) possible? Of course it is. One is as possible as the other, but at the same time as monstrous and as absurd as the other.

No. 5 concerning the weak preterit and participle, connects with Begemann's "Das schwache Praeteritum der germanischen Sprachen" (Berlin, 1873). B. had shown that the number of weak preterits without connecting vowel (*i*) had been larger in General Teutonic than in Gothic, but he had drawn wild con-

clusions from his discovery. Paul counts up six criteria by which the original lack of the connecting vowel is established and applies them to the various dialects. He finds that even some verbs of the second weak declension (O. H. G. *-ēn*) never had a connecting vowel. The origin of the weak preterit turns upon the question, does the Germanic dental correspond to Parentspeech *t* or *dh*? In his opinion to *dh*, and then he solves all difficulties with the help of Verner's Law and form-association between preterit and participle.

No. 6 on Gothic *ai* and *au* is mainly polemical and speculative. Holtzmann claimed that they were short. Brugman lately agreed with him. Kluge tried to refute these two and Sievers, Kluge. Paul now attacks Sievers' theory and proposes a new one which is in part Leo Meyer's. Who is ready with a novel one for Paul's?

No. 7 illustrates the dropping of *j* and *w* before *i* and *u* respectively.

No. 8 adds a restriction to the Old Norse rule: no 'brechung' after *v*. This holds good only before double consonants. Before a single consonant *vo* became *o*: *v* vanished before *o*, hence *o* from *veo*.

The last article is by Kögel on some Germanic dental-compounds, viz. *ss* and *st*. For *ss* he proves:—(1) that the second *s* is due to one of the accented suffixes *-td*, *-tt*, *-td*; (2) that the first *s* can never go back to a Parentspeech spirant; (3) *ss* stood in General Teutonic always between vowels, counting *j* and *w* vowels after a long preceding syllable. Some very good etymologies are brought forward, e. g., of the prefix *mis-* in *misdeed* or *missetat* and in *misslich* or *misfar*. *st* between vowels is due either to original *s + t* suffix, when it is unchangeable, or to a stop + *t*, e. g. in second pers. sing. pret. ind.

Heft II. Half of it is taken up by Mogk's investigations of the Gylfaginning. It is the second installment, dealing only with the sources of the Gylfaginning and its relation to the 'so-called' Edda songs. Of course a discussion of the character and manuscripts of the elder Edda is involved. Mogk sides in the main points with Bugge. According to these two authorities the author of Gylfag. did not know a collection of songs like the Cod. Reg., but the Voluspa, Grimnismal and Vafthruthnismal were nevertheless his chief sources. Mogk's inferences as to the nature of these three songs as Snorri saw them seem certainly 'aus der Luft gegriffen.' Snorri tried to combine the substances of the three stories into one and smooth over the contradictions, but with ill success. On the whole he did not understand the old Edda much better than we do now. Some of its blindest strophes, upon which a ray of light would be so welcome, Snorri skipped. The other sources from which he drew for the Gylfag. were the Skald poetry, and his own brain. The appendix is on Ulfr, the famous Skald, author of the fragmentary Husdrapa, which Mogk has reconstructed entire.

The long article is on Heinrich von Morungen, by E. Gottschau. It is now before that this Minnesinger was of so great importance, but it is given in an appendix a division of the Minnesong before Walther von der Vogelweide. Based upon a nice analysis of rhyme and metre, we suppose it is a good one. Gottschau locates Heinrich in Thuringia.

Illustrations and applications of Verner's Law are still in vogue. Noreen brings forward new examples in addition to Osthoff's and Paul's, showing that not merely consonant stems but also *a-* and *o-* stems were subject to double accentuations in General Teutonic. His best illustrations are *hautho- haughó; gláso-, glazó; táhro- taghro*. Tamm has a note on Icelandic *nnr* and *ðr*. It is supposed by some that *nn* before *r* passed into *ð*; by others that *nnr* passed into *ndr*, into *dr*, into *ðr*. Tamm denies the possibility of any such transition. Where *ðr* and *nnr* are parallel forms, *ðr* is the older and *nnr* the later form, which owes its existence to the preponderance of the very frequent forms with *nn* for *nth* without *r*. *ð* for *nth* is the rule in Anglo-Saxon and Old Saxon. But in Icelandic *nth* became *ð* only when followed by *r*. This is very good so far, but where *ðr* and *nnr* do not come from G. T. *nth* Tamm has to assume form-association. For *mðr* and *mannr* he supposes G. T. *manus*, Skr. *manus*. Kuhn had long ago assumed an *nn* for *nn*.

A note by Cosijn on *gethawenian* defends Holtzmann's view, questioned by Paul, that short *a*, *e*, *i* are 'broken' before *w*. Among Paul's examples was *gethawenian*, which Cosijn shows is a *vox nihili*. Grein corrected 'gethawened' into 'gethawenod' with an infinitive 'gethawenian.' Cosijn corrects into 'gethawaened,' which really occurs.

H. C. G. BRANDT.

ALEMANNIA. Zeitschrift für Sprache, Litteratur und Volkskunde des Elsasses, Oberrheins und Schwabens, herausgegeben von DR. A. BIRLINGER. Bonn, 1880. VIII Band. Heft I-III.

The contributors to this journal are few, the majority of the articles being by the editor and W. Creelius. They are none the worse on that account. In these three numbers the contributions to folklore and literature preponderate over philological matter proper. The journal prints a great many scraps of literature hitherto unpublished; collects inscriptions, proverbs, phrases, poems and stories, all of which have their value in mythological and dialect work. Birlinger gives two numbers more from his commentary on Schiller's Wallenstein, which, we fear, will turn out rather 'Düntzerian,' when completed. Exceedingly interesting are further notes to the last edition of "Des Knaben Wunderhorn," by Birlinger and Creelius. "Unsere Flussnamen," by R. Buck (Heft II, p. 145-185), is original and valuable. The river-names of Germany, Gaul, Britain, Spain and Italy consist of a word-stem, generally a verbal stem and a derivative suffix, which is either a vowel *a*, *i*, *u*, but not often, or a consonant *l*, *m*, *n*, *r*, *s*, *v*, *c* and *d* (*t*). Any vowel may connect the consonant with the stem, e. g., the Weser was Wis-ara, Wis-era, Wis-ora and Wis-ura. The meaning of the stem, even if traced to an Indo-European root, is often conjectural.

Considering the fragmentary nature of much of the matter in the Alemannia, the value of the whole series will be greatly increased by the promised index to the eight volumes now complete.

H. C. G. B.

ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR ORTHOGRAPHIE. Unparteiisches Centralorgan für die orthographische Bewegung im In- und Ausland. Unter Mitwirkung namhafter Fachmänner, herausgegeben von DR. W. VIETOR. Wiesbaden, 1880. No. 1.

If this journal, which is to appear monthly, can maintain itself, then the interest in orthography is greater than we supposed. Its aim is to furnish a means of communication between the various movements for spelling reform in Germany, Holland, France, England, the United States, Scandinavia and India. Hence it will have an international character. Prominent scholars in all these countries have promised their support. It will also give original articles. Such is Kräuter's in this number on "Schrift und Sprache" (to be continued).

Other articles are by Sanders, Wiebe, Sayce, T. H. de Beer (in Dutch) and E. Raoux (in French). The English, Dutch and French articles are also given in German.
H. C. G. B.

ROMANIA.

No. 32. La vie latine de Saint Honorat et Raimon Féraut. The appearance in 1875 of Sardou's edition of the Provençal life of Saint Honorat gave Paul Meyer occasion to compare the same with the Latin life of this saint, printed successively in 1501 and 1511. The result of this examination was the conviction that the Provençal, though bearing evidences of being a translation, could not have been translated from the Latin above mentioned, as there existed between the two so many discrepancies. One of two hypotheses would suffice to explain these discrepancies: either the Latin was modeled on the Provençal, or was an abridgment of a more ample life which Féraut had at his disposal (Romania V, p. 239). Meyer concluded in favor of the latter. Shortly after the publication of this article there appeared at Berlin a doctor's dissertation by S. Hosch, contesting Meyer's conclusion and defending the first hypothesis. Stengel in reviewing Hosch's thesis sided with Meyer (Zeitschrift f. rom. Phil. II, pp. 136-42). In August, 1878, by a singular coincidence and independently of each other, Messrs. Stengel and Meyer found each (the former in the Bodleian, the latter in the library of Trinity College, Dublin) a manuscript of the Latin Life of Saint Honorat. A comparison of these manuscripts with the impression of 1501 showed that the latter was only an abridgment, as Meyer had supposed, of a longer work which Féraut had at his command and which he translated quite faithfully. The Dublin manuscript belongs to the close of the XIIIth or beginning of the XIVth century; that at Oxford, a description of which may be found in the Zeitschrift f. rom. Phil. II, p. 584, was executed in 1449. After the Dublin manuscript Meyer gives extracts from it, comparing them with the Italian translation in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, with the impression of 1511 and with the translation of Féraut, the whole intended to confirm and prove his first hypothesis.

de Saint Grégoire le Grand, ed. by A. de Montaiglon. The poem here mentioned has nothing in common with the celebrated legend of Saint Gregory, the subject of which, first printed by Luzarche, will be shortly edited

by Alfred Weber for the Société des Anciens Textes. This legend, it is true, bears the name of Gregory, but the person whom it concerns has not been identified with any of the popes of that name; whereas the poem above named relates the life of Gregory I, surnamed the Great, and is only a translation of the well-known work of Johannes Diaconus. It, together with a translation of the Dialogues of St. Gregory, is contained in a manuscript of the Bibliothèque d'Evreux, and was described by Chassant (*Mémoires de la Société de l'Eure*, 1847) in his notice of the poem *Advocacie Notre-Dame*, which he printed in book-form in 1857. This manuscript consists of 165 parchment leaves, written in double columns, dates from the first half of the XIVth century, and is from the hand of the Norman poet Guillaume Alexis, author of the *Blason des fausses amours*. Besides the Dialogue S. Gregore and Vie S. Gregore, it contains likewise *Advocacie Notre-Dame* and *Chapele de Baiex*. Of the Dialogue, Montaignon prints only the prologue. He gives the *Vie entire*, which consists of 2378 lines in riming couplets.

Contes populaires lorrains recueillis dans un village du Barrois à Montiers-sur-Saulx (Meuse) is a continuation, by Emmanuel Cosquin, of a series of popular tales which he began to publish in volume V of the *Romania* (1876), and has continued at irregular intervals since that time. The whole series, when completed, will number about eighty. They were collected by himself and sisters in 1866-67, aided by a peasant girl whom he characterizes as remarkable for her intelligence and wonderful memory. Each *conte* is followed by a critical commentary, designed to point out its resemblance to other stories of a similar kind current in other countries. Many of them are traced to Oriental sources. The collection will be a valuable one for students of folk-lore, and it is to be hoped that the editor will make up his mind to bring them out in a more convenient shape. The present batch concludes with *Le loup et le renard* (No. 54).

Notes sur la langue vulgaire d'Espagne et de Portugal au haut moyen âge (712-1200), a notice of Ed. Wölfflin's *lateinische und romanische comparation*, of N. Caix's *Studi di Etimologia italiana e romanza*, and of R. J. Cuervo's *Apuntaciones criticas sobre el language bogotano*, and the *Périodiques and Chronique*, take up the remainder of this number, which closes the eighth volume of the *Romania*.

No. 33. *La Chanson du Pèlerinage de Charlemagne* is a long article devoted by Gaston Paris to an examination of this old French romance, which relates the adventures of Charlemagne in a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the strange feats which he and his paladins accomplished at Constantinople on their return. It is preserved in a single manuscript (British Museum, MS. 16 E. VIII) written in England in the XIIIth century by a copyist "qui savait à peine le français et qui a cruellement maltraité son texte." There are two extant translations of the poem from the XIIIth century, the one Norse (*en Norvégien*), the other Welsh (*en Gallois*), a notice of which may be seen in Koschwitz's *Karls des Grossen Reise nach Jerusalem und Constantinopel* (Heilbronn, Henninger, 1880). Also several 'remaniements' both in prose and verse were made of the story from the time of its composition down to the end of the XVth century. After giving a résumé of the *chanson* and referring briefly to the opinions of

Francisque Michel, Paulin Paris, P. Meyer, L. Moland, Léon Gautier and Koschwitz in regard to the date of its composition, and discussing and rejecting Fauriel's theory concerning Aimeri de Narbonne, M. Paris concludes in favor of a date anterior to that assigned to it by most of the commentators, and places it "à l'époque antérieure aux croisades, au troisième quart environ du XI^e siècle." He regards the "style au sens purement littéraire" as perhaps the strongest argument for this conclusion. An examination of the language from a philological standpoint had induced Koschwitz also to refer it to the XIth century. Among other points of interest attaching to the *Chanson du Pèlerinage*, Paris states that we are justified in considering it as "le plus ancien produit de l'esprit parisien qui soit arrivé jusqu'à nous." It may be remarked, for the information of those interested, that M. Paris a few months ago reprinted (for private circulation only) this essay together with another, *Le Juif Errant*, from the *Encyclopédie des Sciences Religieuses*.

Traité catalans de grammaire et de poétique (suite).¹ IV.—Jaufré de Foça. All that is known of Jaufré is to be gathered from his preface, where he says he composed his treatise at the request of Jacme, King of Sicily (eu, en Jaufres de Fuça, per manament del noble e alt senyor en Ja., per la grasia de Deu rey de Sicilia, etc.) Jacme was on the throne of Sicily from 1286 to 1291, and from the latter date till his death in 1327 was King of Aragon. The importance of the text, here published for the first time, consists chiefly in this, that it shows the tendency of the Catalonians to assimilate their dialect to the Provençal. Until about the close of the middle ages they seem not to have had any definite appreciation of the individuality of their own language. The productions of their first poets are in Provençal. The little treatise of Raimon Vidal was adopted by them and furnished them a name, that of 'langue limousine.' By this title they designated their literary language in contradistinction to the popular speech, which enjoyed and still enjoys a popularity much greater than that attained by the *patois* north of the Pyrenees. They likewise adapted to their own use the grammatical compositions of the school of Toulouse, several of which have only been preserved by them. Still, while for certain special points treated by R. Vidal, as for instance the declension, they observed the Provençal rules, in other respects they wrote naturally in their own idiom, not seeming to be aware that they were departing from the pure Limousin of the *Reglas de trobar*. The language of Jaufré de Foça, in spite of its Provençal tendencies, is pure Catalan. Pretending that the *Reglas* of Vidal are too learned for the uneducated (among whom he enumerates emperors, kings, counts, dukes, marquises, princes, barons and the bourgeois), he sets before them the following rules "per que cells qui no s'entenen en gramatica, mas [?] subtil e clar engyn, pusquen mils conexer e aprendre lo saber

phonologie espagnole et portugaise, by Jules Cornu. The object is to show—(1) that *lege* and *rege*, not *leg* and *reg*, as Diez maintains, are the intermediate forms from which come *ley* and *rey*; this being the existence of *lee* or *lét* (= *l(g)é*) along with *ley* or *lei* and *rey* or *rei*, in the majority of cases, dissyllabic in the *Apolonio* and *Alexandre* whether the author of the *Alexandre* pronounced the third plu.

¹ See *American Jour. of Philol.*, Vol. I, p. 113.

of the perfect *-ioron* or *-ieron*, and whether *ioron* belongs to the Leonese dialect; and (3) that (by examples taken from the *Cid*) *nos* and other enclitics were subject to the regular laws of phonetic change whenever they were fused with the words to which they were joined. The whole article is very unsatisfactory, and by no means conclusive.

Essai de phonétique roumaine, by A. Lambrior. Voyelles toniques. The examination is confined to the Latin element in the popular speech and in the early literary monuments beginning with the XVth century. The Romanian makes no distinction between the Latin long and short *a*; it remains intact under the conditions indicated by the following examples:

fagum	<i>fag</i>	scalam	<i>scară</i>
nasum	<i>nas</i>	carnem	<i>carne</i>
laudare	<i>lăudăre</i>	sal-salis	<i>sare</i>
partem	<i>parte</i>	talem	<i>tare</i>
mare	<i>mare</i>	caput	<i>cap</i>

Tonic *a* of the classic Latin, preceding *n* or *m* followed mediately or immediately by a consonant, is changed into an obscure sound, which will be here represented by *ʃ* (in Diez by *ʒ*). Examples: romanum, *romin*; canto, *ctnă*; quando, *ctnd*; languidum, *lŋged*; plangere, *plŋgere*; canem, *ctne*; angelum, *ŋger*; sanguis, *stnge*. But it often happens that *ʃ* changes to *i* (lingual vowel) or to *u* (labial) according as we have in the body of the word lingual vowels or labial vowels and consonants, the change being caused by the influence of the consonants or atonic vowels on the tonic vowels; thus: anima, *ʃnimă*, *inima*; glandem, *ghinde*, *ghinde* (now *ghindă*); molliando, *muind*, *muind*, *muind*. Sometimes an atonic *ʃ* observes the same law as the tonic *ʃ*, as for instance: supracilia supranclia, *sprincne sprincene*. In some words, also, tonic *ʃ* has not been changed into *i*; but by the influence of the final atonic an *i* has been intercalated: panem, *pline* alongside of *pine*; canem, *ctine ctne*; mane, *mtine, mine*; mani (=pl. manus), *mtini mtini*.

This influence of the lingual vowels (*i, e*) on the obscure *ʃ* cannot be very old, as we find words in the old authors in which *ʃ* has not yet become *i*; as: *grăndină* now *grindină*; *demineată* (often *demineată*), now *demineată*, etc. Observe also that this tendency to modify *ʃ*, through the influence of a lingual vowel in the body of the word, is still active, especially in Wallachian: e. g. Lat. *plangit*, sanguis, *frangit*; Mold. *plŋge, sŋge, frŋge*; Wal. *plinge, sŋge, frŋge*.

Just as the lingual vowels effect the change of *ʃ* to *i*, so the labial vowels cause *ʃ* to go over into *u*: *ambulo*, formerly *ʃmblu*, now *umblu*, and *angulus*, *ʃnghiu*, now *unghiă*. An *ʃ* may likewise be derived from a classic Latin *i* (= Romance *e* followed by *n*). For example, the preposition *in* becomes *ŋn*; but in compounds, where it is followed by consonants or labial vowels, the *ʃ* appears as *u*: *inŋo impleo*, *inŋu unŋu* and *imŋu umŋu*.

The remainder of the article is taken up with a discussion of certain apparent exceptions to the phonetic law of *d+n*, as seen in the suffixes *-man*, *-andru*, *-an*. After an ingenious argument (too long to be reproduced here), in which the *pros* and *cons* of both sides are fairly and squarely canvassed, the author thinks that *-man* and *-andru* (which could not come from the Latin, as it had no such suffixes) are to be regarded as derived from foreign words and proper names (giving numerous examples to prove this); further, that *-an* also is probably not

Latin *-anus* but of the same origin as *man* and *andru*; and that word-formations with these three suffixes were effected at a time when the law of the transformation of Latin *dn* into *fn* was no longer operative. He is very modest, however, and appeals to "savants compétents" for their opinion on the evidence adduced.

The *Mélanges* of this number (occupying over twenty pages) is mostly devoted to etymological discussions by Cornu, Ulrich, Joret, Meyer and others.

The *Comptes-Rendus* contains a very severe criticism by Paul Meyer on Aug. Scheler's *Trouvères belges du XII au XIV siècle* (Bruxelles, 1876). Having poured out upon him the vials of his wrath, in regard to the slovenly performance of his work in editing the first series, he then turns him over to Gaston Raynaud, who is scarcely less harsh in his notice of the *Nouvelle Série* (Louvain, 1879). Gaston Paris notices very favorably Joseph Herz's *De Saint Alexis*, and Paul Meyer J.-P. Durand's *Études de philologie et linguistique aveyronnaises*.

SAMUEL GARNER.

NECROLOGY.

We copy from the Boston *Daily Advertiser*, by permission of the author, Prof. William Everett's tribute to the memory of the late Frank Eustace Anderson, whose death was deplored by many who had not the privilege of knowing personally this gifted and enthusiastic scholar:

THE LATE PROFESSOR ANDERSON.

Our issue of Saturday announced the death at Leipsic, on the 15th instant, of Professor Frank Eustace Anderson. No particulars have as yet transpired, but his friends have known for many months that his health was greatly enfeebled. The loss of so brilliant a scholar, who has so far from accomplished his career, cannot go unnoticed.

Professor Anderson was born in November, 1844, at Goff's Falls, N. H. His family was of Scotch-Irish descent, and his father was known for many years in Boston as one of our most energetic and upright business men, the senior partner in the house of Anderson, Heath & Co. Mr. Anderson was a pupil at the Roxbury Latin school, under Professor A. H. Buck. He entered Harvard College in 1861 with a reputation already formed as a sound and brilliant scholar. He was exposed to very severe competition, and graduated among the highest in 1865, with a very exceptional record for Greek scholarship. He then entered Trinity College, Cambridge, England, where his talents at once asserted themselves. It is unquestionably through him that the Hellenists of England first became aware of the immense addition to their resources made by Professor Goodwin, and convinced of serious defects in their own training. Mr. Anderson's single-hearted devotion to classical study was somewhat weakened by the fascinating social atmosphere of Trinity, and he paid much attention to the philosophical and social problems of the day, as investigated in the famous club of the Cambridge "Apostles." He took his degree at Cambridge in 1869 and then studied some time at Heidelberg and Berlin. In 1870 he was appointed tutor, and in 1873 assistant professor, at Harvard College. His teaching gave a new and powerful impulse to Greek study. It was absurd to call Greek as taught by him a dead language. It was alive, not through any gushing aestheticism, or uncritical perusal; but alive because taught thoroughly, and brought in all its parts—critical, grammatical, literary, historical—right to the inmost minds of his pupils. But while all his teaching was excellent, if we must select something in his instruction as specially stimulating and solid, it would be the method in which he handled Plato, and of Plato, the Symposium. He was also active outside of the class-room; active in forming and carrying out intelligent schemes for increasing the usefulness of the college, and active as a genial and sympathizing friend to the students. But the devotion to his studies and his friendships was too close for his health, whose laws he sadly

disregarded, though with a constitution naturally weak. He was obliged to make frequent visits to Europe, which he enjoyed intensely, but with little gain; and the corporation were obliged to accept his resignation in 1878. Since then he has lived chiefly at Leipsic, pursuing his favorite studies, but with constantly failing health. His death leaves Harvard College weaker by a most loyal son and servant, and inflicts an irreparable loss on American scholarship, which it was his constant aim to enrich from the best stores of other lands and times.

W. E.

Quincy, July 17, 1880.

εἰς τὸν ἀκαρπῶς τεθνηκότα Φραγκίσκον Εὐστάχιον Ἀνέρονα.

ἢ ῥα φίλος τίθησκε διδάσκαλος; ἢ ῥα μαθητὰς
 ὠλτατος εἰς Ἄϊδα σίγα βέβακεν ὁδόν,
 Εἰς-αχιος, τὸν Ἄθηναια ποτ' ἐφώκλιεν αὐτὰ
 ἢ σπο.α, κρατερόν γηενίσιν πολεμῖν;
 οὐ μάλα δὴ ἴθναχ' ἱερά κατὰ γαῖα καλίπτει
 εἰσταχεν εἰς καρπὸν σπέρμα θαλρομένον.

G. E.

SAMUEL STEHMAN HALDEMAN,

Professor of Comparative Philology in the University of Pennsylvania, and Ex-President of the American Philological Association, died at his home, Chickies-Lancaster Co., Pennsylvania, on Friday, September 10th, 1880, in the sixty-ninth year of his age.

Professor Haldeman was of Swiss descent, in the fourth generation, his great-grandfather having been the founder of the family in this country. In him was found the somewhat unusual combination of great attainments in both physical and linguistic science; his works on various zoological subjects, in French and English, having won him distinction before he turned his studies to philology; after which time his labors were shared between the two.

In 1849 he published "Some Points in Linguistic Etymology," which at once gave him a high place among philological scholars. It was followed in 1851 by "Elements of Latin Pronunciation," in which he strongly advocated that reform which is now so widely adopted. In 1856 appeared his work on the "Relations of the English and Chinese Languages."

In 1858 his masterly treatise on "Analytic Orthography" gained for him over eighteen competitors the higher of two prizes offered by Sir William C. Trevelyan "for essays on a reform in the spelling of the English language," to contain, among other features, "an analysis of the system of articulate sounds."

His "Affixes to English Words," published in 1871, was everywhere recognized as one of the most thorough, well-digested, and scholarly pieces of work ever performed in the domain of etymology. His last published work in this department was his "Outlines of Etymology." He has left several works in manuscript; and at the time of his death was engaged in correcting the proofs of a "School Dictionary of the English Language," prepared in collaboration with an Associate of the Johns Hopkins University.

Professor Haldeman's works and monographs on Archaeology, Geology, Conchology, Entomology, and various branches of Zoölogy, are numerous, and are all marked by the thoroughness, logical reasoning, and independence of thought which were characteristic of their author.

In private life Professor Haldeman was one of the most amiable and genial of men, ever ready to help others and quick and grateful to acknowledge their help, and as accessible to the humblest student as to his equals in learning. To none could more accurately be applied that old note of the true scholar—

—gladly wolde he learne, and gladly teche.

None ever came to know him without being as much impressed with the simplicity and beauty of his character as with his talents and learning; and in losing him, American science has lost one of her best men in every sense of the word.

W. H. B.

illustrious writers of English owe their grammar and their orthography to the genii of the press, and we must go back to the old times when the *prote* was in some sort a scholar. To be sure Henri Estienne complained that one of these *semidocti* turned the *proci* into the *porci Penelopes*; but that was not as bad, in the circumstances, *pace Enni dixerim*, as construing *persuadere* with the accusative.

By the way, it is noteworthy that Nauck in his commentary on Phaedrus calls *persuadere aliquem* 'poetic syntax,' while Wölfflin (Phil. Anzeiger, 10, 1, 52) considers it 'archaic vulgar,' and himself directs attention to this difference of conception, as if the two did not often coincide.

Reading the scholia on Aeschylus' Septem, v. 83, in which an imaginary *ἐλεθεμνάς* or *ἐλεθεμνάς* is interpreted by *ἐλαίνων ἐμὲ ἐκ τῶν δεμνίων καὶ οὐκ εἶὼν καθεύδειν, ἐλεθεμνάς ἢ ἐλοῦσα ἀπὸ τῶν δεμνίων*, I was reminded of a bit of modern etymology, which illustrates very forcibly the importance of being sure that you have a word before you begin to dissect it. A writer in the Deutsche Rundschau for May, 1877, enlarges on 'swallowag' thus: 'swallowag' ist nicht zu übersetzen, wohl aus *to swallow*, 'fressen,' 'verschlingen,' 'an sich reissen,' und *wag* 'galgenstrick' gebildet. For 'swallowag,' it may be necessary to tell our foreign friends, read 'scalawag.'

It would appear to be a law of nature that, whenever a man takes up his pen in defence of modern Greek pronunciation as applied to the ancient Greek, he should become more or less distracted, as it were. Geldart, for instance, in trying to show that *υ* was pronounced like simple *ι*, says (The Modern Greek Language, p. 28): "Homer nearly always makes *υίος* two short syllables," and Timayenis, with a studied change of wording, repeats (The Language of the Greeks, p. 161): "Homer almost always makes the *υ* in the word *υίος* a short syllable"! A rough count made *ἐν παρέργῳ* gives this result: In the Iliad (ed. Crusius), forms of *υίος* with *short υ*, nine (9); with *long υ*, four hundred and twenty-two (422); in the Odyssey, *short, one* (1); *long, one hundred and seventy-seven* (177). These figures can be varied slightly by adopting different readings in a few places, but the essentials are the same. Such are the men who are to teach us how to pronounce Greek!

M. W. H.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

AMERICAN.

Thanks are due Messrs. B. Westermann & Co., New York, for material furnished.

Antoninus (M. Aurelius.) The Thoughts of, tr. by G. Long. 4to, 117-160 pp. *I. A. Funk & Co.* New York. Pap., 15 c.

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Demosthenes. Philippics, ed. by Frank B. Tarbell. 138 pp., 12mo. *Ginn & Heath.* Boston, 1880. Cl., \$1.15.

Demosthenes. Symmories, Megalopolitans, Rhodians. By J. Flagg. 105 pp., 12mo. *Ginn & Heath.* Boston, 1880. Cl., \$1.15.

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BRITISH.

The following books are published in London unless otherwise indicated.

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Aeschylus Persae. With brief English notes. By F. A. Paley (Cambridge Texts). 12mo, 64 pp. *Whittaker.* 1s. 6d.

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Smith (R. P.) *Thesaurus Syriacus.* Edidit R. Payne Smith. Vol. I., 4to, £5. 5s. Fasciculus V. 4to, sd. *Macmillan.* 21s.

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ERRATA.

p. 401, l. 1, for II 19, 19, read IV 7, 57.

457, l. 7 from bottom, read 'he will be able to recall.'

458, l. 20 from bottom, for 'word' read 'work.'

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